The Institute of Ismaili Studies

The Institute of Ismaili Studies was established in 1977 with the object of promoting scholarship and learning on Islam, in the historical as well as contemporary contexts, and a better understanding of its relationship with other societies and faiths.

The Institute's programmes encourage a perspective which is not confined to the theological and religious heritage of Islam, but seeks to explore the relationship of religious ideas to broader dimensions of society and culture. The programmes thus encourage an interdisciplinary approach to the materials of Islamic history and thought. Particular attention is also given to issues of modernity that arise as Muslims seek to relate their heritage to the contemporary situation.

Within the Islamic tradition, the Institute's programmes promote research on those areas which have, to date, received relatively little attention from scholars. These include the intellectual and literary expressions of Shiʿism in general, and Ismailism in particular.

In the context of Islamic societies, the Institute's programmes are informed by the full range and diversity of cultures in which Islam is practised today, from the Middle East, South and Central Asia, and Africa to the industrialised societies of the West, thus taking into consideration the variety of contexts that shape the ideals, beliefs and practices of the faith.

These objectives are realised through concrete programmes and activities organised and implemented by various departments of the Institute. The Institute also collaborates periodically, on a programme-specific basis, with other institutions of learning in the United Kingdom and abroad.

The Institute's academic publications fall into a number of interrelated categories:

1. Occasional papers or essays addressing broad themes of the relationship between religion and society, with special reference to Islam.
2. Works exploring specific aspects of Islamic faith and culture, or the contributions of individual Muslim thinkers or writers.
3. Editions or translations of significant primary or secondary texts.
4. Translations of poetic or literary texts that illustrate the rich heritage of spiritual, devotional and symbolic expressions in Muslim history.
5. Works on Ismaili history and thought, and the relationship of the Ismailis to other traditions, communities and schools of thought in Islam.
6. Proceedings of conferences and seminars sponsored by the Institute.
7. Bibliographical works and catalogues that document manuscripts, printed texts and other source materials.

This book falls into category two listed above.

In facilitating these and other publications, the Institute's sole aim is to encourage original research and analysis of relevant issues. While every effort is made to ensure that the publications are of a high academic standard, there is naturally bound to be a diversity of views, ideas and interpretations. As such, the opinions expressed in these publications must be understood as belonging to their authors alone.

Shiʿi Heritage Series

Shiʿi Muslims, with their rich intellectual and cultural heritage, have contributed significantly to the fecundity and diversity of the Islamic traditions throughout the centuries, enabling Islam to evolve and flourish both as a major religion and also as a civilisation. In spite of this, Shiʿi Islam has received little scholarly attention in the West, either in medieval or modern times. It is only in recent decades that academic interest has focused increasingly on Shiʿi Islam within the wider study of Islam.

The principal objective of the *Shiʿi Heritage Series*, launched by The Institute of Ismaili Studies, is to enhance general knowledge of Shiʿi Islam and promote a better understanding of its history, doctrines and practices in their historical and contemporary manifestations. Addressing all Shiʿi communities, the series also aims to engage in discussions on theoretical and methodological issues, while inspiring further research in the field.

Works published in this series include monographs, collective volumes, editions and translations of primary texts, and bibliographical projects, bringing together some of the most significant themes in the study of Shiʿi Islam through an interdisciplinary approach, and making them accessible to a wide readership.

To the memory of my grandparents

Note on Transliteration and Conventions

The transliteration of Arabic and Persian in this book follows the rules of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, with some modifications: *j* instead of *dj*, *ch* instead of *č*, *q* instead of *ḳ*. Turkish transliteration conforms to modern Turkish orthography.

Unless otherwise indicated, the translation of all Qurʾānic verses follows that of A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, occasionally with some modifications required by the context.

Qurʾānic verse references are given in the text. References of *ḥadīth*s and biblical citations are summarised, in alphabetical order, in Inventories I and II. The footnotes in the main text specify the entry number in the relevant Inventory.

Unless otherwise indicated, all citations in Parts One to Three are from the manuscript British Library Oc.Or.5957 of the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*, the *magnum opus* of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, known also, with reference to its incipit, as the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi shish ibtidāʾ*.

The original Persian text of the long citations from the *Jāwidān-nāma* and the works of Faḍl Allāh's followers is included at the end of the book. In order to facilitate the location of the original text of any particular citation, the Persian text of citations is arranged according to the numbers of the corresponding folios.

Preface and Acknowledgements

When, in the mid-1990s, I came to Paris with a small book of ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī's poetry in my pocket, I could not have known that it would take me on a long and surprising journey.[1] In fact, I nearly forgot this book for the next few years, overtaken by work on another project. However, when the time came to choose the topic for my Master's dissertation, Nasīmī's poetry suddenly came back to my mind, singing its strange distiches. These verses from the 9th/15th century had an almost post-modernist ring to them, with their resonant lines reverberating the same phoneme or syllable several times, then suddenly flowing into beautiful, powerful words and rhymes. I knew next to nothing about Nasīmī, except that he was a courageous man who died flayed alive. I knew still less about his intellectual and spiritual background. The short introduction to his book of poetry mentioned a group called Ḥurūfīs and a certain Faḍl Allāh from Astarābād, their leader, whose teachings would have much

[1] Nasīmī (d. 820/1417–1418), the famous poet and legendary figure, especially in the Turkic world was, during a certain period, one of the closest followers of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, the founder of the Ḥurūfī movement. For the general information about Nasīmī, see F. Babinger, 'Nesīmī', *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 8, and A. Gölpınarlı, 'Nesīmī', *Islâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 1960), vol. 9, pp. 206–207. A more detailed account on his life and works can be found in ʿA. Mirfetrous, *Zindagī, ashʿār wa ʿaqāʾid-i Nasīmī, shāʿir wa mutafakkir-i ḥurūfī* ([Stockholm?], 1992); Kathleen R. F. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimi, Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* (The Hague and Paris, 1972) and B. S. Amoretti, 'Caratteristiche hurufite del divano persiano di Nesimi', *Studi Iranici* 17 (1977), pp. 267–285. For Nasīmī's influence in the Arab world, see H. T. Norris, 'Aspects of the Influence of Nesimi's Hurufi Verse, and his Martyrdom, in the Arab East between the 16th and 18th Centuries', in G. Veinstein, ed., *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2005), pp. 163–182, and on Nasīmī as a figure of Ḥallājian legend, see L. Massignon, *La Passion de Husayn ibn Mansûr Hallâj* (Paris, 1975), vol. 2, pp. 261–268.

influenced Nasīmī. But who were the Ḥurūfīs and what kind of teachings found expression in Nasīmī's poetry?

When I mentioned these questions in a conversation with Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, my supervisor at that time, I did not seriously consider them as a possible topic for academic work. After all, Nasīmī was a famous poet and I was sure that his own works and anything related to them had been thoroughly researched long ago. I only expected some references from my erudite professor. I was surprised to hear that most of the Ḥurūfī texts had not yet been published, and that the primary sources of Ḥurūfī thought, the works of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī himself, were still little known. This is how I found myself studying the few published Ḥurūfī works for my Master's dissertation, then embarking on the work on Faḍl Allāh's *magnum opus*, the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*, the 'Great Book of Eternity', for my Ph.D.[2]

I will not dwell here on the particular features of the *Jāwidān-nāma* as a text; they are described further below in the Introduction. It should be mentioned, however, that the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not contain any systematic presentation of the doctrine. It is essentially a huge corpus of fragments. The main purpose of the present book is to produce a comprehensive presentation of the central doctrinal lines of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, such as they appear from the analytical study of the relevant fragments.

The Introduction begins with a general outline of Faḍl Allāh's spiritual career and of Ḥurūfī history after his death. It also contains a discussion of the significance of Faḍl Allāh's ideas in the context of intense transformation that the Eastern Islamic world underwent in the period between the Mongol invasion and the consolidation of the Ottoman, Ṣafawid and Mughal empires. A separate section of the Introduction summarises the history of academic research on the Ḥurūfis. It is followed by some methodological remarks directly related to the assessment of the existing research, its achievements, its shortcomings and the place of the present book therein. Methodological observations are continued in the last section of the

[2] O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Etude de textes ḥurūfī anciens: l'oeuvre fondatrice de Faḍlallāh Astarābādī' (Paris, 2007).

Introduction, with a particular focus on the structural particularities of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

The next three parts of the book (Chapters 1 to 13) deal with aspects of Faḍl Allāh's doctrine such as it can be restored from the body of fragments. Part One (Chapters 1 to 6) brings together cosmogonical and cosmological doctrines of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. These doctrines are centred on the specific conception of the ontological divine Word. The creation and temporal evolution of the universe are described as a kind of metaphysical linguistics, with its semantics (Chapter 1), morphology (Chapter 2) and syntax (Chapters 3, 5 and 6). Within this presentation, the Human Being, Time and Universe appear as differentiated equivalents of the original Word, essentially identical to each other because they are produced in accordance with the same primary model. The Excursus (Chapter 4) focuses more particularly on knowledge and love, two pivotal elements of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s anthropology. Part Two (Chapters 7 to 11) is devoted to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s prophetology, that is, the progressive revelation (*tanzīl*) of the original divine Word through prophetic missions and its return to the origin (*taʾwīl*) at the end of time. The central themes of this part are the relationship between divine and human languages, and the theory of *taʾwīl*, which is the core doctrine of the whole work. Related to the latter is the theory of the 'motherly' (*ummī*) knowledge, and the 'motherly' prophets and saints, which seems to be an original development (Chapter 10), interestingly combining mainstream Sunni prophetology and eschatology with Shiʿi ideas concerning the role of the Imāms and their saintly investiture, the *walāya*. Part Three (Chapters 12 and 13) deal respectively with the ways of individual and collective salvation, including the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s eschatological views. The Conclusion contains a preliminary examination, based on the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, especially concerning the place of Faḍl Allāh's eclectic thought in the landscape of Muslim intellectual and spiritual currents, and a reflection, also based on the textual evidence of *Jāwidān-nāma,* on the possible messianic project of Faḍl Allāh, his approach to the reunification of the Muslim community, and reactualisation of the universal message of Islam addressed to mankind as a whole, in particular to Jews and Christians. This last purpose can arguably be discerned behind Faḍl Allāh's extensive use of canonical biblical texts

and apocrypha, which constitutes one of the most intriguing features of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*

It is impossible to mention here all friends and colleagues who contributed, in one way or another, to the maturation of this book over many years. It is my pleasure to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, my thesis adviser and dear friend. All members of my Ph.D. committee – Denise Aigle, Denis Gril and Thierry Zarcone – contributed, in different ways, to the development of my postdoctoral projects. My sincere thanks to Shahzad Bashir, for stimulating exchanges and for kindly sharing with me his copies of Ḥurūfī manuscripts. Meetings and conversations with Frédéric Gabriel, Asma Hilali and Lahcen Daaif ever renewed the chevaleresque ideal of the 'search for knowledge'. Hassan Ansari and Daniel De Smet were always helpful and generously shared their impressive erudition. Discussions with Pierre Legendre, who was generous with his time when discussing my book project, were crucial for my understanding of academic book writing. Jean-Daniel Dubois, Anna van den Kerchove and Simon Mimouni helped me to find relevant Jewish and Christian parallels to some specific doctrinal positions of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Saïd Amir Arjomand, Kathryn Babayan, Gerhard Böwering, William Chittick, Patricia Crone, Devin DeWeese, Pierre Lory and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak provided valuable suggestions and encouragement at the early stages of the work on this book.

The thriving academic atmosphere at the Department of Academic Research and Publications of The Institute of Ismaili Studies, which I joined in 2011 and where the writing of this book commenced, as well as discussions with colleagues I met in London and nearby – Omar Alí-de-Unzaga, Mushegh Asatryan, İlker Evrim Binbaş, Stephen Burge, Nadia Eboo Jamal, Janis Esots, David Hollenberg, Arzina Lalani, Toby Mayer, Matthew Melvin-Koushki, Eric Ormsby, Judith Pfeiffer, Miklos Sarkozy, Yuri Stoyanov and many others – were essential and contributed, either directly or indirectly, to the process of its maturation.

My special thanks to the Institute's Co-Director, Farhad Daftary, as well as to Maria De Cillis and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda for their attentive reading of the manuscript and for accepting this monograph in the Shiʿi Heritage Series. I was also fortunate to have careful, erudite and precise anonymous reviewers, whose detailed feedback, critiques

and thoughtful suggestions helped me greatly to improve the composition of the book. I would like to extend my deep appreciation to the Shiʿi Heritage Series Editorial Board, and especially to Hermann Landolt who kindly read the entire draft of this book and made many valuable comments. My special thanks to Jalal Badakhchani for checking the Persian text. Working with the Department's Senior Editor, Kutub Kassam, has been a gratifying and enriching experience. I am indebted to him for his patient, thoughtful and rigorous reading and editing of the text, and for many erudite remarks and valuable references, which not only significantly improved the structure and fluidity of the presentation but also, on several occasions, stimulated a revision of contents. Needless to say, I am alone to blame for all possible shortcomings. I would also like to thank Nadia Holmes for her editorial assistance in preparation of this book for publication, as well as Russell Harris and Patricia Salazar, for their help with the selection and layout of the cover image, acquisition of copyright permissions and kind assistance through the publishing process.

The staff of several libraries lent a helping hand to my research. I would like to acknowledge the kind assistance and cooperation of the Süleymaniye and University Libraries in Istanbul, the Vatican Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the library of the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, the Staatsbibliothek and the libraries of various departments of the Free University in Berlin, the British Library, the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies and that of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and the Cambridge University Library. I am particularly thankful to Gudrun Schubert, who helped me to find the then still uncatalogued Ḥurūfī manuscripts at the library of the University of Basel, to Renate Würsch for her assistance through the process of reproduction of the folio used on the cover of this publication, and to the staff of this library.

Over the years of research, I benefited from significant institutional support. Grants from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), especially the Laboratoire d'Études sur les Monothéismes (LEM) and Laboratoire Islam Médiéval, enabled me to participate in conferences and to work with the manuscripts. Fellowships from the French Institute for Anatolian Studies (IFEA) in Istanbul enabled me to research the manuscript collections in Turkish libraries. A Dissertation Writing Scholarship from The Institute of Ismaili Studies helped me to

complete my doctoral thesis from which this book developed. A postdoctoral research fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study at Nantes, France, was a crucial experience in making me conscious of broader interdisciplinary issues related to my area of research. A grant from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation allowed me to significantly develop the research leading to this book beyond my Ph.D. dissertation. I am especially grateful to Sabine Schmidtke, my scientific host at the Institute of Islamic Studies, Free University of Berlin, where I benefited from the exchanges with a brilliant group of scholars.

To my parents, Rufat and Aytekin, and parents-in-law, Michel and Dominique, to all my family, for their love and unwavering confidence, and especially to my wife Caroline and our daughter Jamila, for their patience and merry laughter, without which this work would never have been completed, thanks beyond thanks.

Introduction

Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī and his Followers

Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī (740–796/1339–1394), the founder of a doctrine and movement which came to be known as *Ḥurūfiyya* ('letterism', from Arabic *ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf*, 'letters'), was arguably one of the most influential messianic leaders to emerge in Iran, during a critical period between the disintegration of the Mongol Ilkhanate and the rise of the Ṣafawid dynasty. Faḍl Allāh's eclectic doctrinal views, which bear a strong mark of esoteric Shīʿism and also draw on several other currents of Islamic thought, such as Ṣūfism (especially that of Ibn al-ʿArabī and some of his followers), theology, Qurʾānic exegesis and philosophy, will be analysed in the following chapters and the Conclusion. In this first section of the Introduction, I will summarise some points essential for the understanding of the genesis and orientation of Faḍl Allāh's thought in the context of post-Mongol Iran, and discuss a number of other topics, such as sources available for the study of Ḥurūfī history and thought, the nature of inspiration, either claimed by Faḍl Allāh himself or ascribed to him by his followers, the social and political activity this inspiration entailed, and the scope of the expansion and influence of Faḍl Allāh's ideas.

The name *Ḥurūfiyya* is generally used in external sources for the followers of Faḍl Allāh. However, at least in his major work, the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* (the 'Great Book of Eternity'),[1] Faḍl Allāh does not seem to apply any specific name to his doctrine. Indirectly, it could be characterised as the doctrine of *taʾwīl*, both in the narrower sense of Qurʾānic exegesis and the broader sense of a method of

[1] For the sake of brevity, I refer to this work as *Jāwidān-nāma* throughout this book. The 'short' version of the *Jāwidān-nāma* will be mentioned further below.

ontological hermeneutics.[2] This hermeneutics, which perceives the universe as the ontological writing of God and a transcription of His existence-giving Word, mediates the passage from the external forms of objects and beings so perceived to the invisible Word that produced them all. When applied to the forms of human writing – that is, to words and letters, especially those of the prophetic books – this method seeks an absolute and final exegesis of all revealed texts by bringing them back to their origin in the divine Word. The focus on letters as basic elements of the *taʾwīl* may explain why Faḍl Allāh and his followers were referred to in external sources as 'letterists', *Ḥurūfiyya*.[3] The terms and expressions found in the *Jāwidān-nāma* and in the works of Faḍl Allāh's followers as possible self-designation include 'dervishes' (*darwīshān*), 'monotheists' (*muwaḥḥidūn*), 'people of the truth' (*ahl-i ḥaqq*) and 'people of the [divine] bounty' (*ahl-i faḍl*), as well as Qurʾānic expressions such as 'possessor of the knowledge of the Book' (*man ʿindahu ʿilm al-kitāb*) and 'the midmost community' (*umma wasaṭ*).[4] This absence of a specific self-designation could suggest that, contrary to the opinion of some external sources, Faḍl Allāh and his followers did not regard themselves as separated from the rest of the Muslim community or deviating from the basic tenets of Islam.

There are several reasons which make the name 'Ḥurūfī' confusing when referring to Faḍl Allāh and his followers. Firstly, *ḥurūfiyya* might be understood as a reference to the general trend of 'science of letters' (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*) in medieval Islamic thought.[5] Secondly, and most

[2] The expression *ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl* (Master of *taʾwīl*) occurs in the *Jāwidān-nāma* and was applied to Faḍl Allāh by his disciples. For the meaning of this expression in the Shiʿi context, see the Glossary: 'Return to the Origin'.

[3] One of the earliest external sources referring to the followers of Faḍl Allāh as *Ḥurūfiyya* is probably by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448): 'He [Faḍl Allāh] founded a group known as *Ḥurūfiyya*' (*ibtadaʿa al-niḥla allatī ʿurifat bi-l-Ḥurūfiyya*). See his *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bukhārī and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Beirut, 1967–1975), 9 vols., vol. 5 (1972), '*wafayāt sana 804*', pp. 46–47, reproduced in Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhawī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* (Beirut, 1992), 12 vols., vol. 6, entry 583, p. 173.

[4] Ṣ. Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāma-yi Gurgānī* (Tehran, 1330 Sh./1952), p. 280.

[5] The 'science of letters', together with the 'science of numbers', constitutes one of the most fundamental aspects of the Ḥurūfī theory of metaphysical language. The science of letters occupies an important place in the medieval Islamic intellectual

importantly, this name, applied generally to describe the intellectual tradition going back to Faḍl Allāh and his works, masks the schisms among his followers, as well as modifications of the doctrine in the course of its historical evolution. From the first generation of Faḍl Allāh's followers, significant shifts seem to have been introduced in terminology and interpretations of his doctrinal positions.[6] As to the late Ottoman groups known by the name of 'Ḥurūfīs', their exact relationship with the original thought of Faḍl Allāh has not yet been systematically established. For these reasons, in order to avoid confusion, I will refer mainly to the 'doctrine of the *Jāwidān-nāma*' when discussing the thought of Faḍl Allāh. I will retain the name 'Ḥurūfī' as a general designation of the tradition developed on the basis of Faḍl Allāh's intellectual and spiritual heritage.

Faḍl Allāh and some of his followers were prolific writers, and their works were carefully copied and transmitted until recent times. This fact is remarkable in itself, especially because Faḍl Allāh's doctrinal writings, as well as some works of his first disciples, were written in a special language, a mixture of the standard Persian and of a little known local dialect of Astarābād in northern Iran. The understanding of this language would require some preparation even for a native Persian speaker. The relatively accurate and systematic transmission of this abundant literature which, after the second half of the 9th/15th

---

tradition, where it evolved along various lines and within various currents, such as practical magic, alchemy, philosophy and mysticism. The medieval literature related to the science of letters is vast, and even a short mention of its central figures and tendencies would exceed the limits of this Introduction. For a general outline and further references, see the chapter of D. Gril in Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Les Illuminations de la Mecque* ed. M. Chodkiewicz (Paris, 1988), pp. 385–438; P. Lory, *La science des lettres en Islam* (Paris, 2004); K. M. al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayna al-taṣawwuf wa-l-tashayyuʿ* (Beirut, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 165–174; T. Fahd, 'Ḥurūf, ʿilm al-', in *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 616–617; D. B. Macdonald and T. Fahd, 'Sīmiyā', in *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 635–636; M. Melvin-Koushki, 'The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369–1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran' (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 2012), pp. 171–314; and M. Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Ismāʿīlī Tradition* (Leiden and Boston, 2014), pp. 77–122.

[6] For an example, see O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Notes sur deux textes ḥurûfî: le *Jâvdân-nâma* de Faḍlallâh Astarâbâdî et l'un de ses commentaires, le *Maḥram-nâma* de Sayyid Isḥâq', *Studia Iranica*, 35/2 (2006), pp. 203–235.

century, was copied mostly by Turkish scribes, who also translated, adapted and commented on the early Ḥurūfī works in Ottoman Turkish, testifies to the importance attached to the preservation and transmission of the early Ḥurūfī intellectual heritage.[7]

The preservation of Ḥurūfī literature was initially organised by Faḍl Allāh's disciples who fled their persecutors in Iran and settled among the Ottoman dervish brotherhoods, especially among the influential Bektāshīs. Within the Bektāshī order of dervishes, the Ḥurūfī literature and teachings were transmitted and developed in the works of Ottoman authors until the dissolution of the Bektāshī order by the decree of Sultan Mahmud II in 1826.[8] The manuscripts of Ḥurūfī works that attracted the attention of Western scholars and triggered academic research in this field, which will be summarised below, also came initially from the Bektāshīs. Today, a wealth of Ḥurūfī manuscripts, including doctrinal and historical works, Faḍl Allāh's biographies and poetry, mostly in Persian and Turkish, is extant and available in the manuscript collections of several libraries across the world.[9]

The historical evolution of Ḥurūfī literature and its main components, such as doctrinal works, didactical and mystical poetry, historical, biographical and polemical writings, and dream diaries, is still little studied. A rough distinction could be made among the following categories: (1) Foundational works of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, of which the most important is the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*. Other works attributed to Faḍl Allāh are: the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi ṣaghīr*, a short version of the *Jāwidān-nāma* written entirely in standard Persian

[7] I was able to assess variations in the textual transmission of the *Jāwidān-nāma* on the basis of comparison of four manuscripts, ranging approximately from the end of the 10th/16th (Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsça 920) to 13th/19th (British Library Or. 5957) centuries.

[8] See J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London and Hartford, 1937), pp. 58–62 and 148–158.

[9] A. Gölpınarlı described a fair number of the Ḥurūfī works available in the manuscript collections of Turkish libraries in his *Hurûfîlik metinleri kataloğu* (*The Catalogue of Ḥurūfī Texts*) (Ankara 1973, repr. 1989). A preliminary inventory of the Ḥurūfī manuscripts, compiled on the basis of Gölpınarlı's work and several other catalogues, is included as appendix in my Ph.D. thesis, 'Etude de textes ḥurūfī anciens', pp. 733–769.

(probably known also as *al-Ilāhiyya al-afḍaliyya*); the *Maḥabbat-nāma* ('Book of Love'); the *Naw-nāma* (or *Nuskha-yi naw*, the 'New Copy'); the *ʿArsh-nāma* ('Book of the Throne'); and the *Iskandar-nāma* ('Book of Alexander').[10] It seems that this literature essentially elaborates, in a more accessible and simplified form, various topics of the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*. It deserves a separate study, especially because it could contain some clarifications to the difficult passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The last folios of the manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma* of Cambridge (Ee 1.27) and Basel (M VI.72) contain a kind of a dream diary attributed to Faḍl Allāh and sometimes referred to by the title of *Nawm-nāma*.[11] The *Dīwān* of Faḍl Allāh has been published.[12] (2) Early Ḥurūfī works, including the works of the direct disciples of Faḍl Allāh (Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Astarābādī, ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, etc.), written mostly in Persian, at the end of the 8th/14th and the beginning of the 9th/15th centuries. (3) Later Ḥurūfī literature, including original works as well as translations, interpretations and adaptations of the early works in Ottoman Turkish. (4) Works distinctly influenced by Ḥurūfī ideas and terminology, especially Persian and Turkish poetry. In parallel to the doctrinal works, the poetry is an important and largely unexplored part of Ḥurūfī literature. Unfortunately, most of the Ḥurūfī works, including the foundational texts of Faḍl Allāh, are still unpublished.[13]

---

[10] From these, to the best of my knowledge, only the *Iskandar-nāma* (C. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs* [Leiden and London, 1909], pp. 99–125) has been published.

[11] 'Le "Journal des rêves" de Faḍlullāh Astarābādī: édition et traduction annotée', ed. O. Mir-Kasimov, *Studia Iranica,* 38/2 (2009), pp. 249–304.

[12] Ed. S. Jūyā and R. Aliev (Tehran, 1354 Sh./1975–1976), together with the *Dīwān* of ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī. On the issue of confusion between the poetry attributed to Faḍl Allāh, Nasīmī and Shams-i Tabrīzī, see Ṣ. Kiyā, 'Agāhīhā-yi tāza az ḥurūfiyān', *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Tihrān,* 2/2 (1333 Sh./1954), pp. 60–64. For the works attributed to Faḍl Allāh, see Y. Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya dar tārīkh* (Tehran, 1369/1991), pp. 39–40. The issues of identification and attribution were discussed by Gölpınarlı in *Katalog,* pp. 12–14, and more recently by F. Usluer, 'Hurûfî Metinleri ile Ilgili Bazı Notlar', *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi,* 13/1 (2007), pp. 211–235.

[13] The *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs* by Huart, published in 1909, still remains the most extensive collection of Ḥurūfī texts available in print. A large selection of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s fragments is included in my Ph.D. thesis ('Etude de

The wealth of available works, combined with its broad diffusion and lasting influence, makes Ḥurūfism one the most documented messianic movements of post-Mongol Iran. The early Ḥurūfī texts contain highly elaborated doctrines encompassing, as we will see further in this book, most of the central topics of medieval Islamic religious thought. From the point of view of its scholarly level, erudition and scope, Faḍl Allāh's work arguably represents one of the earliest and most complete intellectual realisations of what can be called 'post-Mongol mystical and messianic current'. It provides, therefore, substantial information on the intellectual background of the transformations that took place in Muslim societies during the period preceding the rise of the Islamic empires of the late medieval and modern eras.

The information about Faḍl Allāh and his followers found in the known external sources is fragmented and incomplete. Standard historiographical and bio-bibliographical works contain generally only short notes concerning Faḍl Allāh and some of his outstanding followers, in particular the poet ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī, as well as some significant events associated with the Ḥurūfis, such as the attack on the Tīmūrid prince Shāhrukh Mīrzā in Herat in 830/1427.[14] In addition, later sources often only reproduce, with slight modifications, notes from the earlier sources, which decreases even more the amount of useful information.[15] This seems to be in line with the general character of the Muslim historiographical tradition, which registers in any detail only such groups and movements that were able to survive over a significant period of time.[16] In our actual state of knowledge, which is by no means conclusive, external sources seem useful not so much for the study of Ḥurūfī history and doctrines as such, but for the

---

textes ḥurūfī anciens', Persian text in Appendix I, pp. 495–731, French translation in the main text).

[14] Shāhrukh Mīrzā (d. 850/1447), was the fourth son of Tīmūr, the founder of the Tīmūrid dynasty, and the most powerful among his successors. I will return to the attack on Shāhrukh in the following pages.

[15] For more detailed information concerning the accounts found in external sources, as well as a selection of citations, see Ṣ. Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāma,* and Y. Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya*.

[16] Cf. J. van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten* (Berlin and New York, 2011), vol. 2, p. 1355.

assessment of the reception of Ḥurūfism by 'official' Sunni Islam. For this purpose, the extant pieces of polemics against the Ḥurūfis, and of the Ḥurūfī apologetic response, are particularly instructive, as will be discussed further below.[17] Unfortunately, there is still no comprehensive and systematic contemporary study on the image of the Ḥurūfīs as reflected in external sources.[18]

Our main source of information on Ḥurūfī history and doctrines are the texts of the Ḥurūfī authors themselves. As already mentioned, we have a significant amount of extant Ḥurūfī texts at our disposal, even if most of them are available only in manuscripts. Similar to the situation with external sources, the academic study of Ḥurūfī literature is still in its infancy.[19] In addition, if the external sources reflect the reception of Ḥurūfī movement by the Sunni majority, the Ḥurūfī writings themselves convey an idealised image of the founder and of early Ḥurūfī history, and should therefore be approached critically. However, in combination with external sources and in the light of available information on the contemporary historical and intellectual context, they allow us to reconstruct, to some extent, the main stages of the formation and evolution of this group. On the other hand, the 'subjective' point of view on the emergence of the movement and its subsequent historical development, as reflected in the works of Ḥurūfī authors, is of central interest for our understanding of the origins and formation of the charismatic and messianic tendency, which permeated the discourse of religious authority in Islamic world in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. In what follows, I will focus on the evidence relevant to the issues such as the formation of Faḍl Allāh's charismatic personality, the nature of his messianic claim and its link with the political involvement of Faḍl

[17] For assessment of external reports concerning the Ḥurūfīs and examples of the anti-Ḥurūfī polemics see O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Takfīr and Messianism: The Ḥurūfī Case', in C. Adang, H. Ansari, M. Fierro and S. Schmidtke, ed., *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfir* (Leiden, forthcoming).

[18] The works by Kiyā and Āzhand mentioned above contribute to this field, but they are by no means comprehensive. A useful bibliography of external sources mentioning Ḥurūfīs can be found in A. Mirfetrous, *Histoire des études sur le mouvement Ḥorūfi: étude des sources originelles et des recherches modernes* (Montreal, 1994).

[19] See the outline of the history of Ḥurūfī studies in the next section.

Allāh and his followers, the further evolution of Ḥurūfism and its relationships with the rest of the Muslim community.

The detailed accounts on the biography of Faḍl Allāh can be found in works such as the *Khwāb-nāma*s (Books of Dreams) of his two direct disciples, Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī and ʿAlī Nafajī.[20] Faḍl Allāh was born in 740/1339–1340 in Astarābād (Gurgān), an Iranian city south-east of the Caspian Sea. He lost his father in childhood, and in his early years received some training in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) from the friends and colleagues of his father. One day, he accidentally heard a wandering dervish who recited a verse of the well-known mystic and poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273). This piece of poetry deeply moved young Faḍl Allāh and eventually determined his spiritual vocation. Faḍl Allāh abandoned his home and his practice at the court of law for the life of a wandering dervish, which he led for the next 20 years.[21] From the *Khwāb-nāma*s, it can be concluded that the spiritual career of Faḍl Allāh was marked by a series of dreams or visions.[22] Among these, two seem particularly important. The first took place apparently in Khwarezm.

[20] Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, ms. Islanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsça 1042; ʿAlī Nafajī, ms. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pers. 17; the latter has been studied by H. Ritter, 'Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit – II, Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfīsekte', *Oriens* 7/1 (1954), pp. 1–54. As we will see further below, dream interpretation was one of the central activities of Faḍl Allāh. It is immediately related to *taʾwīl,* the method of universal ontological hermeneutics, which constitutes a core concept of his doctrine. This probably explains the existence of several Ḥurūfī works entitled 'Dream Diary' or 'Book of Dreams'.

[21] The accounts of Faḍl Allāh's travels can be found in Ritter, 'Die Anfänge', and S. Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford, 2005).

[22] As a source of supernatural knowledge, dreams played an important role in the construction and legitimisation of religious authority in Islam from the earliest times. See, for example, B. Radtke and J. O'Kane, *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism* (Richmond, 1996); F. Meier, *Die Fawāʾiḥ al-ǧamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-ǧalāl des Naǧm al-Dīn al-Kubrā* (Wiesbaden, 1957); J. C. Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany, NY, 2002); P. Lory, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris, 2003), Ö. Felek and A. Knysh, ed., *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies* (Albany, NY, 2012); L. Kinberg, 'The Legitimization of the Madhāhib through Dreams', *Arabica*, 32/1 (1985), pp. 47–79.

Faḍl Allāh was 23 or 24 years old by then.[23] This is how the event is described by Sayyid Isḥāq:

> I was dreaming and saw myself near a plane-tree in Astarābād. An old man sat there … and interpreted dreams and events (*taʾwīl-i khwāb wa aḥādīth shurūḥ mīkunad*). Then [the Prophet] Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, peace be upon him and his family … said: 'O old man, do not be bold enough to undertake this difficult task, for the interpretation of dreams (*taʾwīl-i khwāb*) is a difficult task. Its realisation is all the more complicated because the explanation [of the dream] (*bayān*) and its interpretation (*taʾwīl*) do not refer to your person (*nafs*). Since it is a vision of someone else, its interpretation should be made in accordance with this other person's self. It can also be a vision that does not belong to anyone of this world (*ahl-i dunyā*) … and, [in this case], it has to be interpreted in accordance with the personality of someone who is dead or [dwells] in the invisible world (*aṣḥāb-i qubūr wa ākhirat*).' After that, said [Faḍl Allāh], the lord Muḥammad, peace be upon him, told me that this [knowledge of] *taʾwīl* is associated to a star that appears one time every 30,000 years and encompasses 17,000 worlds. [This star] is now visible: if you want to see it, go in the garden [of your house] and stay under the orange tree. You will see seven stars in the sky. Among these, one will be the greatest and the brightest of all, and it will speak. It is this [star] that delivers the [knowledge concerning] the interpretation of the visions (*taʾwīl-i ruʾyā*). Then I was walking in the garden and [reached] the orange tree … and, looking up in the skies, I saw a star dazzling among the stars. A ray of its light entered my right eye, and spoke to me like a man … Its speech was about the *taʾwīl*. [Faḍl Allāh] said: After this dream, the *taʾwīl*, either of visions (*ruʾyā*) or other things, became clear to me … [this happened] in the year 765.[24]

The same dream is described more concisely by ʿAlī Nafajī:

> One night, I saw that an extremely clear and bright star rose in the east. While I was looking at it, something like a luminous thread parted from this star and entered my right eye. It kept flowing, until the whole star was absorbed in my eye. After that, I

[23] The date of this event (765/1363–1364) is mentioned in the *Khwāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī (fol. 19a), and on the margin of one of the manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma* (Cambridge Ee 1.27, fol. 406a).

[24] The *Khwāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, fol. 18b–19a, described by Bashir in *Fazlallah,* pp. 10–11.

> heard a voice: 'Do you know what a star it is?' I said: 'No.' [The voice] said: 'This is a star that rises only once in several centuries.' When I woke up, I [found] that I can understand something from the voices of birds [singing around], and the [knowledge] of the dream interpretation (*taʾwīl-i manām*) had been disclosed to me (*ma-rā kashf shud*).[25]

This event apparently marks Faḍl Allāh's initiation into the interpretation of dreams and visions. This power of interpretation seems to have been focused, at this stage, on visible forms and images. From the same *Khwāb-nāma*s we also learn that, after this event, Faḍl Allāh began to acquire some fame as a dream interpreter. This practice attracted to him his first disciples and introduced him into the circle of local ruling elites. Shortly after his initiatory experience, Faḍl Allāh visited Sabzawār, the capital of the Sarbadārs.[26] According to Bashir, Faḍl Allāh's interpretation of dreams of some Sarbadār notables clearly demonstrates his political involvement.[27] Faḍl Allāh would also have had close contacts with the Jalāyirids, including the sultan Uways b. Ḥasan Jalāyirī (d. 776/1374–1375),[28] his wazirs Zakariyya and Khwāja

---

[25] The *Khwāb-nāma* of ʿAlī Nafajī, fol. 12b–13b, cited by Ritter, 'Die Anfänge', p. 12, and S. Bashir, 'Deciphering the Cosmos from Creation to Apocalypse: The Hurufiyya Movement and Medieval Islamic Esotericism', in A. Amanat and M. Bernhardsson, ed., *Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America* (London and New York, 2002), pp. 168–184, 172–173.

[26] The Sarbadār movement began in north-eastern Iran in 737/1337 as a popular revolt against the Ilkhānid tax administration. In the following years, due to their association with the local Shiʿi dervishes, the Sarbadārs adopted a mystical and messianic ideology. In the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Sarbadārs took possession of Astarābād several times. Faḍl Allāh was most probably still in Astarābād between 754/1353 and 757/1356, when the Sarbadārs controlled the city. On these events, see J. Aubin, 'Aux origines d'un mouvement populaire médiéval: le cheykhisme du Bayhaq et du Nichâpour', *Studia Iranica,* 5/2 (1976), pp. 213–224; Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 6–7; and H. R. Roemer, 'The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadārs', in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge, 1986), vol. 6, pp. 16–39. See also Conclusion, note 118.

[27] Bashir, *Fazlallah,* pp. 13–14, with reference to Faḍl Allāh's interpretation of a dream of Khwāja Jamāl al-Dīn, a nephew of ʿAlī Muʾayyad, a Sarbadār ruler from 1361 to 1381. This interpretation is recorded in the *Khwāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq, fol. 35a–b.

[28] Following the disintegration of Ilkhānid rule, the Jalāyirid dynasty took control of Mesopotamia, after Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg (d. 757/1356) seized Baghdad in 740/1340. According to the *Khwāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq (fol. 19a–b), Faḍl Allāh sent

Bāyazīd Dāmghānī,[29] and his ministers Amīr ʿAlī Dāmghānī[30] and Shaykh Khwāja. Faḍl Allāh is also believed to have written a book on religious law for the Muẓaffarid prince ʿIzz al-Dīn Shāh Shujāʿ (d. 786/1384).[31]

Some ten years after the 'dream of the star', Faḍl Allāh had another important experience which represents, in a sense, the fulfilment of his spiritual quest. It took place in Tabriz, most probably in 775/1374.[32] Let us cite from our sources:

> When he [Faḍl Allāh] was close to the age of 40 years, the secrets of the disjointed letters in the beginning of the [Qurʾānic] suras [were revealed to him], [the letters] which [constitute] the heavenly book sent by God to Adam … He became thus a [spiritual] master and teacher. His doctrine (*iʿtiqād*) was therefore based on divine inspiration (*kashf-i ilāhī*) … This inspiration concerned [also] the secrets, truths and degrees (*asrār wa ḥaqāʾiq wa maqāmāt*) of [the Prophet] Muḥammad … [He heard a voice] asking: 'Who is this young man? Who is this moon of the earth and heaven?' The answer was: 'He is the Master of the Time and the King of all prophets (*sayyid-i zamānast sulṭān-i*

---

an item of headgear to the successor of Ḥasan-i Buzurg, Sultan Uways, as a sign of his initiation. See A. Gölpınarlı, 'Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī', in *EI2,* vol. 2, pp. 733–735.

[29] According to the *Khwāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq (fol. 20a–22a and 48a), Faḍl Allāh married the daughter of Bāyazīd. Cf. Bashir, *Fazlallah,* p. 20–22.

[30] Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* p. 11. Faḍl Allāh would have come to Tabrīz between 1370 and 1374 (see Bashir, *Fazlallah,* p. 19). The episode involving Amīr ʿAlī Dāmghānī is mentioned in the *Maḥram-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq. Huart, *Textes persans,* p. 43; see also Ritter, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 39–40.

[31] The *Khwāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq (f. 24a). The Muẓaffarids were another dynasty that rose to power following the death of the last Ilkhānid ruler. Shāh Shujāʿ was the second son of the founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, Mubāriz al-Dīn (d. 765/1363–1364). Shāh Shujāʿ occupied Tabriz during several months following the death of Sultan Uways in 777/1374. See V. Minorsky, 'Tabriz', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leiden and Paris, 1934), vol. 4, p. 616, and Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* p. 16.

[32] According to the *Kursī-nāma* of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā (cf. Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāma,* pp. 289–290), and the *Khwāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq (see the passage cited below). Two other dates, 778 and 788, are also mentioned for this event. The exact date remains, therefore, uncertain. On this issue, see Ritter, 'Die Anfänge' p. 23; S. Bashir, 'Enshrining Divinity: The Death and Memorialization of Fazlallāh Astarābādī in Hurūfī Thought', *The Muslim World,* 90 (2000), pp. 289–308, in particular p. 291, and his 'Deciphering the Cosmos', p. 174, and note 23, p. 373; Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* p. 7; Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 15–16 and 18–19.

> *hama payghambarānast*). Other people acquire their knowledge (*iʿtiqād*) of the eminence of Muḥammad's degrees through blind imitation and explanations provided by someone else (*bi-taqlīd wa bayān-i dīgarān*), but he received this knowledge through [direct] inspiration and contemplation (*kashf wa ʿiyān*).'[33]
>
> In the year 775[/1374] … the knowledge of the ontological hermeneutics of the disjointed letters of the Qurʾān (*ʿilm-i taʾwīl-i muqaṭṭaʿāt-i Qurʾān*), as well as the secrets of the religious law (*asrār-i dīn-i sharīʿa*), such as prayer and fasting, were disclosed (*kashf*) to him.[34]

It is interesting to consider the descriptions of Faḍl Allāh's successive inspirations in relation to the theory of *taʾwīl*, such as it emerges from the fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. It seems that, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Faḍl Allāh distinguishes two major consecutive stages of *taʾwīl*. The first, exemplified by the Qurʾānic story of Joseph and his aptitude for interpreting dreams, is the *taʾwīl* of *compound* units, such as dream images or compound lexical units.[35] The second and ultimate stage of *taʾwīl* exemplified, in particular, by the biblical story of the broken tablets of Moses, operates with *simple* units, either as phonemes, regarded as direct expression of the most fundamental metaphysical truths, or as letters, which are their visible loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*, pl. *maẓāhir*).[36] Significantly, while the citations concerning the first mystical experience underline the interpretation of visible images, they also allude to the spontaneous understanding of sounds, such as the singing of birds, on which the second experience (simple sounds and letters) is focused. The descriptions of the two revelatory events experienced by Faḍl Allāh seem thus to correspond to the two stages of *taʾwīl* outlined in Faḍl Allāh's theoretical work. From this point of view, these two events appear as milestones in a progressive initiation in the knowledge of the *taʾwīl*.

The passages related to Faḍl Allāh's second mystical experience mention also the high prophetic status it would have conferred upon

---

[33] ʿAlī Nafajī, *Kitāb-i Khwāb-nāma*, fol. 66a and 68b–69b. For the German summary and partial translation of these passages see Ritter, 'Die Anfänge', p. 20. My translation of the passage from fol. 68–69 is slightly different from Bashir's in *Fazlallah,* pp. 25–26.

[34] Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, *Khwāb-nāma,* fol. 19b.

[35] See Chapter 9 below.

[36] Ibid.

Faḍl Allāh. He is the 'Master of Time', a title with clear messianic connotation.[37] He is the 'King of all the prophets', possessing knowledge of the innermost meaning of religious law directly from the source of prophetic revelation. This statement seems further corroborated by the evidence from the works of other Ḥurūfī authors, who mention Faḍl Allāh and his works with extreme reverence, hardly falling short of deification.[38] The idea that Faḍl Allāh actually claimed a prophetic status and that of the eschatological Saviour has been taken over and further developed in some external accounts on the Ḥurūfis, in particular in those that aimed at establishing a case of 'heresy' against them.[39] It is not unusual, therefore, that Faḍl Allāh's position in regard to his own mission is presented in modern academic literature in the light of these external and often hostile sources.

But did Faḍl Allāh really claim a privileged status for himself? A thorough answer to this question is impossible without an analysis of all of his extant works. Nonetheless, it is interesting that the fragments of the dream diary ascribed to Faḍl Allāh, and sometimes referred to by the title of *Nawm-nāma*, do not contain any explicit description of his revelatory experiences similar to those cited above. Neither does his major doctrinal work, the *Jāwidān-nāma*. In fact, this latter work

[37] The use of the title *sayyid-i zamān,* and not *ṣāḥib-i zamān,* could indicate that Faḍl Allāh was regarded by his disciples not as the eschatological *Mahdī* at the end of time, but as an intermediary 'saviour', a person whose mission is to provide guidance to the community in some particularly difficult circumstances in the course of history and to restore justice. On these titles, see W. Madelung, 'al-Mahdi', *EI2,* vol. 5, pp. 1230–1238, and M. García-Arenal, 'Introduction', in *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, in *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée*, 91/4 (2000), pp. 7–15, in particular p. 10.

[38] In the works of his followers, Faḍl Allāh and his works are often mentioned with the title 'divine' (*ilāhī*). On the sanctification of Faḍl Allāh by his followers see Bashir, 'Enshrining Divinity', pp. 289–308, and F. Usluer, *Hurufilik: ilk elden kaynaklarla doğuşundan itibaren* (Ankara, 2009), pp. 248–257. However, it is unlikely that even the most 'extremist' among his followers would have considered Faḍl Allāh as the incarnation (*ḥulūl*) of God, in the sense of most straightforward anthropomorphism. As we will see in the following chapters, the Ḥurūfī doctrine clearly declares the unknowable character of the divine Essence (*dhāt*). The meaning of the epithet *ilāhī* applied to Faḍl Allāh in Ḥurūfī works could thus be close to *maẓhar-i ilāhī,* 'locus of divine manifestation'.

[39] For the anti-Ḥurūfī polemical literature, see further below and Mir-Kasimov, 'Takfīr and Messianism'.

contains no personal information whatsoever.[40] This, of course, does not mean that Faḍl Allāh did not at all claim some form of religious authority following his spiritual enlightenment. Some fragments of the dream diary seem to confirm that he did indeed entertain an extremely lofty idea of his mission. In these fragments, he compares himself to the prophets, Shiʿi Imāms and legendary kings of pre-Islamic Iran, and claims to have been initiated in the supreme knowledge available to mankind, that of the extreme limit of prophecy and the primordial Covenant. In a dream, he sees himself wearing the garments of the eschatological Saviour. But in other visions he seems to be anguished by the foreknowledge of his imminent death.[41] The fact that he was conscious of being charged with a particular historic mission is also indirectly confirmed by what we know about his political activity, which was continued by his followers. However, the actual object of his claim could be more modest than presented by his followers and later polemical literature. The theoretical works of Faḍl Allāh, and in particular the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s prophetology and eschatology, do not indicate any explicit expectation of a new prophet after Muḥammad. It cannot be unambiguously concluded from this work that mankind has entered the very last period before the end of time, when the Saviour would appear physically. What is thoroughly developed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is the doctrine of *taʾwīl*, which becomes the dominant feature of its prophetology beginning with Jesus, and the only form of sacred knowledge after Muḥammad.[42] Faḍl Allāh probably regarded himself as depository of the full knowledge of *taʾwīl*, a *ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*,

[40] This fact has been emphasised by some scholars. As Muʿīn al-Dīn Miḥrābī puts it in his *Kalimatullāh hiya al-ʿUlyā, dukhtar-i Faḍl Allāh-i Naʿīmī-yi Ḥurūfī: bānū-yi inqilābī wa gumnām az qarn-i nuhum* (Cologne, 1991), pp. 25–26: '*Hamchinīn bāyastī bi-gūʾīm tā-kunūn dar hīch yak az kitābhā-yi Faḍl dīda nashuda ki way khūd-rā bā laqabhāʾī chūn "khatm-i thānī" wa "khatm-i awliyāʾ" wa alqābī az īn radīf khwānda bāshad. In alqāb wa taʿābīr taʿābīrī ast ki pas az way padīd āmada ast*' ('It should also be noted that, until now, the titles such as "the Second Seal" or "the Seal of the Saints" have not been found in any of Faḍl Allāh's works. These titles and epithets appeared only after his death.' The translation is mine).

[41] O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Le "journal de rêves"', in particular pp. 263–264.

[42] See Mir-Kasimov, 'Ummīs versus Imāms in Ḥurūfī Prophetology: An Attempt at a Sunnī/Shīʿī Synthesis?', in O. Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* (Boston and Leiden, 2013), pp. 221–246, and Chapter 10 below.

and an inaugurator of the progressive revelation of this knowledge to humankind. Though such a claim does not appear to have been explicitly formulated by Faḍl Allāh himself, it seems to be implied in his own works and in the writings of his followers.

Whatever the exact claim of Faḍl Allāh, it apparently could not remain confined to the purely intellectual sphere, and required his active political and social involvement. I have already mentioned the contacts that Faḍl Allāh established with local ruling dynasties following his 'dream of the star'. These efforts were pursued and probably intensified after his final enlightenment. Both Ḥurūfī and external sources contain indications of his ideas on an alliance with such regional powers as Tīmūr (d. 807/1404) and Toqtamish Khān (d. 807/1404–1405 or 808/1405–1406).[43]

It might be that some of these indications do not correspond to historical reality. But the very fact of their mention in the sources points to an important tendency that can be observed also in several other messianic movements of that time. Faḍl Allāh was not only a religious thinker, he also attempted to establish his interpretation of Islam, based upon an implicit claim of direct inspiration, as a source of legitimisation for a political power that would, in exchange, adopt his doctrine as its ideological basis and make possible the realisation of his messianic programme. Faḍl Allāh can therefore be seen as one of the first harbingers of the mystical and messianic pattern of religious authority that, although not fully implemented by the Tīmūrid rulers, led to the consolidation of the concept of charismatic messianic kingship that played an important role in the emergence of the Ṣafawid dynasty in Iran, and also affected the construction of the Mughal and probably Ottoman Empires.[44]

---

[43] Toqtamish Khān was the ruler of the Golden Horde between approximately 780/1378 and 797/1395. The dream diary attributed to Faḍl Allāh contains an episode where he asks to marry Toqtamish's daughter. In another dream, he sees himself praying with Tīmūr. See ms. Cambridge Ee 1.27, fol. 406b, 407a, Mir-Kasimov, 'Le "journal de rêves"', Persian text, pp. 268–269, translation pp. 281–282. For a discussion of these dreams, see E. G. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 84–85; Ritter, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 23–24; and Bashir, *Fazlallah,* pp. 30–31.

[44] Some contemporary princes and warlords competing for power apparently began to understand the political benefits of the messianic and mystical conception of

The question of religious authority explains also the vigorous and aggressive reaction of the Sunni 'orthodoxy' against Faḍl Allāh and his doctrine. From what we know from both anti-Ḥurūfī polemical writings and Ḥurūfī apologetics, it can be concluded that the charges against Faḍl Allāh were grounded largely on political, not doctrinal, reasons. The details of Faḍl Allāh's complex thought were usually ignored or misinterpreted by the 'orthodox' doctors, eager to establish a case of 'heresy' against him.[45] As we will see in the following parts of the present study, Faḍl Allāh's doctrinal writings do not contain any explicit position that would dramatically contradict the fundamental principles of the Sunni worldview or religious law. If it was not for his political activity challenging the existing jurisprudential establishment, which legitimised the authority of the *ʿulamāʾ*, Faḍl Allāh's thought would most probably have been considered as just another form of mysticism and peacefully integrated into the Sunni 'orthodoxy'. The rejection and persecution of Faḍl Allāh and his followers was clearly caused not just by theological controversies; they reflect a conflict between two competing paradigms of religious authority.[46]

Faḍl Allāh was sentenced to death by the religious scholars and jurists of his time, and executed by Mīrānshāh (d. 810/1408), one of

religious authority, one of the versions of which was offered by the Ḥurūfīs. The interest of the Tīmūrid Mīrzā Iskandar b. ʿUmar-Shaykh (d. 818/1415) in the ideas of contemporary mystics and theologians could point in this direction. On this topic, see İ. E. Binbaş, 'Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mīrzā Iskandar, Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī, and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī in 815/1412', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 277–303. On charismatic kingship and its relationship with millenarian motives in Iran and Mughal India, see A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York, 2012). On the role of millenarianism in the activity of the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520–1566) see C. Fleischer, 'The Lawgiver as Messiah: the Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman', in G. Veinstein, ed., *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps* (Paris, 1992), pp. 159–177.

[45] Cf. Mir-Kasimov, 'Takfīr and Messianism'.

[46] For a discussion of paradigms or 'patterns' of religious authority and their interaction through the history of Islam, see Mir-Kasimov, 'Introduction: Conflicting Synergy of Patterns of Religious Authority in Islam', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity,* pp. 1–20.

the sons of Tīmūr, most probably in 796/1394.[47] The tomb of Faḍl Allāh in Alinjaq (Nakhichevan, in present-day Azerbaijan) became a sanctuary for his followers, who developed particular rituals and a mythology connected to this place.[48]

Under the threat of severe persecutions, the original Ḥurūfī community apparently divided into several groups, which evolved henceforth separately in different regions of Iran and the Ottoman Empire.[49] Although the doctrinal divergence between various Ḥurūfī groups is attested already in early sources, to the best of my knowledge, there still exists no comprehensive research on the historical evolution

---

[47] For the different dates of Faḍl Allāh's execution mentioned in the sources, see Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* pp. 9–12.

[48] See Bashir, 'Enshrining Divinity', pp. 289–308, with reference to the *Kursī-nāma* of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, the *Istiwāʾ-nāma* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Astarābādī and the *Ṣalāt-nāma* of Ishqurt Dede. See also Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* pp. 25–26, and Ritter, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 27–28. The historical personages related to Faḍl Allāh's drama were also mythologised: Mīrānshāh was represented as a manifestation of cosmic evil, while Qarā Yūsuf, the founder of the Karakoyunlu state who defeated Mīrānshāh, was described as his antagonist (H. Ritter, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 28–31). Azerbaijan, the land where Faḍl Allāh experienced his final enlightenment, began to propagate his new doctrine and suffered as martyr, has also been sacralised in Ḥurūfī mythology as the land of manifestation of the divine Essence and of the last Gathering and Resurrection. See Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāma,* pp. 290–291; Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 19, 33–37, 101; and Bashir, 'Enshrining Divinity', pp. 300–301, which contain references to the relevant works of Faḍl Allāh's followers. The significance of Tabrīz and Azerbaijan for the Ḥurūfīs is, in particular, described in the *Kursī-nāma* of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā (see the relevant fragments cited in Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāma,* pp. 290–291). Iṣfahān, Baku and the region of Shirwān, related to memorable events in the life of Faḍl Allāh, also had particular importance in Ḥurūfī sacred topography.

[49] This dispersion seems to be in accordance with the last will of Faḍl Allāh. The short version of this will was published by E. G. Browne in his article 'Further Notes on the Literature of the Ḥurūfīs and their Connection with the Bektāshī Order of Dervishes', *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (*JRAS*) (1907), pp. 533–581 for the article, pp. 541–542 for the text of the will; the long version by A. Gölpınarlı, 'Faḍl Allāh-i Ḥurūfi'nin Waṣiyyat-nāması veya Wāṣāyası', *Sharkiyat mecmuası,* 2 (1958), pp. 53–62. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Astarābādī (d. 852/1449), who was the nephew of one of Faḍl Allāh's closest disciples, ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, mentions the divergences on doctrinal issues between the Ḥurūfī factions located in different regions, in his *Istiwāʾ-nāma,* ms. Paris, Bibiliothèque Nationale de France, Ancien Fonds Persan 24, fol. 24a–26a, passage edited and translated by E. G. Browne, 'Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect', *JRAS* (1898), pp. 72–78.

and doctrinal divisions of the Ḥurūfī movement after the death of Faḍl Allāh. This means that we do not know how exactly the later Ḥurūfī works are related to the original doctrine of Faḍl Allāh, in what ways they continued and developed his ideas, and to what extent they result from the original intellectual input of the later authors and the external influences that affected them.[50] I will return to this issue in the remaining sections of the Introduction.

It seems that for roughly half a century after the death of the founder, the Ḥurūfīs continued to look for an alliance with a political force. However, even if they succeeded in some cases to gain both positive popular opinion and the favours of a ruler, all their attempts eventually failed because of the vigorous resistance of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and were followed by massive persecutions and massacres of the Ḥurūfīs.[51]

In 830/1427, a Ḥurūfī named Aḥmad Lur attacked Shāhrukh Mīrzā (d. 850/1447), the principal successor of Tīmūr, at a mosque in Herat.[52] This attack was probably motivated by the Ḥurūfī hatred for the Tīmūrids, and to seek revenge for the execution of Faḍl Allāh. It is also possible that the attack was part of a larger plan of support for the Karakoyunlu clan in their struggle against the Tīmūrids.[53] However, even if such a plan existed, it was ruined by the failure of Aḥmad Lur's

[50] A preliminary assessment, based on a comparison of doctrinal positions in the works of Faḍl Allāh and one of his close disciples, has been attempted in my article 'Notes sur deux textes ḥurûfî'.

[51] With reference to the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh Baysanqurī* of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (ms. 4164 of the Malak library in Tehran), Āzhand states that the Ḥurūfīs had a developed political theory, which could have been inspired by the Sarbadār model (*Ḥurūfiyya,* p. 70). However, unlike the Sarbadārs and later the Ṣafawids, the Ḥurūfīs failed to develop alliance with a significant political force. For the structural parallels between the Sarbadārs and the Ṣafawids, characterised by a symbiosis of political and religious elements, see Roemer, 'The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadārs, pp. 38–39, and for a similar comparison between the Mushaʿshaʿ and Ṣafawids, see M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Šīʿism, Ṣūfism and the Ġulāt* (Wiesbaden, 1972).

[52] For more details on this attack and discussion of the sources see Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 70–76, and more recently, İ. E. Binbaş, 'The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Ḥurūfīs, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426–27', *JRAS,* 23/3 (2013), pp. 391–428.

[53] It is not impossible that some Ḥurūfī factions supported Iskandar Karakoyunlu (d. 841/1438), son of Qarā Yūsuf, who was sanctified by Faḍl Allāh's followers as the defeater of the Tīmūrid arch-devil Mīrānshāh. See Miḥrābī, *Kalimatullāh hiya al-ʿUlyā*, pp. 49–51.

attack to kill Shāhrukh and by the subsequent defeat and death of Iskandar Karakoyunlu (d. 841/1438), who lost the battle against his brother Jahānshāh (d. 872/1467) supported by Shāhrukh.

In 835/1432–1433 a Ḥurūfī group revolted in Iṣfahān, killing two sons of Shāhrukh's minister Amīr ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and probably the minister himself. The revolt was crushed and its leader, a man named Ḥājī-yi Surkh, executed.[54] About a decade later, a Ḥurūfī group under the leadership of a certain Mawlanā Yūsuf, together with a daughter of Faḍl Allāh, attempted to gain the sympathies of Jahānshāh Karakoyunlu. Their growing popularity alarmed the religious scholars, who eventually obtained Jahānshāh's agreement to execute the 'heretics'. According to some sources, in 845/1441–1442, about 500 Ḥurūfīs were killed and their corpses burnt in Tabrīz.[55] This event probably marks the end of the Ḥurūfī attempts to establish an alliance with the Karakoyunlu princes and the end of their direct political activity in Iran.

After the second half of the 9th/15th century, the Ḥurūfīs became more visible in the Ottoman Empire and in the following century, Ottoman Turkish replaced Persian as the principal language of Ḥurūfī writings. Their doctrinal influence in the Ottoman Empire was such that, as J. K. Birge puts it: 'The truth appears to be that many, if not all, of the dervish orders of Turkey became to a greater or lesser extent influenced by Ḥurūfism.'[56] In the Ottoman Empire, as in Iran, Ḥurūfism became part of the mystical and messianic ferment that participated in the construction of a new sovereign paradigm of religious and political authority.[57] One of the most important Ḥurūfī

[54] Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 87–88, with reference to the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* by Ḥasan Rumlū. This event took place in the time of Iskandar Karakoyunlu, and could be part of the same anti-Tīmūrid plan as the attack of Aḥmad Lur.

[55] See Kiyā, 'Agāhīhā', pp. 40–42, with reference to the *Mazārāt-i Tabrīz* (ms. Library of the History Department, Ankara University, no. 1297, copy in the National Library, Tehran, no. 131), and *Rawḍa-yi āthār* by Hashrī Tabrīzī (written in 1011/1602–1603, published in Tabriz in 1303/1885–1886). See also Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 96–102, who uses several sources, in particular the *Rawḍāt al-jinān wa jannāt al-janān* of Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī, and the critical bibliography concerning this event, pp. 91–93.

[56] Birge, *The Bektāshī Order*, pp. 148–149.

[57] On the role of messianic ideas and the integration of mysticism in the Ottoman official sphere, see P. Ballanfat, 'L'idéologie d'Etat concurrencée par son interprétation:

proselytisers in Anatolia was apparently ʿAlī al-Aʿlā (d. 822/1419), one of the closest disciples and son-in-law of Faḍl Allāh, who would have brought the Ḥurūfī teachings and books to the Bektāshī order of dervishes.[58]

As was the case in Iran, in the Ottoman Empire the Ḥurūfīs attempted to establish an alliance with local rulers. The sources mention Ḥurūfī activity during the reigns of the Sultans Muḥammad Fātiḥ (1444–1446),[59] Bāyazīd (1481–1512) and Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520–1566).[60] As in Iran, all these attempts were immediately and ruthlessly crushed by the religious establishment. As a result, the Ḥurūfīs seem to have abandoned the idea of direct political action and gradually joined the officially recognised dervish orders, in particular the Bektāshīs. When Sultan Maḥmūd II (r. 1808–1839) dismantled the Bektāshī order, the Ḥurūfīs, according to E. G. Browne, 'took refuge amongst the Naqshbandī, Qādirī, Rufāʾī and Saʿdī orders of

---

les Melāmī-Hamzevī dans l'empire Ottoman', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity,* pp. 307–327. One of the most significant Ottoman mystical and messianic movements contemporary to the Ḥurūfīs was that of Badr al-Dīn Samāwnā (d. 819/1416), and his two followers, Burkluja Muṣṭafā and Torlāq Hū Kamāl. For the revolt of Badr al-Dīn, and its possible link with the Bābāʾī movement see H. J. Kissling, 'Badr al-Dīn ibn Ḳāḍī Samāwnā', *EI2,* vol. 1, p. 869; M. Balivet, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans, vie du Cheikh Bedreddîn le "Ḥallâj des Turks" (1358/59–1416)* (Istanbul, 1995); and Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 105–112. On the Bābāʾī movement, see A. Y. Ocak, *La révolte de Bâbâ Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIII*[e] *siècle* (Istanbul, 1989).

[58] On him, see H. Aksu, ''Ali el-Aʿlâ', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1989), vol. 2, p. 381, and H. Algar, ''Alī al-Aʿlā', *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* vol. 1, fasc. 8, p. 858. According to some sources, it was Mīr Sharīf, another follower of Faḍl Allāh, who brought Ḥurūfī books to the Ottoman lands. See Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* p. 28, with reference to the *Ḥājj-nāma* by Mīr Sharīf). On the relationships between the Ḥurūfīs and the Bektāshīs see Birge, *The Bektashi Order.*

[59] The episode that eventually led to the execution of a Ḥurūfī missionary and his followers in 879/1444 is mentioned by Tâshköprüzâda in his *Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya* and cited by several authors. See Browne, 'Some Notes', pp. 90–92, ref. the *Kunh al-akhbār* by ʿAlī Efendi, composed in 1007/1598–1599; Birge, *The Bektashi Order*, p. 62; and Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 116–119.

[60] Browne, 'Some Notes', pp. 92–94, ref. the *Tadhkīra* of Laṭīfī, and Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* p. 29, ref. the *Tārīkh* by Nishānjī and an anonymous manuscript, Istanbul University Library, Turkish ms. collection no. 2418, fol. 102b–103a.

dervishes[61] … The order, however, speedily revived, and is still widespread in Turkey, to which country rather than to Persia the later history of the Ḥurūfī sect belongs.'[62]

There was apparently a strong Ḥurūfī presence in the Balkans, where the Ḥurūfīs arrived most probably with the Bektāshīs participating in the Ottoman campaigns.[63] However, as previously noted, in the current state of our knowledge, it is difficult to determine the relationship of these groups with the original Ḥurūfī doctrine of Faḍl Allāh.

In modern Turkey, Ḥurūfī works continue to be published, after their transliteration from Arabic to the Latin characters of the modern Turkish script.[64] The work on the Ḥurūfī written heritage is also presently ongoing in Turkish academic circles.[65] The artistic heritage of the Ḥurūfism, in particular poetry, has become an integral part of general Turkish culture.[66] Such outstanding poets as the already

---

[61] It should be noted that this information comes from the anti-Bektāshī and anti-Ḥurūfī pamphlet entitled *Kāshif al-asrār wa dāfiʿ al-ashrār* by Isḥāq Efendi (see below), which is not a very trustworthy source.

[62] E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London, 1999), vol. 3, p. 452, and his 'Further Notes', pp. 537–538.

[63] The Bektāshī presence and influence in Balkans was strong to such a degree that it became, especially in Albania, one of the principal components in the process of construction of national identity during the transition from the Ottoman Empire to independent state. See N. Clayer, *Aux origines du nationalisme albanais: la naissance d'une nation majoritairement musulmane en Europe* (Paris, 2007) and her *L'Albanie, pays des derviches* (Berlin, 1990), and 'Bektachisme et nationalisme albanais', in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, ed., *Bektachiyya: études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach* (Istanbul, 1995), pp. 277–308.

[64] For example, the *ʿIshq-nāma* by Firishteoğlu, a Ḥurūfī author from the 8th/15th century, has been transcribed into modern Turkish script by R. Tanrıkulu, under the title *Ilmi Cavidan* (Ankara, 1998).

[65] Fatih Usluer has recently published a translation from the Ottoman to the modern Turkish of the *Durr-i yatīm* by the Bektāshī dervish Murtaḍā, under the rather confusing title of *Fazlullâh Esterâbâdî. Câvidân-Nâme, Dürr-i Yetîm Isimli Tercümesi* (Istanbul, 2012). This book is a translation of the *Durr-i yatīm* by Darwīsh Murtaḍā, not of the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī.

[66] Ḥurūfī doctrines may have influenced Bektāshī calligraphical imagery, in particular that representing the human face and body composed of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. But it should be noted that such representations do not have any direct support in the early Ḥurūfī works. For example, the only pictures found in the

mentioned ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī, who was among the most intimate followers of Faḍl Allāh, made an immense contribution to the development of the Western Turkic literatures and languages, in particular, of the Azeri and Ottoman Turkish. It is also interesting that in modern Turkish fiction, Faḍl Allāh and the Ḥurūfī cabbalistic doctrines reappear, for example, in the work of Orhan Pamuk.[67]

Notwithstanding their political failure, the Ḥurūfīs arguably represent one of the most influential ideological and intellectual contributions to the formation and consolidation of the mystical-messianic pattern of religious authority in the period contemporary with or preceding the rise of the great Muslim empires of the Ottomans, Ṣafawids and Mughals. The attempts of messianic leaders such as Faḍl Allāh or Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464) to use this pattern directly as the source of legitimisation of an existing political power – which could result in a kind of symbiotic coexistence of a political power legitimised by a messianic doctrine, and a messianic doctrine given the status of official creed by a political power – were not successful. This direct line of action gave, at the best, such ephemeral hybrid political formations as the Sarbadār or Mushaʿshaʿ semi-independent states. But gradually, as the political establishment began to understand and use the potential of mystical-messianic pattern, this pattern evolved, in conjunction with other factors, towards a model of charismatic kingship which concentrated religious and political authority in the hands of a single person. As we have mentioned in the preceding pages, the model of charismatic kingship apparently began to re-emerge in Iran during Tīmūrid rule, and was fully implemented by the Ṣafawids. In addition, it is quite possible that the evolution of the Ṣafawids prior to their transformation into a ruling dynasty, from a Sufi order without any messianic overtones into a radical messianic movement, was directly influenced by Ḥurūfī messianic doctrines circulating in the Bektāshī and Qizilbash milieus. Similarly, although the Ḥurūfī attempts to establish a direct relationship with the Ottoman sultans apparently failed, they arguably

manuscripts of Faḍl Allāh's *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* are circular figures such as that which appears on the cover of this book.

[67] For the Ḥurūfī motifs in his *Kara Kitap* (*The Black Book*) see Bashir, *Fazlallah*, pp. 123–127.

exercised a lasting influence within the framework of institutionalised mysticism cultivated by the Ottomans, which was essential for the construction and legitimisation of the sultans and a powerful instrument for the control of heterogeneous populations of the empire.[68] Similarly, the Nuqṭawīs (from Arabic *nuqṭa*, 'point, dot'), an offshoot of the Ḥurūfīs founded by a follower of Faḍl Allāh named Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī Gīlānī, probably provided some doctrinal basis for the millenarian religious experiments of the Mughal emperor Akbar (d. 1605).[69] It can be expected that further progress in studies on the intellectual history of the 8th–9th/14th–15th centuries will shed more light on the role that the Ḥurūfīs and similar mystical and messianic movements of this period played in the contemporary reconstruction and reconfiguration of the Muslim world.

Overview of Academic Research and the Purpose of the Present Book

The earliest mention of a Ḥurūfī text by Western scholars is probably the description of the *Jāwidān-nāma* by P. De Jong and M. J. De Goeje in the *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae academiae lugduno batavae*, vol. IV (Leiden, 1866), p. 298. The scholarly exploration of Ḥurūfī texts began a quarter of a century later, with the works of Clément Huart and Edward G. Browne. Both scholars were attracted by the linguistic peculiarities of the Ḥurūfī manuscripts. In 1889, Huart published a 'Notice d'un manuscrit pehlevi-musulman', where he described a manuscript from the library of the Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul.[70] According to Huart, this text entitled 'The Book of Questions Related to the Qurʾān, Preceding the Commentary' (*Kitāb al-asʾila al-muʿallaqa bi-l-Qurʾān min qabl al-tafsīr*), was

[68] Cf. H. Algar, 'Bektāšīya', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 4, pp. 118–122, and S. Faroqhi, 'Conflict, Accommodation and Long-term Survival: The Bektāshī Order and the Ottoman State', in Popovic and Veinstein, ed., *Bektachiyya*, pp. 171–184.

[69] On the Nuqṭawīs, see Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān yā Pasīkhāniyān* (Tehran, 1320 Sh./1942), and on the possible Nuqṭawī influence on the emperor Akbar, A. Amanat, 'Persian Nuqṭawīs and the Shaping of the Doctrine of "Universal Conciliation" (*ṣulḥ-i kull*) in Mughal India', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 367–391.

[70] C. Huart, 'Notice d'un manuscrit pehlevi-musulman', *Journal Asiatique*, 14 (1889), pp. 238–270.

written in an unknown dialect of Persian,[71] and dealt with esoteric interpretation of the Qurʾān familiar to Shiʿi sects and based on kabalistic calculations.[72] A few years later, Browne found the fragments cited by Huart in the manuscript of the Cambridge Library Ee.1.27, which he identified as the *Jāwidān-i kabīr*.[73] In his catalogue notice, Browne cites some passages from the *Jāwidān-nāma*, as well as examples from the dreams of Faḍl Allāh contained in the last folios of the Cambridge manuscript.[74] He also established a list of names and locations mentioned in the dream diary, which provided a first assessment of the influence and geographical extension of the Ḥurūfī movement.[75] With the discovery of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Browne became more interested in Ḥurūfī doctrines, which stimulated his further research. His two articles, 'Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect' and 'Further Notes on the Literature of the Ḥurūfīs and their Connection with the Bektāshī Order of Dervishes', contain valuable information on Ḥurūfī doctrines and manuscripts as well as on their diffusion and influence. Browne summarised his two articles on the Ḥurūfīs, with some additions resulting from his personal research and from other studies concerning Ḥurūfīs published in the meanwhile, in his *Literary History of Persia* (London and Cambridge, 1902–1929).

Browne's research formed the basis of the academic study of Ḥurūfī literature at this early stage. It was developed and amplified by some of his colleagues and contemporaries. In his *History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), vol. 1, pp. 336–388, Elias Gibb used the works of Browne considerably, developing in particular the part concerning the poet Nasīmī and his follower, Rafiʿī.

In 1909, Huart published and translated into French eight short Ḥurūfī works in the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series (Leiden and

---

[71] That is, in a mix of the archaic Astarābādī dialect, which Huart was unable to identify at the time, with the standard Persian. This mix is a distinctive feature of the early Ḥurūfī texts.

[72] 'Traité de calculs cabalistiques destiné à faciliter l'intelligence du texte arabe et à conduire à certaines explications ésotériques familières aux sectes chiites'. Huart, 'Notice', p. 240.

[73] *Catalogue*, pp. 69–86.

[74] Sometimes referred to also as the 'Dream Diary' of Faḍl Allāh. See note 43 above.

[75] Browne, *Catalogue,* pp. 71–72.

London, 1909). This edition, entitled *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des houroûfîs*, included also a lengthy chapter by Riḍā Tevfîq (*Etude sur la religion des Houroûfîs*). The importance of Huart's edition is that it made available a selection of Ḥurūfī texts to the academic community for the first time. The selected texts in this volume are, however, by no means representative of the original Ḥurūfī doctrine. It is a miscellaneous collection of pieces belonging to different authors and historical periods, without any attempt at systematisation or critical assessment. A number of errors, both in the Persian text and the French translation, were noticed by several scholars.[76] The absence of a critical assessment of the texts which, with the exception of the *Maḥram-nāma* of Sayyid Iṣḥāq, represent the works of popularisation rather than authentic scholarly production of the sect, led both Huart and particularly Tevfîq, notwithstanding their impressive insight and intuition, to some inaccurate or altogether wrong conclusions concerning the original Ḥurūfī doctrine.[77]

The publications of Browne and Huart were followed by a period of relative silence. The only publications which contributed, indirectly, to the knowledge of Ḥurūfism during this period were works on the Bektāshīs, in particular *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis* by G. Jacob (Berlin, 1908), which includes a German translation of the *Kāshif al-asrār wa dāfiʿ al-ashrār*, the anti-Bektāshī and anti-Ḥurūfī polemical writing of Isḥāq Efendi, and *The Bektāshī Order of Dervishes* by J. K. Birge (London and Hartford, 1937).

The work of the Iranian scholar Ṣādiq Kiyā opened a new stage in the academic study of the Ḥurūfîs. In his *Wāzha-nāma-yi Gurgānī* (*The Vocabulary of the [dialect] of Gurgān*), published in Tehran in 1330 Sh./1951, Kiyā summarised a wealth of information on the Ḥurūfis, from external sources, such as historical works or the bio-bibliographies of poets (*tadhkira*), as well as from various Ḥurūfī works. The *Wāzha-nāma* also contains some excerpts from the works of Faḍl Allāh, written in the cryptic language mixing the dialect of Astarābād and standard Persian, together with their translation into standard Persian. But the bulk of the work, as its title announces,

---

[76] For example, Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāma,* p. 37, and Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* p. 1.

[77] For examples, see Mir-Kasimov, 'Etude de textes ḥurûfî anciens', in particular p. 35 ff.

consists of an extensive vocabulary of the archaic Astarābādī, or Gurgānī, dialect used in early Ḥurūfī writings, including many useful grammatical notes with examples from Ḥurūfī texts, essentially from the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* of Faḍl Allāh. The importance of the vocabulary compiled by Kiyā for the study of early Ḥurūfī texts can hardly be overestimated.

A few years later, the same author published the results of his further research on the Ḥurūfīs in an article entitled 'Agāhīhā-yi tāza az Ḥurūfiyān' ('New Evidence Concerning Ḥurūfis').[78] In this article, he discussed some recently discovered manuscripts related to the early history of Ḥurūfīs and the confusion between the *dīwān*s of Shams-i Tabrīzī, Faḍl Allāh and ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī.

Concurrently with Kiyā, Helmut Ritter published an insightful and well-documented article on the Ḥurūfis, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Islamischen Frömmigkeit II: die Anfänge der Ḥurūfisekte'.[79] Like Kiyā, Ritter founded his study on a broad selection of Ḥurūfī works, including those of Faḍl Allāh and his direct followers. The article contains a summary of the central positions of Ḥurūfī doctrine, a detailed biography of Faḍl Allāh according to the *Khwāb-nāma* of ʿAlī Nafajī, and some evidence concerning the divisions and spread of the Ḥurūfī community after the death of Faḍl Allāh.

In 1970, an Azerbaijani scholar, Zümrüd Guluzade, published a monograph based on a number of Ḥurūfī works, including published treatises and manuscripts.[80] This monograph contains a fair summary of the relevant research up to the date of its publication. In her presentation of Ḥurūfī doctrine, Guluzade outlines some central themes, such as its theory of love and beauty, the relationships between macrocosm and microcosm, the name and the named. A significant part of the book is devoted to the study of ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī's *Dīwān*, for which the author used 12 different copies, including manuscripts and printed editions. The author also deals with the issues of evolution and influence of the Ḥurūfī community after the death of

[78] Ṣ. Kiyā, 'Agāhīhā-yi tāza az Ḥurūfiyān', *Majalla-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyāt-i Tihrān*, 2/2 (1333 Sh./1954), pp. 39–65.

[79] H. Ritter, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Islamischen Frömmigkeit II: die Anfänge der Ḥurūfisekte', *Oriens*, 7/1 (1954), pp. 1–54.

[80] Z. Guluzade, *Khurufizm i ego predstaviteli v Azerbaĭdzhane* (*Ḥurūfism and its representatives in Azerbaijan*) (Baku, 1970).

Faḍl Allāh, and its connections, whether attested or hypothetical, with such groups as the Qizilbash, Nuqṭawīs and Bektāshīs.

Around the same period, Henry Corbin published his work *En Islam Iranien: aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, which contains an insightful description of Ḥurūfī metaphysics, essentially on the basis of the source texts published by Huart. Corbin's definition of the post-Mongol Iranian 'science of letters' as an 'onto-logy', in the sense that, in this tradition, being is fundamentally the Word, or Logos, is particularly valid when applied to Ḥurūfī doctrine.[81]

The *Ḥurūfîlik metinleri kataloğu* (*The Catologue of Ḥurūfī Texts*) of Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, published in 1973, was a major contribution to the systematisation of Ḥurūfī manuscripts. The catalogue contains descriptions of several dozens of Ḥurūfī works preserved in the manuscript collections of the Turkish libraries, including valuable information on the authors, scribes and history of transmission of the texts. The introduction contains a well-documented outline of Faḍl Allāh's life and work, the works of his followers and the history of the Ḥurūfī movement after the death of Faḍl Allāh, based on a broad selection of Ḥurūfī texts, mostly manuscripts.

The book of Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayna-l-taṣawwuf wa-l-tashayyuʿ*, published in Beirut in two volumes in 1982,[82] contains a substantial chapter on Ḥurūfī history and doctrines.[83] In this chapter, the author also provides an overview of the Islamic tradition related to the science of letters and numbers (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-l-arqām*), and the Islamic messianic, or mahdist, tradition, in an attempt at contextualisation of Ḥurūfī thought.[84] Al-Shaybī's study is founded on several Ḥurūfī sources, including published works and manuscripts. In so far as I can ascertain, he is the first scholar to regularly refer to Faḍl Allāh's *opus magnum*, the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*, in his account of Ḥurūfī doctrine. Unfortunately, the author reproduces the central methodological shortcoming of previous studies, by elaborating and extrapolating the evidence of *Jāwidān-nāma* from statements taken from

[81] H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien: aspects spirituels et philosophiques* (Paris, 1972), vol. 3, p. 253: 'en ce sens que *l'être*, en son fond le plus intime, est pour eux un Verbe, un *Logos*'.

[82] This edition seems much more extensive than the first Baghdad edition of 1963.

[83] Vol. 2, pp. 153–215.

[84] Ibid., pp. 165–182.

other Ḥurūfī authors and anonymous works, without determining their exact relationship with Faḍl Allāh and his *Jāwidān-nāma*. In some cases, these interpretations and extrapolations do not seem very convincing.[85] Al-Shaybī's discussion of the 'science of letters' and messianic tendencies, as well as the sections concerning the possible links between the Ḥurūfis, Sufis and different Shiʿi groups are very valuable, but sometimes much too general.[86]

In 1991, Yaʿqūb Āzhand published a comprehensive monograph on Ḥurūfī history, *Ḥurūfiyya dar tārīkh* (*The Ḥurūfīs in History*). The monograph explores a wealth of source material about the Ḥurūfis, thus developing the research initiated by Ṣ. Kiyā. The author frames the events related to the Ḥurūfīs within a broad historical perspective, and analyses their possible relationships to similar movements in the social and political context of the time. Available evidence concerning Faḍl Allāh and his family, and the evolution of Ḥurūfī groups after the death of the founder, is presented systematically in separate chapters. However, as announced by its title, the focus of this work is on the history of the Ḥurūfis; the presentation of Ḥurūfī doctrine remains very general and, again, founded essentially on the short works published by Huart and not on the works of Faḍl Allāh himself.

The book of Muʿīn al-Dīn Miḥrābī, *Kalimatullāh hiya al-ʿUlyā, dukhtar-i Faḍl Allāh-i Naʿīmī-yi Ḥurūfī: bānū-yi inqilābī wa gumnām az qarn-i nuhum* (Cologne, 1991), is focused on the figure of one of the daughters of Faḍl Allāh, mentioned in the sources under the name *Kalimatullāh hiya al-ʿUlyā*, who was known for her political activity as the leader of one of the regional Ḥurūfī groups. Like the book of Āzhand, this work deals essentially with Ḥurūfī history and does not add any significant evidence to our knowledge of Ḥurūfī thought.

The works of Ali Mirfetrous, *Zindagī, ashʿār wa ʿaqāʾid-i Nasīmī, shāʿir wa mutafakkir-i ḥurūfī* ([Stockholm?], 1992), and *Histoire des*

[85] For example, al-Shaybī's statement concerning the identification of Faḍl Allāh with Jesus (note 1, p. 194), is probably a misreading of the direct speech attributed to Jesus in the corresponding folio.

[86] For example, al-Shaybī's mention of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī's relationship with Faḍl Allāh's thought (vol. 2, pp. 183–186). I will return to this issue in the Conclusion to this study.

études sur le mouvement Horûfî: étude des sources originelles et des recherches modernes (Montreal, 1994), contain an extensive bibliography including the source materials related to Ḥurūfīs and the existing research literature.

The most significant recent research work on the Ḥurūfīs has been produced by Shahzad Bashir, who has devoted to this topic several articles and a monograph based on a thorough knowledge of the published and unpublished Ḥurūfī works.[87] His book *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford, 2005) is a short but insightful introduction to Ḥurūfī history and thought, which purposefully avoids the repetition of many clichés uncritically transmitted in several earlier works.

The last published monograph on the Ḥurūfīs known to me is *Hurufilik: ilk elden kaynaklarla doğuşundan itibaren*, by Fatih Usluer (Ankara, 2009).[88] This work covers an impressive range of Ḥurūfī texts. However, Usluer's presentation of Ḥurūfī doctrine suffers from the same basic methodological shortcomings that I have already mentioned when discussing previous works, namely, the absence of critical assessment and systematisation of the works belonging to different authors and historical periods.

From the preceding overview of existing studies on the Ḥurūfīs, we can conclude that, first, the historical research clearly predominates over the doctrinal. While we have several monographs on the history of the Ḥurūfīs, the presentation of their thought remains disorganised and heavily dependent on external sources and the few published secondary Ḥurūfī treatises. The most important Ḥurūfī works, including Faḍl Allāh's *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr,* remain unpublished and insufficiently explored.[89] This imbalance between the historical and intellectual aspects of research sometimes results in a distorted view of Ḥurūfī thought and the perpetuation of medieval here-

[87] Bashir, 'Enshrining Divinity' and 'Deciphering the Cosmos'.

[88] My thanks to Dr Janis Esots who kindly shared with me his copy of this book.

[89] For example, the remark of K. M. al-Shaybī in the conclusion of his overview of the available academic literature on the Ḥurūfīs (*al-Ṣila bayna-l-taṣawwuf wa-l-tashayyuʿ*, p. 201): '*Lam yughāmir aḥad min al-bāḥithīn al-madhkūr bi-qirāʾati kitāb al-ḥurūfiyyīn al-raʾīsī, Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*' ('No one among the authors mentioned above has closely read the principal book of the Ḥurūfīs, the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*' – my translation).

siographical clichés instead of promoting an impartial study of primary sources.

Secondly, much of the existing research on Ḥurūfī thought does not take into consideration the temporal evolution of the doctrine and its geographical divergence corresponding to the regional ramifications of the movement. In other words, it is often tacitly assumed that Ḥurūfī doctrine was a homogeneous whole and remained invariable over the centuries. However, a preliminary comparison of the works of Faḍl Allāh with those of his followers exhibits possible modifications and additions introduced into the original doctrine some 30 years after the death of Faḍl Allāh.[90] This is further supported by the accounts of early Ḥurūfī sources on the doctrinal divergence between local Ḥurūfī groups.[91] An indiscriminate use of sources belonging to different periods and geographical regions can, therefore, lead to a confused or even erroneous description of the doctrinal positions.

Instead of unconditionally accepting all works produced by Faḍl Allāh and his followers as parts of the same doctrinal construction, it would be safer to admit that only the works of Faḍl Allāh express his own views authentically. In the present state of research, we simply do not have enough information concerning Faḍl Allāh's followers, their intellectual background and possible affiliations and, therefore, cannot adequately assess the conformity of their works to the original doctrine, nor the portion of their personal input.[92]

These observations suggest two complementary directions for further systematic study of Ḥurūfī literature. The pressing need is to restore the doctrine of Faḍl Allāh as fully as possible on the basis of his own writings. That effort should be supplemented by the study of the writings of the later Ḥurūfī authors individually, including their spiritual and intellectual leanings, and their relationship with the thought of Faḍl Allāh, both on the basis of biographical evidence and of comparison of their works with the teachings of the founder.

The purpose of the present book is to contribute to the first step of this ambitious project. It is focused on the most important work of

---

[90] Mir-Kasimov, 'Notes sur deux textes ḥurûfî', pp. 203–235.

[91] See note 49 above.

[92] For a summary of information on Ḥurūfī authors and their works, see Usluer, *Hurufilik,* pp. 29–106.

Faḍl Allāh, and intentionally avoids any overlap with later doctrinal literature. Such an approach has several advantages. Most importantly, it eliminates the possibility of confusion related to the use of disparate sources which, as we have noted, has been the principal weak point of previous research. The accurate reconstruction of Faḍl Allāh's thought also provides us with a solid basis for the study of the subsequent evolution of Ḥurūfī doctrines, and reduces the distance between the historical and doctrinal aspects of Ḥurūfī studies.

Among the writings attributed to Faḍl Allāh, the voluminous *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* has been singled out, both by Ḥurūfī and external authors, as the great sum of Faḍl Allāh's thought. This text represents the most authentic primary source for research on the original Ḥurūfī doctrine. And this is essentially what the present book is about: it is an attempt to reconstruct the central positions of the original Ḥurūfī doctrine on the basis of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

The present volume can thus be regarded as the first step in the reconstruction of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine. This step brings before us a system of religious thought that might appear complex and difficult at first, but I hope it is deprived neither of logical coherence nor of freshness and creativity in the interpretation of the rich scriptural material cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

Puzzle of Fragments: Structure and Language of the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*

The work on which the present book focuses is known under the titles *Jāwidān-nāma*, *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* or *Jāwidān-nāma-yi ilāhī* (The 'Book of Eternity', 'Great Book of Eternity', or 'Divine Book of Eternity').[93] It is the most important text attributed to Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī and the central reference of Ḥurūfī doctrinal literature. As mentioned previously, Faḍl Allāh's works in general, and the *Jāwidān-nāma* in particular, are often cited in the works of his followers with the extension *ilāhī*, 'divine', added to the title. It seems that Faḍl Allāh's

[93] In some of my articles, I have transliterated the title as *Jāwdān-nāma* or *Jāvdān-nāma* in order to emphasise the specific written form of this word often used in Ḥurūfī works, without *yāʾ* between *wāw* and *dāl*. However, as the form *Jāwīdān* or *Jāwidān* is more usual, I have adopted the latter spelling throughout this book.

writings were regarded, at least by some of his followers, as divinely inspired. The *Jāwidān-nāma* contains no explicit evidence that would allow us to confirm whether Faḍl Allāh held such views on the nature of his work.[94]

The exact date of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s composition is not known. One fragment of the work mentions Baku, the capital of Shirwān (in present-day Azerbaijan), and is dated 2 Rabīʿ al-akhir 796 (4 February 1394).[95] This would support the thesis that Faḍl Allāh wrote this voluminous work (containing between 400 and 500 folios depending on copies) over a long period of time, until his death in September of the same year.[96]

The original text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, introduced by the word *ibtidāʾ* (beginning) repeated six times, is sometimes mentioned also as *Jāwidān-nāma-yi shish ibtidāʾ* (the *Jāwidān-nāma* of six beginnings). As mentioned earlier, this work is written in a mixture of standard Persian with the local dialect of Astarābād, characteristic of the early Ḥurūfī works. It should not be confounded with several revised versions existing both in standard Persian and Ottoman Turkish.[97] To the best of my knowledge, the complete text of the *Jāwidān-nāma* has not yet been published. This is, without doubt, at least partly due to the difficulties related to the language and structure of the text, which I will discuss in the rest of this section.

---

[94] Some structural particularities of the *Jāwidān-nāma* – the fragmented composition, the fact that many fragments are introduced by *Bismillāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm,* and the similarity to the structure of the Qurʾān suggested in some fragments – might support the view that the *Jāwidān-nāma* was written in imitation of the Qurʾān. This issue will be discussed in the Conclusion.

[95] Istanbul Ali Emiri Farsi 920, fol. 78b; British Library Oc.Or.5957, fol. 85b; Cambridge University Library Ee.1.27., fol. 71a–b; Basel University Library M.VI.72, fol. 69b–70a.

[96] With reference to some indirect indications found in the *Kursī-nāma* of one of the closest followers of Faḍl Allāh, ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, Ritter suggested 788/1386 as the possible date when the *Jāwidān-nāma* was composed ('Die Anfänge', pp. 22–23).

[97] On the manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma* and its adaptations and translations by the Hurūfī authors see Mir-Kasimov, 'Jāvdān-nāma', *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* vol. 14/6 (2008), pp. 603–605. Some other texts attributed to Faḍl Allāh are sometimes also referred to as *Jāwidān-nāma,* in particular the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi ṣaghīr,* which will be mentioned further below. In the present book, *Jāwidān-nāma* always refers to the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr.*

I mostly used the manuscript of the *Jāwidān-nāma* located in the British Library (Oc.Or. 5957). Unless otherwise specified, all folio numbers of the citations in this book refer to this manuscript. I was also able to consult three other manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma:* in the Cambridge University Library (Ee.1.27), Istanbul Millet Library (Ali Emiri Farsça 920), and Basel University Library (M.VI.72), and compared them with the manuscript of the British Library for the limited selections of fragments.[98]

The *Jāwidān-nāma* is a very curious text indeed. For one thing, it is not organised thematically, as one would expect from a doctrinal treatise. It is a corpus of fragments, only loosely, if at all, related with each other in their actual order of succession. The impression that a reader receives at the end of the first few pages is that of a puzzle. It is as if the author had cut his work into small paragraphs, mixed them like a shuffled pack of playing cards, and then aligned the paragraphs one after another in the order they came out of the pack. Already the first catalogue descriptions of the *Jāwidān-nāma* confirm this impression. According to the note by De Jong and De Goeje in the catalogue of the Leiden library, the contents of the work are random to the point that makes any systematic description impossible.[99] Browne confirmed this opinion: 'The contents of the work, as stated in the Leyden Catalogue, are so miscellaneous as almost to defy description in any brief compass.'[100] Gibb made a similar remark: 'The task of discovering what were the special features of Fadl-ullâh's teaching is rendered yet more difficult by the fact that the Ḥurūfī books … are utterly unsystematic in their arrangement.'[101]

---

[98] While there are many minor textual differences between these copies, I have not come across any significant divergence in meaning, and none at all in the order of fragments. The accuracy with which the words and expressions in the Astarābādī dialect are reproduced is particularly noteworthy in all copies. This first assessment cannot, of course, fill the place of an accurate critical edition of the complete work.

[99] 'Liber maximi momenti est ei, qui placita sectae Horuficae cognoscere cupiat, me autem non tantum lusu literarum dementissimo sed etiam mole suā prorsus indigesta tantopere a se repellit ut accurata descriptione – si quae dari possit – supersedeam.' De Jong and De Goeje, *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae academiae lugduno batavae* (Leiden, 1866), vol. IV, p. 298.

[100] Browne, *Catalogue,* p. 73.

[101] Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), vol. 1, p. 338.

These observations clearly show that the *Jāwidān-nāma* can hardly be read in its original condition. The text requires a rearrangement that would render its contents coherently. Our access to the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma* depends, therefore, on the solution to the puzzle of random fragments.

In the previous sections, we have seen that Faḍl Allāh and his followers suffered continuous persecutions on the part of the 'orthodox' religious establishment. It would therefore be natural to suppose that Faḍl Allāh wanted to conceal the contents of his works from the occasional and potentially hostile readers who would use this material to accuse him and his followers of heresy. Indeed, *taqiyya*, or intentional dissimulation of doctrinal positions, has been practised, especially in Shiʿi milieus, since early times. It is possible that one of the techniques of *taqiyya*, called 'dispersion of the knowledge' (*tabdīd al-ʿilm*), when the text related to a 'sensitive' topic is deliberately dissociated and inserted in different places of a more 'neutral' text, may provide an explanation to what we find in the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[102]

Some indications in the *Jāwidān-nāma* seem to corroborate the supposition that the disposition of the fragments was intentional, and that it required an effort of reconstruction on the part of the interested reader. Firstly, the order of fragments seems to be strictly the same in several manuscript copies of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[103] This excludes the possibility that the text was compiled independently by different persons who would have had at their disposal a corpus of unorganised notes left by the author. Secondly, by emphasising its similarity with the structure of the Qurʾān, where verses on similar

[102] For *tabdīd al-ʿilm,* see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin dans le shîʿisme originel* (Lagrasse, 1992), index, *taqiyya* and *tabdîd al-ʿilm,* especially p. 307. More particularly, for the connection between the *tabdīd al-ʿilm* and the 'science of letters' in the alchemical corpus attributed to Jābir b. Ḥayyān, see the chapter by D. Gril in Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Les Illuminations de la Mecque*, pp. 414–415; P. Lory, *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam* (Paris, 1989), p. 125; and P. Lory, 'Eschatologie alchimique chez Jābir ibn Ḥayyān', in M. García-Arenal, ed., *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, in *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée*, 91/4 (2000), pp. 73–92, in particular pp. 82–83.

[103] I compared significant selections from four manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma* mentioned in the text above.

topics can be found in different suras, the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests to the reader that fragments related to the same topic should be brought and read together.[104]

It seems that this tendency to organise the fragments of *Jāwidān-nāma* in accordance with some major thematic chapters was present among the followers of Faḍl Allāh, and resulted in the appearance of works containing extensive lists of topics and fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* organised into thematic chapters.[105] I have not used these works because, although they undoubtedly contain a large selection of fragments from the original text of *Jāwidān-nāma*, the exact relationship between the shorter structured versions and the original long version of the text has not been clearly established. Also, the division into chapters proposed in these works has the purpose of serving devotional and not scholarly interests. This division is therefore not very helpful for the analysis of the doctrinal content of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

For the latter purpose, I found much more useful the anonymous note in the last folios (481b–483b) of the British Library's manuscript.[106] This note, written in standard Persian, contains a detailed description of six large sections corresponding to the six 'beginnings'

---

[104] Cf. *Jāwidān-nāma,* fol. 417a. For an example of such juxtaposition of Qurʾānic verses related to the same topic taken from different suras, see the citation from the fol. 110b–111a in Chapter 7 of the present text, which brings together similar verses concerning the inheritance of the earth.

[105] Such a 'structured' version of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, written in standard Persian without the use of dialect, sometimes referred to as the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi ṣaghīr* (the 'Short *Jāwidān-nāma*'), is attributed to Faḍl Allāh himself. This work was translated into Ottoman Turkish by a certain Darwīsh Murtaḍā in 1048/1638–1639, under the title of *Durr-i Yatīm* (see Gölpınarlı, *Katalog*, pp. 12 and 144–147). The first eight folios of the *Durr-i yatīm* in the Sülemaniye library, Yazma Bağışlar 2477, contain a 'table of contents' (*fihrist*), which is rather an extended list of key-words or central themes of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, including about 300 'chapters' (*bāb*). Other works attributed to Faḍl Allāh, such as the *ʿArsh-nāma,* also written in standard Persian, apparently aimed at a simplified presentation of his doctrinal ideas in versified form. However, the systematic assessment of the contents of these works and their comparison with the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* is a separate task, which cannot be undertaken within the limits of the present study.

[106] The full Persian text of this note is reproduced at the end of this volume.

(*ibtidāʾ*), which introduce the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[107] This plan covers most of the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* The six sections are summarised as follows:

> The Master of *taʾwīl* (*ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*), exalted be his glory (*jalla ʿizzahu*) founded the *Jāwidān-nāma* upon six *ibtidāʾ*, mentioned in the beginning [of his work]. He divided and organised the discourse of his divine (*ilāhī*) *Jāwidān-nāma*, from the beginning to the end, in accordance with these six *ibtidāʾ*, and sealed it with the same six *ibtidāʾ*… These six *ibtidāʾ* stand for six 'houses' (*khāna*). All contents of the divine *Jāwidān-nāma* are covered by these six houses, and each house provides the explanation concerning the original nature of one category of things. Thus, the first *ibtidāʾ* is the house of the hours contained in six days and nights. The second *ibtidāʾ* is the house of the heavens, earth and that what is in between. The third *ibtidāʾ* is the house of Adam and Eve. The fourth *ibtidāʾ* is the house of Hereafter (*maʿād*), that of the retribution and corporeal resurrection. The fifth *ibtidāʾ* is the house of prophets and laws (*anbiyāʾ wa sharāʾiʿ*). The sixth *ibtidāʾ* is the house of explanations of the Master of *taʾwīl.*[108]

Although we do not know who wrote this note and when,[109] the very existence of such a plan shows clearly that the idea of a coherent presentation of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s contents circulated among Faḍl Allāh's followers. In a sense, the present book is in line with the same tendency towards thematic organisation of the corpus of fragments, arguably suggested by the *Jāwidān-nāma* itself and developed in Ḥurūfī circles. As a starting point of such organisation, I have adopted

---

[107] Copies of the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* begin with: *ibtidāʾ ibtidāʾ ibtidāʾ ibtidāʾ ibtidāʾ ibtidāʾ khilqat az īnjā na az awrāq-i dīgar ki īnhā mabnī bar suʾālāt ast ki jāʾī dīgar nīst illā īnjā* ('Beginning, beginning, beginning, beginning, beginning, beginning. [Look for] the original nature here, not in any other writing, for these [pages] are founded on the questions not found elsewhere'). According to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Astarābādī, the six *ibtidāʾ* stand for the six letters, *kāf* and *nūn,* obtained from the two consonants of the divine Imperative *Kun* (*Be!*), and for the six days of creation. See the *Istiwāʾ-nāma,* ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Persian 24, fol. 17b ff).

[108] Fol. 481b–482a. I was unable to find this plan in three other manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma* available to me. Unless otherwise stated, the translation of all passages from the *Jāwidān-nāma* is mine.

[109] The manuscript of the British Library was written apparently in the 18th or 19th century, which gives us the upper time limit for the note.

the simple plan of six *ibtidāʾ* cited above. It could be reformulated as follows: (1) Time, (2) Cosmogony and Cosmology, (3) Anthropogony and Anthropology, (4) Prophetology, (5) Soteriology and Eschatology, (6) Ontological Hermeneutics (*taʾwīl*). However, a straightforward application of this plan to the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma* proved impossible in practice.

The principal difficulty resided in the fact that almost every fragment is related not just to one, but to several topics. It is therefore impossible to sort the fragments out univocally into the six sections suggested by our plan. The corpus of fragments forms a rich and complex network of mutual allusions and references. My first attempt at division according to the six *ibtidāʾ* resulted in six huge compilations, with many fragments included in several chapters, each of which was comparable in dimension with the original corpus itself.

This made clear that the organisation of the fragments alone was not sufficient for obtaining a coherent presentation of the doctrine.[110] At this point, there was a choice between two possible options. The first consisted of admitting that the *Jāwidān-nāma* should be left as it is. No 'linear' presentation, necessarily following a single logical thread, can fully reflect the richness and quasi-infinite semantic potential of the network of fragments. In other words, it is possible that the *Jāwidān-nāma* was, after all, designed intentionally as a corpus of fragments, to provoke not a 'reconstruction', but a steady and careful reading and gradual assimilation of the text. I will come back to this idea further below.

The second possibility was to find an analytical framework, not contained explicitly in the text, but deduced on the basis of careful reading and comparison of fragments and attempts at their thematic selection and organisation. Only such a framework could provide a possibility of incorporating the large selections of fragments into logically organised thematic chapters forming a coherent whole. The present book results from the exploration of this second possibility.

---

[110] For a more detailed account on the methodological premises underlying my previous work on the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see Mir-Kasimov, 'Etude de textes ḥurūfī anciens: l'œuvre fondatrice de Faḍlallāh Astarābādī', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 226/2 (2009), pp. 246–260.

The analytical framework used to organise the fragments is essentially based on the idea of a metaphysical ontological language which, I believe, is the most fundamental thematic line of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Three out of six segments of the original plan of the six *ibtidāʾ* have been included as separate parts: Cosmogony and Cosmology, Prophetology, Soteriology and Eschatology. Time, the first *ibtidāʾ* of the original plan, figures as a section among the three counterparts of the complete divine Word. This position reflects, in my opinion, the central point of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to the issue of Time. Two remaining *ibtidāʾ* – Anthropology and Ontological Hermeneutics – represent the transversal themes running throughout the text. Since they are deeply related to a large spectrum of issues, it is difficult to confine them in separate sections. Anthropology is the cornerstone of the *Jāwidān-nāma;* its different aspects are highlighted through all three parts of the book. Only those aspects that remained outside the focus elsewhere in the book are brought together in the Excursus on Knowledge and Love. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s concept of *taʾwīl* is placed in the context of discussion on the relationship between the divine and human word. It is central for Chapters 9 and 10 in Part Two.

Part One on cosmogony and cosmology is presented as a kind of metaphysical grammar, with its semantics, morphology and syntax, the latter represented by the structure of three fundamental counterparts of the original Word, namely the couple Adam/Eve, Time and Universe. The part on prophetology is centred on the most fundamental issues related to the prophetic cycle: the descent of knowledge of the divine Word (*tanzīl*), the relationship between divine and human languages, the concept of 'motherly' (*ummī*) knowledge, and the return of the Word to its source (*taʾwīl*). Only prophetic figures addressing important points related to these issues are dealt with in separate sections. Other information on the prophets mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* and the particular features of their missions is summarised in the last chapter of this part (Chapter 11). Part Three on soteriology and eschatology is divided into two logically complementary chapters: Chapter 12 contains an account on the ways of individual salvation, while Chapter 13 is focused on the question of the end of time and the fate of mankind and universe as a whole.

The quotations included in this book are selected from a large portion of the relevant fragments. Ideally, only one fragment follows every analytical segment. Long fragments or short series of fragments following each other without additional analytical notes are still admitted when it is necessary to provide a minimal context, or if they address different aspects of a particular issue.[111]

To conclude this Introduction, I would like to briefly address the first hypothesis concerning the structure of the *Jāwidān-nāma* mentioned a few pages above, namely, the idea that this text was intended to remain a corpus of fragments, without any artificially introduced thematic arrangement. Indeed, we have observed that the most apparent reason behind the fragmented presentation of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine would be the *taqiyya*, the intentional dissimulation of beliefs from occasional and potentially hostile reader. Such a measure seems indeed fully justified by the difficult historical circumstances in which Faḍl Allāh and his followers lived. In addition, the argument of *taqiyya* is brought forth explicitly in the works of Faḍl Allāh's close followers.[112] If the *Jāwidān-nāma* was encoded in order to conceal its real contents, then it seems perfectly legitimate to apply a procedure of decoding in order to access these contents.

After a closer examination of the text, however, the thesis of *taqiyya* raises some questions. As already noted, one of the structural particularities of *Jāwidān-nāma* is the use of a hybrid language, standard Persian mixed with a little known local dialect of Astarābād. At first glance, this looks like an attempt to introduce a secret language, which could be understood only by the initiate. But a basic glossary of the 'secret' dialect, compiled by the Ḥurūfī authors themselves, is easily available and sometimes even included as appendix at the end of the manuscript copies of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* Furthermore, the *Jāwidān-nāma* contains a fair amount of fragments either written entirely in

[111] The restriction of the number of fragments included in this book has also several downsides, which I hope to compensate in the future with a critical edition of the text. One significant loss is the representation of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s use of scriptural materials, the import of which can only be conveyed and contextualised by extensive selections of fragments.

[112] Cf. Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, *Maḥram-nāma,* in Huart, *Textes persans,* p. 13 of the Persian text.

standard Persian, or with only an insignificant addition of dialectal words that do not necessarily hinder understanding of the text. Why would an author or his followers wishing to conceal their secret texts provide the reader with the key to deciphering attached to the document? And would not such an author use the secret writing throughout the document, rather than a portion of it? In addition, if Faḍl Allāh's concern was to conceal his doctrine, why would he write the 'summaries' easily accessible to anyone, such as the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi ṣaghīr* and the *ʿArsh-nāma* mentioned above? The only way to reconcile the existence of such works with the thesis of *taqiyya* is to admit that their apparent accessibility is in fact a kind of veil, which conceals some important points of doctrine behind its more secondary aspects. This can only be assessed after a thorough study of these works and comparison with the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*.

Furthermore, the fragmented, dissociated composition of the text, the 'puzzle of fragments' discussed above cannot really prevent a superficial reading of the text. On the contrary, it encourages the kind of reader who does not intend to read the work thoroughly, but wants just to have a quick random look. This is exactly what a partial 'orthodox' jurist would most likely do in order to pick up some expressions out of their context and use them as evidence against the 'heretical' author. We will see that the *Jāwidān-nāma* contains several concepts and expressions that, without a careful reading and comparison of many relevant fragments, are almost sure to be misunderstood and misinterpreted. Thus, the 'puzzle of fragments' is an obstacle to the deep and accurate understanding of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s contents, but not to a quick superficial reading easily leading to wrong conclusions, which the *taqiyya* could be expected to prevent in the first place.

Finally, it can be argued that there is simply nothing to conceal in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. As we will see further below, this work does not contain any explicitly 'extremist' or 'heretical' ideas incompatible with Sunni 'orthodoxy', at least not to the greater extent than many other mystical and philosophical works which were largely admitted under the broad umbrella of the Sunni majority. Many fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* emphasise the adherence of the author to the fundamental tenets of Sunni Islam. This would also explain why

anti-Ḥurūfī polemical literature does not contain any citation from the *Jāwidān-nāma* as proof of heresy.[113]

Without invalidating the arguments for *taqiyya* discussed above, these points shed some doubt on the assumption that *taqiyya* was the only reason of the linguistic and structural complexity of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. But, if it is not *taqiyya*, what could possibly be the true reason? Why did Faḍl Allāh not write the *Jāwidān-nāma* in plain Persian or Arabic, systematically developing and presenting his thought according to a logical plan? The text of the *Jāwidān-nāma* provides no clear answer as to its linguistic complexity. We can only guess that the addition of words and short passages in the local and little known Astarābādī dialect had something to do with the idea of liberation from the narrow conventions governing human languages central to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, or with the idea of sacredness of a particular language (Persian? Astarābādī?), not explicitly formulated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* but suggested by some fragments. But it seems that the *Jāwidān-nāma* does provide an answer to the issue of fragmentation independent of the 'political' concern of *taqiyya*.

This answer is contained in the particular interpretation of fragmentation developed with reference to the biblical episode of the broken tablets of Moses,[114] and closely related to one of the most essential doctrinal principles of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, that of *taʾwīl*. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the breaking of the tablets was a necessary act, because it manifested the basic elements of writing, the disjointed letters. Unlike words and other compound units of language, disjointed letters are free of any semantic or grammatical convention of a particular human language. They do not refer to any concept or object of the visible world; their only counterparts are the corresponding phonemes. In turn, the phonemes are related to metaphysical truths, borne by the sounds emanated from the divine Word. Therefore, the letters, obtained as a result of 'breaking' or 'fragmenting' a text, are the only possible starting point for ontological hermeneutics, *taʾwīl*, independent of the arbitrary conventions of

[113] Mir-Kasimov, 'Takfīr and Messianism'.

[114] Exodus 32:19. For the possible relation between the interpretation of the biblical episode and the fragmented structure of the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see Mir-Kasimov, 'Etude de textes ḥurūfī anciens' (the article in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*).

human languages, leading from visible form to universal metaphysical truth.[115] Many fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* invite the reader to put aside the conventional meanings of words, and to transcend the forms of the letters in order to attain the truth beyond the corresponding phonemes, a truth without shape, colour or any other sensible manifestation.

In this perspective, the fragmented character of the *Jāwidān-nāma* could be regarded as a 'sign of perfection', to use the expression applied in several passages to the breaking of the tablets by Moses. In this case, the fragmented composition of the text would have been intended to remind the reader that, in order to access metaphysical truths, the arbitrary conventions and concepts of any particular human language have to be broken and transcended. Such is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the purpose of the broken tablets of the Law, and of the fragmented structure of the Qurʾān which, in addition, is the only prophetic Book where the disjointed letters are included as part of the Revelation, along with the compound words having a conventional meaning in Arabic.[116] It is therefore not impossible that the fragmented structure of the *Jāwidān-nāma* reflects Faḍl Allāh's intention to implement the principle of fragmentation which, according to his understanding, was in itself an expression of the fundamental principle of *taʾwīl*.[117]

If this is the case, then the 'puzzle of fragments' can no longer be seen as a puzzle at all. The analytical approach should be abandoned, and the reader, like Moses before the pulverised mountain, should dive headfirst into the ocean of fragments. The exploration of this

[115] On the relationship between divine and human languages, and the concepts of divine and human linguistic 'conventions', see Part Two. For the interpretation of the episode of the broken tablets, see Chapter 9.

[116] On the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to the issue of mysterious letters appearing in the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras, the famous *ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa,* see Chapter 10.

[117] Several fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* emphasise that the tablets given to Moses were written by God Himself, and represent therefore the prototype of any prophetic book. The Qurʾān, on the other hand, is the last prophetic book (at least, in the sense of *tanzīl,* i.e., the last book of the 'descending' part of the revelation), and therefore represents the most complete, perfect degree of the revelation of the divine Word.

possibility corresponds to a separate project, that of a critical annotated edition of an extended selection of fragments in accordance with their order in the original text, without any thematic distribution, but with good indexes.

After this digression, let us proceed to examine the first approach, the analytical reconstruction of the central doctrinal themes of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

Part I

Cosmogony and Cosmology: The Language of the Creation

The cosmogony and cosmology of the *Jāwidān-nāma* are based on the metaphysical theory of the original creative Word. This theory constitutes the core of the work, which describes the creation and evolution of the universe as the unfolding of the primordial ontological language. All objects and beings contained in the universe, at any scale, from the heavenly spheres down to the tiniest atoms, are essentially the manifestations of the ontological names derived from the Word. These names are the instrument of the creation. They convey metaphysical meanings or truths (*maʿnā*, pl. *maʿānī*; *ḥaqīqa*, pl. *ḥaqāʾiq*) which constitute the principle of existence of any object and being, either actually existing or only possible.[1] In addition, the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes a link between the metaphysical meaning of the ontological name and the external form (*ṣūra*) of the named. Therefore, the structure of the universe with all that is contained in it – spiritual, mental, imaginary as well as material entities – and its evolution in time are essentially a structure and evolution of a language. The universe is 'spoken out' and 'written down'.

This language of the creation has its own semantics, morphology and syntax. It is constituted of phonemes, which compose meaningful words. It has its alphabet, by means of which the primordial phonemes and names composed of them become visible in the external form of objects and beings that they bring into existence, and thus can be recognised and read. It also has its own convention that establishes the

[1] For the technical vocabulary of the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see the Glossary.

necessary correspondance between the invisible meanings and the forms of their visible manifestation, though this convention is not like any convention proper to human languages.

With the exception of the Excursus (Chapter 4), this part is organised as a kind of grammar of the ontological language. Chapter 1 brings together the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s evidence concerning the functioning of the primordial language of the divine Unity, beyond the differentiation that is the essential condition of creation. At that original stage, the category of form does not exist, which means that there are no letters and consequently no writing. The language of Unity is purely 'oral'. Its expression is the primordial Word (*kalima*) or Voice (*ṣawt*), which contains, in an undifferentiated condition of eternal Present beyond space and time, infinity of meanings (*maʿnā*, pl. *maʿānī*), names and words. At the stage of Unity, the meaning is identical and simultaneous to its expression. In other words, the relationship between the meaning and its expression requires no intermediary and no means other than the meaning itself. Because of this focus on ontological meanings, the first chapter's subtitle is the 'semantics of creation'.

The second chapter – 'morphology of creation' – examines the process of differentiation and emergence of forms. The category of form is an intermediary between the pure ontological meanings such as they existed within the primordial Unity and the created universe with its spatial and temporal dimensions. The introduction of this category raises a critical issue of correspondance between two incommensurable levels, that of invisible metaphysical meanings and that of visible physical objects and beings. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of Balance (*istiwāʾ*) is conceived as a solution to this issue. The Balance is essentially what ensures a correspondence between the primordial ontological meanings and the visible forms, so that the latter become the loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*, pl. *maẓāhir*) of the former. Thus, the first manifestation of form is the primordial Point (*nuqṭa*), which represents the undifferentiated original divine Word. As the Word undergoes the differentiation triggered by the Imperative *Be!* (*Kun*), producing a set of distinctive phonemes, which constitute primary elements of ontological meaning, the Point produces a corresponding set of primary forms, or primordial 'letters' (*ḥarf* pl. *ḥurūf*). The subsequent stages of creation and evolution of the universe

are thus described in terms of writing: the combinations of ontological phonemes produce the meaningful names, which constitute the essence of objects and beings, and manifest themselves in bodies formed by corresponding combinations of primary letters.

The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s views on the structure of the universe are studied in Chapters 3, 5 and 6, which thus constitute the 'syntactic' section of our metaphysical grammar. The syntax is divided in three chapters because, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, apart from the physical universe, there are two other entities which reflect the fullness of the original divine Word. First of these is the cosmic Human Being, represented by the primordial couple of Adam and Eve. The Human Being combines the perfection of the external form and knowledge of the metaphysical meaning of this form. The form of the human body is the only form in the universe which is produced not by a partial combination, but by totality of the primary letters. Since, in accordance with the principle of Balance, the letters are linked with the corresponding phonemes expressing the primordial meanings of the divine Word, the external form of the human body and features of the human face potentially give access to the totality of divine knowledge. As a perfect counterpart of the original divine Word, the form of the human body and its proportions determine the structure of the physical universe. The second entity equivalent to the original Word is Time. The basic unit of Time in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is the week, which represents the time of creation and therefore contains the totality of the physical universe. Because they are all perfect counterparts of the divine Word, there is an essential equivalence between human bodily form, time and the physical universe.

1

Primordial Unity: The Semantics of the Creation

This chapter brings together the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s developments concerning the divine Word or language in the state of original Unity, before the creation of the visible universe. The description of the properties and functioning of the language in this original condition is fundamental for the understanding of all other doctrinal lines of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, because these properties and functioning remain fully operational during the creation and throughout the temporal existence of the universe, though veiled by the diversity of its visible forms and manifestations, and in particular by the diversity of human languages.

In the relevant fragments, the language of primordial Unity appears essentially as a power by means of which the metaphysical meanings or truths of the transcendental divine Essence are expressed and manifested. The initial manifestation of the language is the Word (*kalima*), which is the first emanation of the Essence and contains, in an undifferentiated condition, all that can be known of the Essence, the totality of its meanings that can be expressed.[1]

[1] The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of the *kalima*, which describes the Word as being the first emanation of the divine Essence, is close to that of the longer version of the *Theology of Aristotle*, a partial Arabic translation and adaptation of the *Enneads* by Plotinus. It should be noted that, in the *Theology*, *kalima*, pl. *kalimāt* is the Arabic equivalent of the Greek *Logos*, pl. *logoi* of the *Enneads*. Having circulated in two different versions, the *Theology* is one of the foundational texts of the Islamic Neoplatonic tradition. Unlike the shorter version, the longer version of the *Theology* places the *kalima* immediately after the original One, before the universal Intellect, universal Soul and Nature. This scheme has been adopted and developed mostly in the Ismaili tradition and, plausibly under the influence of the latter, in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, and in the works of Andalusian mystics such as Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). On the Hellenistic heritage of Islamic Neoplatonism, the link between the longer version of the *Theology of Aristotle* with the Ismaili tradition,

The *Jāwidān-nāma* further states that the primordial Word consists of a limited number of indivisible, simple elements, named 'words' (Arabic, *kalima*, pl. *kalimāt*; Persian, *sukhan*). As we will see later, this statement provides a quantitative basis for the formulation of the fundamental unity of the universe. The number of the primary 'words' is expressed by two numerals, 28 and 32. Depending on the context, any of these numerals as well as their sum can stand for the full Word.[2] Because their existence is directly supported by the truth of the Essence, the 'words' represent the ultimate reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of existence, independent of any other factor. They act as ontological principles, the *raison d'être* or archetypes, of all possible realisations of the universe. The original 'words' are uncreated and inimitable; they

---

and its possible influence on the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and Andalusian mysticism, see Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy*, pp. 33–72, and references given there. However, although its conception of the *kalima* is essentially concordant with the outlook of the Islamic Neoplatonic literature affiliated to the longer version of the *Theology*, the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not contain the Neoplatonic hierarchy of intellects and souls. In addition, quotations from the prologue of the Gospel of John and Christian apocalyptic texts such as the canonical Book of Revelation and the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* (see further below in this chapter, and Chapters 10 and 13) indicate that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine of the *kalima* was influenced by a combination of the Neoplatonic philosophy and Christian doctrine of the Word.

[2] Hereafter, I will use '28/32' as the most general reference to the full number of the primary 'words'. The relationship between the series of 28 and 32 in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is complex. Its various aspects will be discussed in this and following chapters. The 28/32 are simple entities, they represent the most basic constituent units of the metaphysical language. After the differentiation of the primordial divine Word, these units manifest themselves as sounds. Therefore, in most cases, *kalima* would be rendered more appropriately as 'phoneme' than as 'word'. However, 'phoneme' cannot be applied to these units before the differentiation, when they were immersed in the all-comprehensive Unity of the original Word and can at best be represented as various aspects of the latter. Also, in some cases, it is not clear whether *kalima* characterises a simple or a compound unit. For example, the names taught by God to Adam (Q. 2:31) are identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the 28/32 *kalimāt*. For these reasons, I have consistently maintained the formal translation of *kalima*/*kalimāt* as 'word'/'words', between single quotation marks in order to emphasise the technical use of this term. The term 'Word', capitalised, singular, and without inverted commas is used as translation of *kalima,* when it refers to the primordial undifferentiated divine Word. See the Glossary: '28/32'.

are the source of the creation.[3] All names of the original language are composed of these primary 'words'. Since the category of form does not exist within the original condition of Unity, the ontological language operates at this level with pure metaphysical meanings.[4]

The characteristics of the original language of Unity are particularly important for understanding the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to ontological hermeneutics, the *taʾwīl*, which is the central concept of the work. First, the language of Unity operates at the level of ontological principles, not with conventional meanings attributed to the combinations of phonemes in human languages. Second, there is no differentiation or duality of any kind within the original Unity. The name of the original language is simultaneous and identical to the named object, the name and named are one and the same thing. Thirdly, the ontological language of Unity is universal and rooted in the ultimate truth of the divine Essence. As such, it constitutes the goal of the *taʾwīl*. As we will see in the final chapter of this book, the realisation of the *taʾwīl* at the end of the prophetic cycle leads to the unification of mankind and to the restoration of the original universal language. Let us now take a closer look at the relevant data of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

The *Jāwidān-nāma* apparently adheres to the theological position according to which the divine Essence is absolutely unknowable. No effort of human thought or imagination can penetrate the mystery of the Essence, which can only be described negatively, that is, by what it

---

[3] See, for example, fol. 395b. In some passages, the author repeats the arguments in favour of the inimitable and uncreated character of the Qurʾān. For example: 'If someone ignorantly supposes that these 32 and 28 'words'… are created or introduced by humans, let him produce another word, different from those 32 'words'. This is impossible. Anything, [including] heavens and earth, can change, but not a single 'word', because they are uncreated' (433b–434a). A similar idea is repeated some ten folios further: 'When they want to produce the 33rd name [of a letter] different from these 32, where can they take it from? It is impossible to produce another 'word', because the 32 'words' are without beginning (*azalī*) and without end (*abadī*); they are rooted in the essence of the Reality (*qāʾim bi-dhāt-i ḥaqqast*), not human-made (*waḍʿ-i insān nīst*)' (445a).

[4] This means that in its most original, undifferentiated state, the ontological language is pure sound or speech, contained within the primordial Word. Even if the presence of the 28/32 'words' forebodes its future differentiation, there is yet no form by the means of which this language could be expressed visually; it has yet no writing.

is not. The Essence is the absolute Unity, where there is no plurality or differentiation, no separation between object and subject, no time, neither past nor future, but only the eternal Present. The Essence reveals itself to itself; it is simultaneously active and passive, speaks and listens, manifests and sees. There is no difference between the speaker and the listener, the act of manifestation and the act of contemplation:

> This is a stage (*maqām*) where 'this moment' and 'that moment', 'beginning' and 'end', 'past', 'future' and 'present', refer to one and the same thing, and not to two different things. O seeker, understand well that this is not the stage where … the pre-eternity and the post-eternity are opposite of each other, and where exists a temporal succession of any sort; [at this stage] all is in the Present. This is the stage to which refers the *ḥadīth qudsī*: 'With Me there is neither morning nor evening.'[5] … This is an amazing stage where speaker and listener are one and not two. This is the stage of the Unity (*waḥda*), not that of plurality (*kathra*); any [sign of] plurality is removed there. In this [eternal] Present, there is nobody who sees Him except Himself; there is no questioner (*sā'il*) and no questioned (*mas'ūl*) except Him … It is the pre-existent Essence (*dhāt-i qadīm*) that manifests (*tajallī*) and explains (*bayān*) itself. The one who understands (*mudrik*) is the same as the object of understanding (*mudrak*). Nobody except Him can hear His speech (*kalām*); nobody except Him can realise His declaration. How can anyone other than Him attain this stage? This is not a stage that could be attained by the means of imagination or mental representations (*wahm wa taṣawwur wa khayāl*). Meditate thoroughly on [the fact] that there is [absolutely] no possibility that anybody other [than Him] attains this [stage] (472a–b).[6]

With regard to the question of relationship between Essence and attributes, the *Jāwidān-nāma* explicitly defines its theological positions. It supports the syllogism that the attributes are co-eternal with the Essence; otherwise the Essence would contain something contingent, which is impossible. God can be described by the attributes of perfection, such as Existence, Hearing and Seeing, because these attributes deny imperfections, which cannot be applied to God. For the

[5] Inventory I, no. 56. For the Arabic text and references of all *ḥadīth*s mentioned in the citations, see Inventory I at the end, arranged in alphabetical order.

[6] As noted in the Introduction, all folio numbers refer to the manuscript of *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr* in the British Library (Oc.Or. 5957).

same reason, God is Speaking, and His speech is co-eternal with Himself. God is Knowing by knowledge, Powerful by power, Living by life, Willing by will, Speaking by speech, because it is impossible to know without knowledge ('it is like being rich without wealth').[7] All these statements can be found, for example, in folio 271a. The same folio contains a passage which, along with the frequent references to Ibn Ḥanbal in the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, seem to assert unambiguously the traditionist, or 'literalist' (following the expression of D. Gimaret), position of the author in regard to the anthropomorphic vocabulary of the Qurʾān and of the *ḥadīth*:

> Be aware that God [possesses] the corporeal (*jismānī*) attributes and the attributes of act (*fiʿlī*) which are mentioned in the Qurʾān and in the Traditions, such as the Self (*nafs*), Face (*wajh*), Eye (*ʿayn*), Finger (*aṣbaʿ*), Form (*ṣūra*) … the Descent to the skies of the material world (*nuzūl bi-asmān-i dunyā*) and Balance on the Throne (*istiwāʾ bar ʿarsh*). Any [description] of this kind mentioned in the Qurʾān and in the Sunna and transmitted by the trustful Companions (*thiqāt*) of the Prophet, blessings be on him, is true. It is compulsory to have faith in all of them and firmly believe that all of them are the attributes of God, [which should be taken as they are] without assimilation (*tashbīh*) or comparison (*tamthīl*). The interpretation of this should be left to God (*wa taʾwīl-i ān bi-khudā-yi taʿālā bāz gudhāshtan*) (271a).[8]

Notwithstanding the fact that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s adherence to the traditionist trend seems genuine, it should be noted that the 'theological' passages, such as the one cited above, are not many. They sound like citations or close paraphrases of classical theological texts and seem at some dissonance from the general style of the work. What is more, some of the statements included in these passages, especially those prohibiting comparison or *taʾwīl*, seem to be in contrast with the general focus of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, which is precisely the correspondence between the divine and visible forms of

[7] This list reproduces almost exactly the eight 'attributes of essence' of al-Ashʿarī. For theological positions concerning these attributes see D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī* (Paris, 1990), p. 219 ff.

[8] This passage reminds us of what, according to Shahrastānī, the traditionists called 'revealed attributes' (*ṣifāt khabariyya*), i.e., attributes found in the Qurʾān and the Sunna. Cf. Shahrastānī, *Livre des religions et des sectes* (Louvain, 1986), tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, vol. 1, p. 308 ff.

the material universe, and the *taʾwīl* as a way to attain the former starting from the latter. For example, the following passage establishes a straightforward link between the divine attributes and members of the human body, in apparent contradiction to the rejection of any *taʾwīl* expressed in the fragment cited above:

> There is no doubt that the hand (*yad*), the hearing (*samʿ*), the sight (*baṣar*), the side (*janb*), the face (*wajh*), the leg (*sāq*) and the fingers (*aṣābiʿ*) that God explicitly used [in the Qurʾān] in order to describe Himself are all metaphors (*istiʿāra*) referring to Adam who is His vicegerent (*khalīfa*) … not to the hand, side, hearing and sight of the angels, [because] 'God created Adam in His form and in form of the All-Merciful.' '*Upon the day when the leg shall be bared*' [Q. 68:42] is also a metaphor referring to his [Adam's] leg, and to the unveiling of [the innermost meaning of] his leg: '*and they shall be summoned to bow themselves*' [Q. 68:42] (37a).

The same idea is expressed, with some additions and developments, in many other fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. This contradiction might corroborate the thesis that the ostentatiously 'orthodox' fragments were inserted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* in order to deceive a superficial reader, that is, by way of *taqiyya*. However, the conclusion of Gölpınarlı that 'anything [in Ḥurūfī works] said in agreement with the *sharīʿa* is *taqiyya*' is, in my opinion, much too radical.[9] A divergence from the 'orthodox' Sunni theological views does not necessarily entail a contradiction with the fundamental precepts of the religious law. As will be seen in the following chapters, a significant part of the *Jāwidān-nāma* is devoted to the interpretation of these precepts, and the author's concern with conciliation of the established mainstream understanding is discernible in many fragments.

At the level of the divine Unity, the 28/32 'words' are not differentiated, they cannot be separated from the Essence and are as inaccessible as it is. Inherring in the Essence, they cannot be described by any positive characteristic (being invisible, without colour or any spatial dimension). They are co-eternal with the Essence, but not identical with it (261a). The following passage is a description, typical for the *Jāwidān-nāma*, of the relationship between the Essence and 'words' within the state of the divine Unity:

[9] Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* p. 24 (my translation).

> The 28 'words' have no length, no width, no depth, no colour, no beginning, no end and no limit.[10] They are founded on the essence of the Unity (*qāʾim bi-dhāt-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*) as the light of the sun is founded on the sun. They are united with the essence of the eternal King; [they are] invisible and indivisible. Neither imagination (*taṣawwur*) nor mind (*takhayyul*) are able to attain them behind the veils which cover their essence (312b).

In themselves, considered independently of any relationship between them, the original 'words' are also free of any grammatical function: 'Unrelated, not included in any compound, they [express] neither past (*māḍī*) nor future (*mustaqbil*), neither positive (*amr*) nor negative (*nahy*) imperative' (410b). Furthermore, they are absolutely simple and cannot be divided by any means: 'Each 'word' is simple (*basīṭ*) in its essence, and cannot be divided by any imagination (*wahm*), supposition (*farḍ*), action (*fiʿl*) or reasoning (*ʿaql*)' (478b). The original 'words' have thus no sensory form, but they bear elementary, undifferentiated meanings (*maʿnā* pl. *maʿānī*), simple metaphysical truths (*ḥaqīqa* pl. *ḥaqāʾiq*),[11] and are capable of expressing the grammatical categories in the compound condition.

The *Jāwidān-nāma* explicitly likens the original ontological 'words' to the phonemes of human languages. The meaning of any separate phoneme is indeed beyond human understanding, but the combinations of phonemes compose meaningful words fitting into the grammatical categories of language. In the state of Unity, the 28/32 are essentially identical to each other, united within the original Word: 'All [28/32 original 'words'] are fundamentally the One Word. Necessarily, each of them bears, without excess or deficiency, the totality of meanings (*maʿānī*) and truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) of the science of the divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi ilāhī*)' (478b).[12]

Notwithstanding their number, their presence within the divine Essence does not disrupt the original unity of the latter, because all 28/32 are fundamentally one Word:

---

[10] Inventory II, no. 16. For the references of biblical citations see Inventory II at the end, arranged in alphabetical order.

[11] For the link between *kalima, maʿnā* and *ḥaqīqa,* cf. fol. 26b, 214b–215a, 235b–236a, 353a–b, 384a, 387b, 410b–411a, 462a.

[12] For the definition of 'science' in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see the Glossary.

> All the 32 [original 'words'] are united in their essence, because any attribute, be it positive (*thubūtī*) or negative (*salbī*), that is present in the essence of one ontological 'word' is also present in the essence of the remaining 31. Therefore, there is no dissension (*ikhtilāf*), neither in the essence of the divine Unity nor in the divine Word (*kalām*), which is its attribute. [God] speaks one unified Word without beginning (*azalī*) and without end (*abadī*) (409a).
>
> Any quality (*ṣifa*) contained in the essence of the 'a' is also contained in the essence of the 'b', 't', and that of all other [sounds corresponding to the letters of the alphabet]. Therefore, there is no contradiction (*mukhālifa*) whatsoever between these [phonemes], neither in their essence nor in their attributes: '*Had it been from other than God, they would surely have found therein many contradictions*' [Q. 4:82] … [The 32 'words'] are rooted in the essence of the Reality; they have no beginning and no end, they are the pre-eternal attributes of the Real, they are not created (410b).

Together, the 28/32 constitute the Name of the divine Essence. This Name is the eternal Word of God, an attribute privileged among others because it is the locus of the first and most complete manifestation of the entire divine Essence: 'God is the power without beginning (*quwwat-i azalī*). He speaks a Word without beginning and without end (*kalām-i azalī wa abadī*). This Word is His attribute' (388a);[13] '[The 32 ontological 'words'] are the pre-existent Word (*kalām*) of

[13] The description of God as 'power without beginning' is almost certainly a citation from the pseudo-Clementine text known as the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* (my thanks to Jean-Daniel Dubois for bringing this text to my attention). I consulted the parts edited and translated by M. D. Gibson, under the title *Kitāb al-Maǧāll, or the Book of the Rolls,* in *Studia Sinaitica* 8 (1901), Arabic text pp. 1–57, English translation pp. 1–59 (the *Cave of Treasures*), and A. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* in *Woodbrooke Studies (*Cambridge, 1931), vol. 3, pp. 93–450 (the text following the *Cave of Treasures*), English translation followed by the facsimile reproductions of the Karshūnī text. The Arabic version of the *Cave of Treasures,* which is apparently included in some manuscripts in the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, was also edited and translated into German by C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1888). The *Jāwidān-nāma,* which refers to this text as 'the Book of Peter (or Simon)' (*Kitāb-i Fiṭrūs/Shamʿūn*), provides important evidence concerning the use of this text in Islamic religious thought. We will see other, more explicit, citations from this text further below. See also the inventory of biblical citations at the end and notes there. *Kalām,* translated here as 'Word', can also be translated as 'Speech'; we will use one or another translation depending on the context.

God, rooted in the essence of the Real (*qāʾim bi-dhāt-i ḥaqq*) and inseparable from the essence of the Unity (*dhāt-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*), because [this Word] is its [Essence's] attribute. Since [the Word] is identical to His Essence, He made [this Word] His name' (408b).

> The name of the essence of the Highest Truth (*ism-i dhāt-i ḥaqq-i taʿālā*) is [constituted by] 32 [ontological 'words']. All [other] names are composed of them. This name is inseparable from the divine Essence. Before God '*taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], the knowledge (*ʿilm*) of the names of all things was [contained] in His Essence. It is by these [ontological] names that He called forth the forms of the named [objects and beings] (*musammayāt*) (265a).

Separately, the 28/32 'words' are conceived of as the most basic, simple attributes of God. All other names and attributes are composed of them, like the words of any human language are composed of the limited number of basic sounds or phonemes of the alphabet: ' *"To Him belong the most beautiful names,"* [Q. 7:180] which are the [combinations of the] single letters, such as *khyʿṣ* … because every beautiful name is composed of them' (216b).[14]

> The presence of Unity (*ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*) spelled His Essence and His attributes by the means of the 28 'words' without beginning and without end, because they are His pre-existant attributes (*ṣifāt-i qadīm-i ū*). Their number corresponds to the number of the letters of the [Arabic] alphabet. The reality [behind these letters of the alphabet] is as follows … [list of 30 divine names].[15] It is therefore clear that they [i.e., the 28 ontological 'words' or phonemes corresponding to the letters of the alphabet] are the pre-existant attributes of the eternal King, inseparable from the essence of the unitude, as this can be heard from the spelling of His names. All the named objects and beings of the two worlds (*hama musammayāt-i dū jahān*) received their

[14] *Khyʿṣ* is one of the mysterious combinations of disjointed letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*) at the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras. This particular combination opens the 19th sura, 'Mary'.

[15] Similar lists establishing a correspondence between the letters of the alphabet and divine names can be found in works of many medieval authors. See, for example, L. Massignon, 'La philosophie orientale d'Ibn Sīnā et son alphabet philosophique', *Mémorial Avicenne IV* (Cairo, 1952), pp. 1–18, and D. Gril's introduction to Part VIII, in Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Les Illuminations de la Mecque*, pp. 385–438.

> names from the 28 'words' of His name … the 28 'words' of the divine name reached all things through the attribution of the names (*az rū-yi ismiyyat*) (312b).

Among all divine attributes, the 28/32 original 'words' have a special relationship to the attribute of Mercy.[16] In Arabic, the word 'mercy', *al-raḥm*, and the corresponding divine names, 'the Merciful' and the 'Compassionate' (*al-raḥmān*, *al-raḥīm*), are derived from the same root *rḥm* as the word 'womb, uterus', *al-raḥim.* Using this etymological connection, reflected also in some *ḥadīth*s, the *Jāwidān-nāma* develops a comprehensive theory concerning the link between the divine attribute of Mercy and the ontological status of Mother (*umm*), one of the most central concepts of the work.[17] The concept of 'Mother' has many different aspects in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, particularly in anthropology and prophetology. We will regularly return to it in further discussions. At the present stage, let us just note that the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes parallels between the divine attribute of Mercy, the symbol of the Mother, who is the origin and the source of existence, and the 28/32 'words'. This Mercy is the source of the divine Word: '"*Voices will be hushed to the All-Merciful*" [Q. 20:108]: it is from this place [from the All-Merciful] that the Word comes forth. He [the All-Merciful] is its [the Word's] essence (*dhāt*), and it [the Word] is His attribute identical to Him' (244b).

Statements regarding other divine attributes can also be found in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The original 'words' are 'attributes of Grace (*luṭf*) and Rigour (*qahr*)' (149a). They manifest themselves in the material world 'by the means of the attribute of Beauty (*jamāl*) or by that of Glory (*jalāl*)' (478b). Among these, the connection with the attribute of Beauty is an extremely important axiom of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the foundation of the theory of Love which we will discuss in detail in Chapter 4.

---

[16] For a similar link between the attribute of Mercy and divine creativity in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* and Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, see Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy,* p. 54, and references there.

[17] On this concept, see the Glossary. For a more detailed study of this theory see O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Les dérivés de la racine *rḥm*: Homme, Femme et Connaissance dans le *Jâvdân-nâma* de Fadlallâh Astarâbâdî', *Journal Asiatique,* 295/1 (2007), pp. 9–33.

Because of this particular link with divine Mercy associated with the 'motherly' creative power,[18] the Word with its 28/32 'words' is the original and the most direct way of divine manifestation, the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) *par excellence* of God.[19] Each 'word' from among the 28/32 takes part in this theophanic function; each 'word' is essentially the means and the locus of the divine manifestation:

> The Word is the locus of manifestation of God (*maẓhar-i khudā*). It is inseparable from God … The Word and Speech (*kalima wa kalām*) are the loci of manifestation of God in the sense that if [the ontological 'words'] had not encompassed (*iḥāṭa*) all things, it would not have been known that God encompasses [all things]. The explanation of the divine Essence and attributes would not become manifest. This is how they [the 'words'] are the loci of manifestation of God (345b).

The original 'words' are thus the basis of all the Names of the divine language. One of the most fundamental features of this language is the identity of the name and the named.[20] Just as the phonemes of the human languages – for instance 'a' which represents simultaneously the name of a phoneme and this phoneme itself – the 28/32 'words' are simultaneously the name and the named object:

> All the names [of the existing objects and beings] are [composed of] the 32 divine 'words', namely of *alif, bāʾ* and other [names of the phonemes]. The named objects [corresponding to these names are the phonemes] 'a', 'b' and others. The 32 'words', which are the names of the 32 [phonemes like] 'a' and 'b', are *identical* to them [to the phonemes]. This demonstrates that the names are identical to the named objects (*asmā ʿayn-i musammā bī*). Once established for the single [phonemes], this principle

---

[18] For the creative function as an essentially 'feminine' faculty see, for example, H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn Arabi* (Paris, 1993), trans. R. Manheim as *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ʿArabi* (Princeton, NJ, 1969).

[19] As we will see further below, this original locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word is identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the human bodily form. We will also see that the concept of *maẓhar* plays an important role in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of the 'science' (*ʿilm*).

[20] For the approaches to the issue of the relationship between the name and the named in Islamic religious thought see, for example, Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī,* p. 345 ff.

> remains also valid for the composed entities. This is how it is possible to know the divine Essence, because *Allāh* [the name of the divine Essence] is identical to the named entity (195a).

Indeed, there is no differentiation at the level of divine Unity. The forms and the material bodies have not been created yet, and there cannot be a separation between the name of the object and the object itself (cf. the citation 472a–b above). The Word is the principle of existence, and any ontological name composed of the 28/32 original 'words' is simultaneously the principle of identification of some reality and this reality itself, the realisation of its actual existence.[21]

At the level of Unity, therefore, the language is a purely ontological, creative power: language and being are the same. Unlike human languages, where a name is attributed to an object on the basis of a social agreement (*waḍʿ, iṣṭilāḥ*) specific for each particular language, the name of the divine language is simultaneous and identical to its object.[22] The social agreement changes from one human language to another, and the same object has different names in different languages. But in the language of Unity, the name is ontologically related to the named and cannot be changed arbitrarily: if the name changes, the named object must change accordingly.

However, the divine language is not totally void of any convention: an absolute, divine convention governs the combinations of 28/32 simple 'words' when constituting compound names: '[The 28/32 original 'words' are initially] exempt of any attribute (*tajarrud*); they are simple (*ghayr murakkab*) entities. When, according to a convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*), they compose into [a compound], they become the name of an object' (408b).

The divine convention introducing essential identity between the name and the named is based on the divine Order and Intention, which determine the relationship between the name and the named within the unity of the Essence:

> O Seeker of the pre-existent divine Word, be aware that [some] things existed before [the creation of] Adam, genii and angels, and [in these times] there were no [social] conventions (*iṣṭilāḥ*

[21] According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, only the Word has real existence: *ghayr az kalima chīzī dīgar nīst* (fol. 464a).

[22] See the Glossary: 'Convention', 'Name and named'.

> *nabūda bāshad*). [But] in the essence of the presence of Unity, there was a name for every existing thing. God named things by these [essential] names, and therefore a relationship based on the [divine] command (*amr*) and intention (*gharaḍ*) was established between every particular thing and its name (50b–51a).

The relationship between the name and the named acquires a new, more complex dimension after differentiation and the emergence of the category of form. The differentiation raises the question of adequate manifestation of an invisible truth or meaning in a differentiated sensible form, a problem that was absent at the level of primordial Unity.

The compound names are the basis of the divine manifestation and the prototypes of all that will exist in the created universe: 'The heavens, the earth and Paradise are composed from disjointed [ontological phonemes] (*mujarradāt*), which [combine to] become the names of the things' (426a). It is the compound names that convey the divine manifestation into the creation: 'When they [the 28/32 ontological 'words'] compose into compounds (*murakkab ast*), they express (*bayān*) their essence (*dhāt*), their attributes (*ṣifāt*) and their divinity (*khudāyī*)' (395b).

From these citations, it can be concluded that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the 28/32 original 'words' are part of the divine Essence, the ultimate and transcendental divine Reality. They are therefore regarded as the elements of essence (*dhāt*), quiddity (*māhiyya*), meaning (*maʿnā*) and truth (*ḥaqīqa*). The combination that incorporates the full set of the 28/32 'words' produces the Supreme Name of the divine Essence, while other combinations, limited to a lesser number of composants, create all other divine names and attributes. The 28/32 'words' are therefore the basic elements of the divine language, very much in the same sense that the phonemes are the basis of any human language. Since the name and the named are identical in the divine language, the named object is actualised simultaneously and immediately with its name, just as a phoneme is actualised with the utterance of its name. This is possible because the category of form does not exist at this stage. Within the realm of divine Unity, all things are pure realities, simultaneous to their names and inseparable from them; their being has no form, shape or support other than their existence itself. The 28/32 'words' and the names that

they produce are therefore essentially the principle of existence. Free from any form or spatial dimension, the original Word with its 28/32 'words' is before all a sound and a voice: 'The 32 'words' are the voice (*ṣawt*) and the echo (*ṣadā'*) of the pre-existent Essence (*dhāt-i qadīm*); they are inseparable from it' (148b). These sounds produce musical melodies shaping the original nature of things. These same melodies are also the basis of any prophetic revelation:

> Every atom of the universe praises God by the means of musical modes (*uṣūl*), tones (*parda*) and melodies (*naghma*)[23] … From the point of view of their original nature (*khilqa*), all things are brought into the existence by the musical modes. Their shape and their movements correspond to the musical modes. Nothing is excluded from their modes and voices (*ṣawt*). The voice transformed into melody (*naghma*) comes down from the same Essence from which the books of all prophets were revealed. The prophetic books are composed of the 32 'words' [i.e., phonemes/letters]. Every explanation (*bayān*) [concerning] the ontological status (*hastī*) of these 32 'words' ... comes from the divine presence, [all the more that it is established that] the composite [books] derived from [these simple words] come from the divine presence (182b).

This description of a prophetic revelation as essentially sound and music is important for the understanding of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to the interpretation of the prophetic books. As we will see later, this interpretation ultimately focuses on the individual letters and phonemes of the language, rather than on the semantic aspect of the compound words. Many passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* insist on the fact that it is the phonetic aspect of the word – the sound of the speech and not its rational and conventional meaning – that is the first emanation of the divine Essence. As the original revelation of the Essence, the Word contains all that can be known of the divine Essence. Without the intermediary of the spoken word God would be absolutely unknowable. The voice and sound of the Word with its

[23] This is one of the passages possibly inspired by the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, which is cited verbatim in other fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* (see other examples below). Cf. Mingana's translation in *Woodbrooke Studies,* vol. 3, p. 108: 'Their [angels'] glorification never ceases, and it is composed of different melodies and harmonious modulations which stir the heart.'

28/32 'words' or aspects are therefore the original carriers of divine Knowledge:

> Be aware that if the spoken word (*lafẓ*) did not exist, it would be impossible to know the presence of Unity (*ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*). God is not accessible to the sensible perception (*maḥsūs nīst*) … Therefore, God could not make Himself known without the intermediary of the spoken word. If [the names of the single letters] *alif*, *lām*, *lām*, *alif* and *hāʾ* did not exist, how could the word *Allāh* have been composed? And if this name has not been composed, how could God say: 'I am *Allāh*'? He could not give any sign of His existence to the prophets, and we would not know whether He exists or not … The spoken word precedes the meaning (*maʿnā*) to which the vocable *Allāh* refers. This is indicated by the fact that God is not in the domain of sensible [experience]. The reference has to be made therefore to the divine presence outside of this domain, which is only possible if God informs us of His Essence by means of the spoken word. The purest of all words is the word that leads towards the Essence and the attributes of the divine presence and towards the Balance (*istiwāʾ*) of the Word (174b–175a).[24]

The original, undifferentiated Word of God, described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as breath and voice of God, is in many fragments identified with Jesus. It is interesting to note that the *Jāwidān-nāma* extensively uses in this connection not only the Muslim scriptural sources, but also the New Testament and Christian apocrypha, the citations from which are interpreted in the same manner as the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. In the context of these 'Christian' passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Holy Spirit is also sometimes identified with the Word.[25] We will return to the figure of Jesus in more detail when discussing prophetology. The following quotations are typical of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s description of Jesus as the personification of the divine Word in the primordial state of Unity before the beginning of the creation. Jesus represents the spoken Word of God, the original Sound inseparable from the divine Essence and containing the knowledge of all its 28/32 'words' or aspects: 'The 32 [ontological] 'words' constitute the innermost truth

---

[24] As previously noted, Balance is one of the central concepts of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. See the Glossary.

[25] We will see some examples of the interpretation of the New Testament in Chapter 10.

(*ḥaqīqa*) of Jesus.' This idea is further developed in the following fragments, which remarkably include citations or close paraphrases from the Gospel of John and the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*:[26]

> Jesus said: 'We do not have length (*ṭūl*), width (*ʿarḍ*) or depth (*ʿumq*).'[27] Indeed, [these three dimensions] belong to the world of bodies (*jism*). The spoken word is not this imperfect soot and blackness [of the writing]. [The latter] is a body and possesses length, width and depth. But Jesus is the essence of the spoken word (*masīḥ dhāt-i ān nuṭq ast ki dar talaffuẓ mī-āyad*) (324a).
>
> 'The first thing that came from the heavens was the Word (*sukhan*), and I am this Word'[28] … Jesus is [identical] to these 32 [ontological] 'words', which are inseparable from God and rooted in the essence of the Reality (*qāʾim ast bi-dhāt-i ḥaqq*) like humidity in water, heat in fire and brightness in sun. When the heavens and the earth did not yet exist, the Word (*kalām*) and the Speech (*sukhan*) of God [already] existed. The divine Speech … is eternal; it has no beginning and no end. Jesus said that the Word was that which came the first from the heaven, [and he said] 'I am this Word', and God was in this Word[29] … and [this Word is identical to] the 32 [original 'words'] (325a).
>
> Jesus is detached (*mujarrad*) in the same sense that … the 32 divine 'words' are detached [in their original condition]; they are not part of compounds. Compounds are [the domain of] manifestation (*ʿarḍ*) and multitude (*kathra*) … [Jesus] is this detached divine Word, in the essence of which there are 32 detached 'words' without shape (*shakl wa ṣūra*), indivisible, inconceivable (*dar taṣawwur wa takhayyul nayāmad*), without length, width or depth, unattainable. [This Word] is with everything and without everything, as it is said in the *Book of Peter*: 'We are with everything and we are without everything;

---

[26] The name of St. John is not mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, which usually refers to the 'Gospel' (*Injīl*) without specifying the names of the Evangelists. It is also possible that the version of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* consulted by Faḍl Allāh contained some fragments close to the text of the canonical Gospels and the Revelation of John. In Chapters 10 and 13, we will see that the fragments concerning the sealed Book and the sacrifice of the Lamb, described in the canonical Revelation, are always cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to the 'Book of Peter'. I was unable to locate these passages in Mingana's translation, but it is possible that they were indeed included in the version available to Faḍl Allāh.

[27] Inventory II, no. 16.

[28] Inventory II, no. 4.

[29] A paraphrase of the Gospel of John 1:1–2.

> nothing encompasses us but we encompass everything.'[30] Discover this invisible Jesus without beginning and without end in everything, in his condition of detachment (425b–426a).

The *Jāwidān-nāma* also integrated an interesting interpretation of the Trinity contained in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, where the Father is identified with the 'power without beginning' (*quwwat-i azalī*), the Son to His speech (*nuṭq*) and the Holy Spirit to His voice (*ṣawt*). Power without beginning is the divine Essence, where existence starts and where all that exists returns. Power without beginning produces the voice, and the voice produces 28/32 simple ontological 'words'/ phonemes:

> These 32 pre-existent 'words' without beginning and without end, without any shape, without depth, colour, length or width, manifest themselves by the means of voice (*ṣawt*). This voice [comes] from the power without beginning.[31] O Seeker, the power without beginning is this Essence by which all the existents are brought into the existence. Things are rooted (*qā'im*) in the power without beginning, and the power without beginning is rooted in its own essence, no doubt in this (468b).
>
> Lord (*rabb*), Father (*ab*), Adam and Back (*pusht*) [refer to] the power without beginning. The spirit (*rūḥ*) is speech (*nuṭq*), and the speech is the Word (*kalima*), which can be perceived in compound condition … voice (*ṣawt*), letters (*ḥurūf*), speech, single (*mufrad*) and compound (*murakkab*) manifest themselves from the power without beginning; they are rooted in this power and return to it … The power is the support and the source (*qarārgāh wa mabdā'*) of all. The voice and the letters are rooted in the power, while the power without beginning is rooted in its own essence … The voice, the letters, single and compound, which is the human spirit, come from the power and return to the power (472b–473a).
>
> Where was [Jesus] before the creation of the heaven and earth? He said: 'I [was] in the Father [and] the Father [was] in me. The Father is power without beginning. I am His speech (*nuṭq*) and the Holy Spirit is His voice (*ṣawt*)'[32] … [Jesus] said: 'I go to the

---

[30] Inventory II, no. 10.

[31] Summary of statements contained in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter*, tr. Mingana, pp. 106–107.

[32] Inventory II, no. 17.

> Father.'[33] One of the meanings of this is that, just as the existence of the Son depends (*qāʾim*) on the Father, the existence of the speech depends on the divine Essence. The Essence and the attributes are one and the same thing; they should not be regarded as two different things … [Jesus] said: 'The Father is the power without beginning. I am His speech and the Holy Spirit is His voice.'[34] The word cannot be manifested without voice (396a–397b).

Although the 'phonetic' aspect seems predominant in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the original Word and 28/32 'words' are also described as light. Sound and light refer thus both to the first emanation of the divine Essence and are fundamentally identical to each other. This is explicitly stated in the *Jāwidān-nāma*: 'The light is the divine Word' (*nūr kalām-i khudā hastī*, 317b); 'God, the Most High, called His Book "light", and His Book is His Word. (Therefore) each of His [28/32] 'words' is a light'[35] (435a). While the 'phonetic' description of the Word is often supported with reference to the Christian texts, the representation of the Word as light is extensively founded on Muslim scriptural sources.[36] The saying attributed to Muḥammad – 'The first thing that God, the Most High, created was my light'[37] – echoes the paraphrase of the beginning of the Gospel of John that the *Jāwidān-nāma* attributes to Jesus: 'The first thing that came from the heaven was the Word.'[38] God is light and reveals Himself as light, the light of the Qurʾān. This light is the Word, and all 28/32 'words' or aspects of the Word are the one light within the divine Essence.[39]

---

[33] Inventory II, no. 6.

[34] Similar interpretations of the Trinity (Power/Word/Action, Mind/Word/Voice) are contained in the recension of the *Apocalypse of Peter* translated by Mingana, pp. 106–107.

[35] *Ḥaqq-i taʿālā kitāb-i khūd-rā nūr khwānad wa kitāb-i ū kalima-yi ūst ki har yakī nūrī ast.*

[36] More examples of the use of biblical material in the *Jāwidān-nāma* are included in Part Two, especially in the sections concerning Moses (Chapter 9) and Jesus (Chapter 10).

[37] Inventory I, no. 9.

[38] John 1:1. It is interesting that the continuation of the Prologue of the Gospel of John (1:5 ff.), mentioning the Light, is not cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

[39] Cf. for example 233b, 239b, 245b–246a, 296b.

Notwithstanding their essential equivalence, there is an important difference between the representation of the Word as sound and light. Sound is invisible, while light is the visible aspect of the manifestation of the divine Essence. The light is one step closer to form, which does not exist within the divine Unity, but emerges at the moment of differentiation. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, form (*ṣūra*) is the support of knowledge, providing the latter with the visible loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*, pl. *maẓāhir*). The metaphysical realities can only be perceived and known through their loci of manifestation. As the means of giving access to the knowledge of a transcendental reality, form is characterised as 'science' (*ʿilm*).[40] We will come back to the more detailed definition of the science in the *Jāwidān-nāma* in the next chapter. At this point, let us just emphasise the relationship that the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes between light and science: 'The science (*ʿilm*) is called "light" (*nūr*) because [it] is a mark (*ʿalāmat*) of the Word, and the Word is light' (151a); 'The prayer of the Messenger (of God), may he be blessed, cited in the *Maṣābīḥ*:[41] "O my God, turn my heart into light, and my hearing into light, and my tongue into light."[42] To turn these (organs) into light means to make them locum tenens (*qāʾim maqām*) of the Word, because they are the science of the Word.[43] Whosoever does not know that, cannot access the Word' (184b).

This relationship between the light and the science of the divine Word underlies, in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* the approach to the well-known *ḥadīth* material concerning the 'light of Muḥammad'.[44] It is noteworthy that the *Jāwidān-nāma* extensively quotes the version of this *ḥadīth* according to which at the beginning Muḥammad and

---

[40] See the Glossary.

[41] Many *ḥadīth* materials are cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to *Maṣābīḥ*. This could be the *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna* of Abū Muḥammad al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), but the *Jāwidān-nāma* mentions neither the author nor the full title of this work.

[42] Inventory I, no. 34.

[43] We will see later the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of the human form as the science *par excellence* of the divine Word, and the correspondence between the members of the human body and lines of the human face on the one hand, and the 28/32 original 'words' on the other.

[44] On the relevant material of tradition, see Rubin, 'Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*', in *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1976), pp. 62–119.

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib were the one light, which was then divided into two lights. Muḥammad and ʿAlī represent, therefore, two halves of the Word.[45]

This, together with some sayings attributed to ʿAlī and asserting his eminent role in the Revelation (such as 'I am the speaking Word of God' (*anā kalām Allāh al-nāṭiq*))[46] is one of many indications of the Shiʿi inspiration of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The conception of light occupies a central place in the Shiʿi conception of the Imām as divine guide: the light is the substance of the Imām identical to the sacred knowledge transmitted in the line of Imāms.[47] In the *Jāwidān-nāma* the light is the knowledge of the complete divine Word with its 28/32 aspects, transmitted in the line of the prophets.[48]

However, it is not the light itself that is the science of the Word. If the light of the divine Face and of the Word with its 28/32 'words' was not veiled, it would burn and destroy the creation (fol. 457a). Therefore, the light is veiled by form, which is the shadow: 'The 32 'words' [manifested by the means of visible forms] constitute the veil [that covers] the 32 'words' [such as they exist within the divine Essence]' (198a); 'These 32 'words' are the reverse side and the shadow of those 32 that are founded on His Essence and inseparable from Him' (172b); 'These 32 'words' are the reverse side and the shadow of the light founded on its own essence. They are inseparable from each other' (369a).

It is precisely this shadow/form, this black veil, which at the same time hides and reveals the light that is the science of the divine Word. Before the differentiation that we will discuss in the next chapter, the dimension of shadow is represented in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by several symbols and images. First of these is smoke:

> At the beginning of the creation, the heavens were '*as smoke*', and then [God] '*determined them as seven heavens*' [Q. 41:11–12] … The smoke represents the initial condition [described in] '*then He established Himself [in balance] (thumma istawā) upon the heaven when it was smoke*' [Q. 41:11].[49] The balance in the

[45] Cf. fol. 268b–269a, 262b–263a, 213a, 177b, 263a, 378a–b.

[46] Inventory I, no. 22.

[47] Cf. Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin*, in particular, pp. 96–112.

[48] Cf. fol. 196b–197a, 167b.

[49] Arberry modified. I replaced 'lifted Himself to heaven' by 'established Himself in balance' because the interpretations of this verse in the *Jāwidān-nāma* usually make

> heaven was achieved when the heaven was in the condition of smoke, that is, like smoke (*ay shabīh dukhān*), just as the smoke of the divine writing, which is the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 and 28 [ontological] 'words'. The science of the *kāf* and of the *nūn*, [that of the divine Imperative], by which the things were created, is smoke (102b).

The undifferentiated smoke contained the potentiality of the 28/32 distinct forms corresponding to the original ontological phonemes of the Word; that is, the original Letters, which will be actualised in the course of differentiation:

> O Seeker, you who know that the external aspect of the Qurʾān is pre-existent. When the smoke and the blackness [of the ink] are applied to the paper, but [the letters] *alif*, *bāʾ* and *tāʾ* are not yet written, can you [already] see the forms of these letters? Yes, [these forms] can be seen in potentiality (*bi-l-quwwa*), as an architect can see the house [that he is going to build] in his materials, or as a carpenter can see a chair in the piece of wood. The carpenter removes some portions of wood from his piece, and keeps others, so that the lines [of the chair] and the writing become manifest [in his work]. Without [actually] using the pen or the ink, a carpenter can see the name *Allāh* in a piece of wood. When the superfluous [wood] is removed, the name *Allāh* becomes manifest … It is the same with everything … all things possess the aptitude to receive (*qābiliyya*) the form of the divine 'word' and writing. No sound [produced by the objects] is different from the divine 'word' [contained in them]. If, by an effort of imagination, you [attempted] to extract this divine 'word' from [the objects], not one atom of them would subsist (464b).

The Point (*nuqṭa*) symbolises this infinite potential for the realisation of concrete forms contained within the undifferentiated science. Just as the original 28/32 'words', the point has no shape and no spatial dimension. It represents the fundamental unity of the divine Word and of its 28/32 aspects. But, at the same time, the point is also the source of any possible shape. It contains, in an undifferentiated condition, the science of all ontological meanings of the divine Word: 'All the meanings (*maʿānī*) and all the truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) of the divine

---

a connection between the Qurʾānic *istawā* and the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s concept of the line of Balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*).

science of the first and of the last are contained, without determination (*bi-lā taʿayyun*), within a single point' (124a–b).

As we will see in the next chapter, the first forms produced out of the point are the shapes of the 28/32 letters, that is, simple elements of form corresponding to the 28/32 'words'/phonemes, which are simple elements of sound. Significantly, the science of the undifferentiated divine Word concentrated in one point is exemplified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the figure of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib:

> Just as the 32 [ontological 'words'] are together one single light, the Point is one, as the science of the Word is one. Anything that is outside the Point exists [only] for the needs of discrimination … Since any [meaning] contained in the *bismillāh* is also contained in the [letter] *bāʾ* of this formula, and any [meaning] contained in *bāʾ* … is also contained in the point under *bāʾ*, and he [ʿAlī] is this Point, he is therefore the name of God (233b–234a).
>
> [ʿAlī said:] 'Knowledge [*ʿilm*, 'science' according to the technical vocabulary of the *Jāwidān-nāma*] is a Point; it is the ignorant who multiplied it.'[50] The ignorant are those who are unable to see the Point as the locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of the [primordial] Word, and the Word as the locum tenens of 32 divine 'words'. Necessarily, they find themselves in the station of division and multitude (*maqām-i tafriqa wa kathra*), not in the station of the Unity of the original Point. When the scribe touches [the paper] with his pen, he produces a point. The Word rooted in the essence of the Unity is the counterpart of this original Point (320a).
>
> The 32 [ontological] 'words' are united in their essence. Their science (*ʿilm*), containing [the knowledge of] the entirety of their attributes and of their essence, is a fundamental Point, which is the locum tenens of the 32 'words'. This is why (ʿAlī) said that the secret of God is in the point under the *bā*' of *bismillāh*, and [he said]: 'I am this Point].'[51] This Point is the science of the divine Word; therefore [ʿAlī] meant 'I am the science of the divine Word' (465b–466a).

As the concentrate of all possible realisations, the Point of the science is likened in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the drop of sperm which contains, in an undifferentiated condition, the most perfect form of the universe, that of the human being:

---

[50] Inventory I, no. 31.

[51] Inventory I, no. 1.

> Within the [divine] Unity (*waḥda*), there is no difference [between the 32 'words']. This one Word is in reality one Point … All secrets of the pre- and post-eternity, of the past and future, in actuality and in potentiality (*bi-l-fiʿl wa bi-l-quwwa*), written and spoken, are contained in a single point of sperm (*nuṭfa*) extracted from the back of Adam. It is possible to understand all things by this single point of sperm (480b–481a).

The Pearl and Water produced from it symbolise the undifferentiated origin of the science in relation to the macrocosm, similar to the drop of sperm that symbolises it in relation to the human microcosm. In alchemical fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, water is described as the element representing life, the source of existence, and also the condition before differentiation, where no form exists but which is the origin of any form. The pearl produces steam, soot and smoke:[52]

> At the beginning, there was a pearl (*durr*) in the state of mineral. This pearl was white. Under the gaze of divine love (*maḥabba*) it became water (*āb*), that is, sperm (*nuṭfa*). After this, it produced steam (*bukhār*) and soot (*dūda*), which turned into smoke (*dukhān*). Seven heavens were brought into existence from [this smoke] (74a).
>
> '*Do not the unbelievers see that the heavens and the earth were joined together [as one unit of creation], before We clove them asunder? We made from water every living thing. Will they not then believe?*' [Q. 21:30] … In the Torah it is said that [God] created a pearl (*jawhar*), and when He looked at it with the regard of His Might (*ʿizza*), it turned into water. The heavens and the earth were created from [this water]. [The water] is the source of the creation, because the clot of blood (*ʿalaqa*) [of the embryo] is [produced] by the sperm (*nuṭfa*), which is water … [The water] was at the beginning of the creation: … '*made from water every living thing*'. This means that everything was brought into the existence by water (101a–b).

Another symbol of the science of the Word that the *Jāwidān-nāma* refers to is the 'supreme blackness':

---

[52] For the traditions mentioning the primordial pearl relevant for the following citations, see Rubin, 'Pre-existence and Light', pp. 111, 115–116, and Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Majālis fī Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, or "Lives of the Prophets"*, tr. William M. Brinner (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2002), pp. 6 and 20.

> The science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 divine words … is the 'supreme blackness' (*sawād-i aʿẓam*) … 'Poverty is the blackness of the face in two dwellings'[53] (*al-faqr sawād al-wajh fī-l-dārayn*) … This blackness refers to the 28 and 32 'words'. When the poverty of the blackness of the face is attained, the human being can see divine words in every object of the two worlds. He or she finds nothing else in the two black worlds. The 'poor' (*faqīr*) is someone who has achieved this station (*maqām*). The Prophet was a 'poor' in this sense, this is why he said: 'My poverty is my glory (*faqrī fakhrī*)' (306a).

All these symbols of the undifferentiated condition announce the emergence of a differentiated science, inseparable from form and shape. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

[53] Inventory I, no. 38.

2

Manifestation of the Invisible: The Morphology of the Creation

In this chapter, we will examine the fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* that address the issue of relationship between the invisible ontological meanings or truths of the original language and the category of form (*ṣūra*). The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s solution to the problem of transition from the primordial Unity of the Word to the multiplicity of forms constituting the visible universe is based on the principle of 'balance' (*istiwāʾ*) and 'measure' (*andāza*, *qiyās*, *miqdār*), and related concepts of the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) and 'science' (*ʿilm*). The goal of the relevant doctrinal developments is to maintain a certain correspondence between the condition of the original Unity and the differentiated condition of the creation despite their obvious incommesurability. Without such a correspondence, it would be impossible to attain the knowledge of the metaphysical meanings of the original language through the visible forms of its manifestation, which would mean the impossibility of ontological hermeneutics (*taʾwīl*).

The differentiation is based on the category of form, which did not exist in the state of original Unity. The correspondence between the forms of objects and beings and their ontological names necessitates the introduction of an absolute convention based on the divine Will (*iṣṭilāḥ-i ilāhī*). This divine intervention makes possible the balance between the semantical level of the primordial language discussed in the previous chapter and its morphological level, that is, its visible manifestation in the forms of objects and beings contained in the visible universe.

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, all available knowledge of the divine Essence was originally contained in the Word with its 28/32 'words', which represent the first emanation of the Essence and its

revealed, knowable side. In the previous chapter, we have already seen that the 'science' is defined in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of this knowledge. In opposition to the Essence, which is one and undifferentiated, its locus of manifestation is differentiated: 'All words are the one unlimited (*bi-lā nihāya*) Word, and all things are the one unlimited thing … There is [only] one Essence and one locus of manifestation. But the locus of manifestation is differentiated (*mutajazzī*), while [the Essence] is not' (179b).

Both differentiation and manifestation are closely related in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the concept of form (*ṣūra*). The form is the means by which differentiation is realised at the level of visible manifestation, because it is by their form that the objects can be distinguished from each other. The science (*ʿilm*), which appears in a differentiated locus of manifestation, is essentially a *form* by and through which an invisible reality manifests itself: 'Without the external shape (*hayʾa*) there would be no manifestation of the Word' (376b). If the Word had remained unified as it was at the level of the Essence, the knowledge of the Essence contained in the Word would have remained inaccessible to any created being. Only a differentiated manifestation of the divine truths makes them knowable: 'The 32 [ontological words] are differentiated in their external manifestation according to the points of their emission: 'The divergence within my community is Mercy.'[1] Without this divergence, one single Word would not be able to convey the divine knowledge (*maʿrifat-i Allāh*)' (93b–94a); 'If it was not by the intermediary of the science (*ʿilm*), the Word (*kalima*) would never manifest itself. Without the manifestation of the Word, the manifestation of the divine Essence would be impossible' (316a).

The definition of 'science' as form requires some further explanations. If 'science' is understood as an intermediary giving access to the knowledge contained in the undifferentiated Word, a purely phonetic differentiation and manifestation of the Word could theoretically fulfil this role without any visible support. Why is science not identified with the 'oral', phonetic phase, before the Word becomes encoded and 'written' in a specific form? To my knowledge, no passage in the *Jāwidān-nāma* gives a straightforward answer to this question. However, some passages do mention a divine science, that is, a

[1] Inventory I, no. 5.

science contained within the divine Unity and apparently independent of form: 'In the presence of the divine Glory, the divine Word has neither "before" (*taqaddum*) nor "after" (*taʾakhkhur*). All the objects of the sensible world (*maḥsūsāt*), the writings (*maktūbāt*) and the intellegibles (*maʿqūlāt*), the past and the future, are in His science (*ʿilm*) and in His Word, without "before" or "after" ' (95b–96a).

This divine science is clearly distinguished from the science defined as the locus of manifestation and intended for created beings. But there is an important link between these two kinds of science: the *Jāwidān-nāma* states that the forms representing the visible science are made in accordance with the divine science. This means that the correspondence between the invisible metaphysical truth or meaning contained within the divine Essence and the sensible form revealing it in the world of creation is not accidental, but determined by God Himself. This idea is close to the concept of 'divine convention' and the principle of identity between the name and the named discussed above. The thesis of essential correspondence between form and meaning is central to the *Jāwidān-nāma*. When God taught the ontological names to Adam, this teaching was purely 'oral', because there was yet no form corresponding to these names and the writing did not yet exist: 'The Pen was, is and will be the writer (*nawīsanda*) of the names that God taught Adam. The Pen gave the form to the names, which [previously] had no form whatsoever' (28a).

> When God was teaching Adam the names, these names were words without any shape or form. The teaching of the writing, [mentioned in the verse] '*taught by the Pen*' [Q. 96:4], and the attribution of forms to these names took place after [the teaching of the names themselves], and [the names] were separated by means of the writing (27b).

In most passages, however, the differentiation of the Word is accompanied by the emergence of the differentiated forms corresponding to the individual phonemes and names. The following passage states the simultaneity of the Word and its locus of manifestation. It affirms at the same time the superiority of the Word to form and image. The Word can – in accordance with the principle of correspondence determined by the divine science or the divine convention – produce a form perfectly expressing the invisible truth contained in this Word, while the opposite is impossible.

Together with the principle of identity of the name and the named, this statement is another element of the theory of correspondence between the invisible realities and the forms which are their loci of manifestation.

> [The ontological] 'word' and locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) are both pre-existent (*qadīm*). But the 'word' has the power to shape the corresponding locus of manifestation … Thus, the 'word' dominates (*ghālib*) [its] locus of manifestation, since the latter is subordinated to the original nature (*khilqa*) of the former, not the inverse. The 'word' can give to its locus of manifestation any quality (*ṣifa*) it wishes, while the inverse is not true (389b).

This last citation raises another question related to the definition of science as 'locus of manifestation'. If the locus of manifestation is co-eternal to the Word, and the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not seem to claim the eternity of form, then should we suppose that the *Jāwidān-nāma* admits the existence of eternal loci of manifestation which are not necessarily forms? Some passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* seem to corroborate this supposition. The following statement, for example, refers only to the phonetic aspect when speaking of the differentiation: 'If the oneness [of the divine Word] were not differentiated by the means of articulation (*bi-wāsiṭa-yi makhraj*) at the moment of [production] of sounds (*aṣwāṭ*) of the words, it would be impossible to understand the information (*maʿlūmāt*) [conveyed by these words]' (211a).

The phonetic aspect is much closer to the knowledge of the truth than the formal. It constitutes the secret encoded in the forms of letters: 'Take your eyes off (*qaṭʿ-i naẓar kun*) the exterior [form] of the letters and points of the Qurʾān, and seek the articulated word (*kalima ki dar talaffuẓ mī-āyad*). When you attain the knowledge of the latter, you will reach the secret of the letters and points' (422a).

The superiority of the phonetic aspect over the formal could be one of the reasons why science is identified with the latter. Some evidence in the *Jāwidān-nāma* seems indeed to support the idea that the phonetic level is too lofty and subtle, too close to the original knowledge of the Word to fulfil the role of universal science. The link between science and form enables the former to reach the lowest layers of the creation, conveying there the knowledge of the divine Word. This idea is also expressed by means of alchemical symbolism. Earth is the only natural element able to maintain form, which is the support of the science. For

this reason, though the most gross and opaque, earth is the noblest of the four elements. Water, air or fire are not able to keep a given form and therefore not suitable for the expression of the science. Earth is the element of Adam and the material which served in the creation of his body. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, God first created the bodily form of Adam from the earth, as the science or locus of manifestation of the Word with its 28/32 'words'; and only then He taught the meaning of this form to Adam, that is, the correspondence between the lines of the human body and face and the invisible 'names' of the 28/32 'words' or phonemes. The idea that access to the superior, phonetic level of knowledge is impossible without it being manifested in corresponding visible or mental form is constantly repeated in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. We will see relevant textual evidence further below. When Satan, made of fire, refused to follow the divine command to bow down to Adam, arguing that his fiery constitution is more subtle than the earth of Adam, he was not aware of the science contained in the bodily form of Adam. Because he refused to bow down, he did not receive this science, and thus condemned himself to the Hell of ignorance.

Whether the locus of manifestation of an invisible truth is necessarily a form or not, we have seen that the germ of the form, the black Point, appeared, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, at an early stage, before the differentiation, as the counterpart, the shadow or veil, of the 28/32 'words' unified within the light of the original Word. It is therefore logical that the phonetic (emergence of the 28/32 distinct sounds or phonemes from the undifferentiated Word), and the formal (emergence of the 28/32 distinct forms or letters from the undifferentiated point) are two aspects of the differentiation which are interrelated and unfold in parallel to each other starting from this stage. The 28/32 ontological letters are the most basic elements of form, the loci of manifestation and, therefore, according to the definition of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the science (*ʿilm*) of the 28/32 primordial 'words', the most basic elements, emanated from the divine Essence: 'The form (*ṣūra*) of the letters and points is the science (*ʿilm*) of the 28 single divine 'words' [or phonemes], of which the names [of all named objects] are composed' (422a).

Similar to the combinations of ontological phonemes, which compose the compound names of objects, the combinations of corresponding letters compose the forms of these objects. In this

perspective, the making of an ontological name is simultaneous to the making of the corresponding external form. Although their natures are different and apparently incomparable, there is nevertheless a rigorous link between the phoneme and the letter, between the metaphysical truth contained in the sound of the name and the form which is its locus of manifestation. In the following passage, this link is referred to as 'explicit convention':

> [The ontological] 'words', exempted (*munazzah wa mubarrā*) from any form (*shakl wa ṣūra wa paykar*), [constitute] the composite [entities]. In accordance with the [divine] convention (*waḍʿ-i wāḍiʿ*) inspired by '*He taught by the Pen*' [Q. 96:4], appeared 50 letters and points.[2] '*Recite: In the Name of thy Lord who created, created Man of a blood-clot*' [Q. 96:1–2] … the names of God are composed of the 28 'words', which are the true Mother of the divine Book (*umm al-kitāb ḥaqīqī-yi ilāhī-and*) … '*Recite: And thy Lord is the Most Generous, who taught by the Pen, taught Man that he knew not*' [Q. 96:3–5]. The 50 letters and points possess the science (*khudāwand-i ʿilm*) … because they are the science of the divine names and the science of the origin (*aṣl*) of the Word (*kalām*) of the pre-existent unlimited Essence (*dhāt-i qadīm-i nāmutanāhī*) (384b–385a).

The names are thus ontological principles of the objects. By the process of attributing names, the divine Word penetrates all things, 'breathing' the existence into them:

> '*And breathed My spirit in him*' [Q. 15:29]: [Like the divine breath], the names attained all things, exteriorly (*ẓāhir*) and interiorly (*bāṭin*). By the means of attribution of the names (*ismiyyat*), they attained the interior of all things and manifested (*tajallī*) themselves [there]. All things are [therefore] their loci of manifestation (*maẓāhir*) (21b).

The external forms of the objects appear only as the expression of the ontological 'words' and invisible truths contained in them. The ontological name, a particular combination of several divine 'words', is inseparably connected to the object and constitutes its innermost reality. This name is represented by the sound specific to each particular object. This sound is released by inanimate objects when

[2] That is to say, the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet and their 22 diacritical points, which are, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the forms of the primordial 'words'.

they collide, and also expressed in the voice of animate beings. The only real reason for existence of the external forms is to be the locus of manifestation, or the 'science', of these ontological names; if the names were withdrawn from the objects, the objects would disappear:

> There is no object that would stay out of reach of the names [conveyed by the 28/32 ontological 'words']. No sound or voice, either generated by the objects or beings or potentially contained in them, does exceed the 32 divine 'words'. [These 'words' are inseparable from the objects that are their loci of manifestation]. If you supposed or imagined (*bi-farḍ wa taṣawwur wa takhayyul*) that the 'words' were extracted [from their loci of manifestation], this would be impossible. And if you [nevertheless] extracted them in your imagination, there would remain nothing of the locus of manifestation. For example, when you strike two stones against each other, they produce the sound 'chak', composed of [the 'words'] *chī* and *kāf*. If you were to remove or to extract these ['words'] *chī* and *kāf*, that is to say, [the sound] *chak* from the stone, there would remain nothing of the stone, nothing at all. This is the sense of the prophetic words when he said that [every] piece of stone praises God (443a).

The passages above are related to the fact that every existing form is composed of the 28/32 basic elements, or letters. They thus convey the idea that the creation of the visible universe is essentially the act of writing. As every ontological letter is the locus of manifestation, or 'science', of a fragment of the knowledge emanated from the divine Essence, and embodies an invisible truth or meaning carried by the corresponding ontological 'word' or phoneme, the entire world of forms is literally a written Book containing the science of the divine Word. This Book is intended to be read. But in order to be able to read it – which means, in terms of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, to be able to *spell* the forms according to the ontological letters contained in them and thus access their 'phonetic' quiddity, that is, the divine names on which their existence is founded – one should know how to decipher this writing. This implies, first, the ability to distinguish the basic forms of the ontological letters within the compound form of any object and, secondly, the knowledge of the principle of correspondence between the 28/32 letters and the 28/32 'words' or phonemes. This principle of correspondence is the key to reading the Book of forms. Evidence concerning the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s understanding of this principle is

fragmentary and allusive. However, in the following few pages I will try to bring together some indications concerning the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of correspondences.

We mentioned above the terms such as 'divine convention' and 'divine science', referring to the absolute divine Will and Knowledge, and determining an essential correspondence between the unfathomable metaphysical truths of the divine Essence and the ontological names composed of the 28/32 'words' of the divine Word. With the differentiation and the emergence of forms, which constitute the veil and shadow of the phonemes and names, the 'divine' convention governs also the correspondence between the phonetic and formal aspects of the manifestation of the divine Word. But the emergence of form introduces a dramatic disruption in the perfect synchronicity and immediate identity of the name and named, which characterises the undifferentiated condition of Unity. There emerges therefore a second convention, related to the external appearance and sensible perception of the forms, which is the shadow of the primordial and absolute divine convention based on the divine Will. This second convention is represented by the rules admitted in human language and writing:

> All things are divine Word (*kalima*) and divine writing (*kitāba*). [In the language] of signs (*ishāra*) they say: 'We are the Word of God.' In the same way, any apparent line (*khaṭṭ-i ẓāhir*) [of writing] says: 'I [point], according to the [orthographic] convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*), to such a thing.' Whosoever knows this convention of the apparent line (*iṣṭilāḥ-i khaṭṭ-i ẓāhir*) will also be able to read [according to the] convention of the divine line (*iṣṭilāḥ-i khaṭṭ-i khudā'ī*) [of ontological writing], the line mentioned in [the verse]: '*[Thy Lord] taught by the Pen, taught Man that he knew not*' [Q. 96:4–5] (392a).

As within the divine Unity, the correspondence between the invisible metaphysical truth and the forms through which it is expressed is based on the principle of the identity of the name and the named. However, in contrast to the condition of the Unity where the relationship between the name and the named is immediate, the forms are perceived as something different from the name, and the relationship between the ontological name and the form, which is its locus of manifestation, is now concealed behind the shadow of the

second, human convention. But, although hidden, the principle of identity between the name and the named remains valid also at the level of differentiation and form:

> This soot and blackness [of the ink] that has been written on the leaves (*muṣḥaf*) [of the Qurʾān] is the science (*ʿilm*) of the 28 divine words (*kalima*), which are pre-existent (*qadīm*) and rooted in the essence of the Reality (*qāʾim bi-dhāt-i ḥaqq*). The 50 letters and points are the pre-existent soot and the blackness [of the ink] … The forms (*shakl wa paykar*) [of the letters] are written by the scribe (*kātib*) in accordance with the science of the word (*barā-yi ʿilm-i kalima*) … The most difficult question of the theology (*khudāshināsī*) and knowledge of the [divine] Word (*kalāmshināsī*) is *how* the external appearance of this soot and blackness [of the ink] can become in reality the Word of God. There are several points (*muqaddimāt*) that must be understood before [the answer to this question] becomes clear, but first of all, it should be known that the [ontological] name is identical to the named [object] (441a–b).

We will come back to the discussion of the working of the principle of identity between the name and the named when discussing the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s views on the relationship between the human form and forms of particular objects contained in the universe, and between divine and human languages. At this point, let us just note that the principle of identity remains the basis of the correspondence between the invisible metaphysical truth and the visible form which is its locus of manifestation.

Another term mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* in relationship with the question of correspondence is divine inspiration (*ilhām*). The inspiration is a link between the divine science and the world of forms. Because this link exists, no form and no line produced in the empirical world can be fully arbitrary, without any link with the divine science:

> According [to the verse]: '*[By the soul], and That which shaped it and inspired it to lewdness and godfearing!*' [Q. 91:8], any line drawn in the [empirical] world, whether it comes from the human soul or from God, is drawn by inspiration (*ilhām*), in accordance with the science of the Word (*ʿilm-i kalima wa kalām*). [This line] cannot be without relation to the shape of [ontological] writing that God established in the universe as the

> science of the Word.[3] The Word engraved (*naqsh*) in the locus of manifestation of the human [form], and various forms of lines written [on it], cannot be in contradiction (*khilāf*) to the science (*ʿilm*) that God impressed in the universe (199b).

The term 'measure' (*andāza*) is also related, in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* to the issue of correspondence. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, all levels of the universe share a common *measure* due to the fact that the differentiation and division at any level of the universe is made in conformity with the number of 28 and 32 original 'words'. The heavenly sphere is divided into 360 degrees, that is six times 28 and 32; time is measured by hours, each of which is composed of 28 and 32 minutes; the human body contains 360 bones which is again six times 28 and 32, etc. This homology makes possible the correspondence between all levels of the creation and links them all to the ontological 'words' which are the direct emanation of the divine Essence. Some of the passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* uphold that the verbs 'to measure' (*andāza kardan*) and 'to create' (*khalaqa, ījād, āfarīdan*) are synonymous.[4]

> '*He created the heavens and the earth …* ' [Q. 6:1 and ff.]: The heavens and the earth were measured (*andāza*) by the same thing by which they were created, that is to say, by the Word [of the divine Imperative] *Kun* (Be!), as this is mentioned in the Qurʾān. [The letters] *kāf* and *nūn* [of the Imperative contain] six 'words', and each of them [is identical to the] 28 'words'. This is known from the explanation concerning the essential unity (*tawḥīd wa yagānagī*) [of the ontological 'words']. [Also, one week contains] six times 28 hours. The heavens, the earth and all that which is in between, the water and the Throne [which were created within the week of creation] are thus measured [by the 'words' of the Imperative]. When one thing is measured by another, it is in order to attain the knowledge of its innermost reality (*tā ḥaqīqat-i ān-rā bi-dānand*) (88b–89a).

The Measure is thus closely related to the differentiation and the division. The stages of the differentiation are determined by the divine Imperative *Kun*, (Be!), which initiates the creation. According to the

---

[3] It will be recalled that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, every object in the universe is a piece of the divine ontological Writing.

[4] Cf. fol. 130b, 303a, 451a.

Jāwidān-nāma, the *two* consonants of the Imperative, *K* and *N*, symbolise the first division of the original divine Word, the crucial transition from One to Two. The names of these phonemes, *kāf* and *nūn*, contain six phonemes, symbolising the six days of creation. From these six phonemes comes the complete set of 28 and 32 separate phonemes. Simultaneously, the original Point produces 28 and 32 separate forms corresponding to the phonemes, the 28 and 32 letters. These phonemes and letters constitute the real 'alphabet' of the creation: they are the basic elements which compose the name and the external form of any object at any level of the universe:

> 'The first thing created by God was the Pen. God said: Write! [The Pen asked]: What should I write? [God] answered: That what was and what is to come.'[5] All [that what was and what is to come] appeared from the two 'words' [*kāf* and *nūn*] of the [Imperative] $K^{u}n$. Two tongues of the [nib] of the Pen produced the science (*ʿilm*) of the two 'words' of the [Imperative] $K^{u}n$. These two 'words' contain 32 and 72 'words' (108a).

Thus, in order to maintain the correspondence between the invisible and undifferentiated metaphysical truths emanated from the divine Essence and forms of the created universe, the differentiation which is the starting point of the creation must be in conformity with a measure determined by the number of the original 'words'. An arbitrary differentiation would not convey the truths unto the creation; but the 'measure' makes every form resulting from the differentiation a locus of manifestation of the corresponding invisible truth, so that the latter can be seen through the former. This idea is exemplified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the Qurʾānic episode relating the encounter between God and Moses in the Sinai, when Moses asked to see God. The direct vision of God was refused to Moses. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the pulverisation of the mountain at the direct sight of God symbolises in this episode the differentiation, when 28/32 basic forms appear from the divine Imperative. It is only after this 'measured' differentiation that the *vision* of God in His locus of manifestation becomes possible:

> '*But behold the mountain – if it stays fast in its place …* ' [Q. 7:143] … The 'place' of the mountain and of anything other (*jabal wa ghayr-jabal*) in the original nature (*khilqa*) of things is

[5] Inventory I, no. 8.

> the word (*kalima*) [of the Imperative] *K^{u}n!* This means that if [Moses] was (*qarār gīrad*) in the word of the Imperative, '*then thou shalt see Me*'. [Q. 7:143] … The place [of the mountain] is the word *Kun!* uttered [by God]. This is why Moses heard the divine Word (*kalām*) [simultaneously] from all directions:[6] '*Whithersoever you turn, there is the Face of God*' [Q. 2:115]. The 'place' of all directions is the word [of the Imperative] *K^{u}n!* '*[And when his Lord revealed Him to the mountain], He made it crumble to dust; and Moses fell down swooning.*' [Q. 7:143]. The 11 curtains of the Tent of Meeting[7] refer to this fragmentation of the mountain. Every curtain [measured] 28 cubits [of length]. The breaking and fragmentation of the tablets[8] [has the same meaning]: as far as they are not broken, the vision is not possible (350b–351a).[9]

Another concept essential to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of correspondence between the differentiated forms and their invisible archetypes is the principle of Balance (*istiwāʾ*). The action of the balance seems to be very similar to that of the Imperative or of the 'measured' differentiation that we have just mentioned. Like the concept of measure, the principle of balance governs the conformity of the differentiation and division to the undifferentiated and undivided divine Reality: 'Nobody other than God can produce the division corresponding to the [ultimate] reality (*qismat bi-ḥaqq*). [It is] God [who] introduces into the original nature (*khilqa*) of things the right division (*qismat-i rāst*), in accordance with the [principle of] balance (*istiwāʾ*)' (218b). This principle originates from the divine attributes of Balance, Justice (*ʿadl*) and Equity (*qisṭ*), and emanates from the divine Throne (*ʿarsh*): 'The Balance [is extended] to all things from the Balance of His presence and His Word on the Throne (*istiwāʾ-yi ḥaḍrat wa kalām-i ū bar ʿarsh*), in the same way as the orders of a king sitting on his throne [are extended to] his servants' (276b). Like the Measure, the Balance is linked to the Imperative, and its most

---

[6] Inventory I, no. 66.

[7] Inventory II, no. 12.

[8] Inventory II, no. 2.

[9] A similar passage can be found in fol. 413b–414a. The broken tablets, the Tent of Meeting and the measurements of the tabernacle refer to the books of the Old Testament.

important function is to convey the science of the divine Word to all levels of the creation:

> It is one pre-existent Essence (*dhāt-i qadīm*), '*the Possessor of Strength*' [Q. 51:58] that, by the word [of the Imperative] *Kun!* gave [existence] to all existing [objects and beings] in the form of justice and rightness (*dar ṣūrat-i ʿadl wa rāstī*), in order [to realise] His 'science' (*ʿilm*), His manifestation (*ẓuhūr*), and the manifestation of His Measure (*qadr*), His Power (*tawānāʾī*), His Greatness (*ʿaẓamat*) and His Glory (*jalāl*) (192b).

The Throne symbolises divine power. The following passage contains a reference to a well-known interpretation, connecting Balance (*istiwāʾ*) with power and domination (*istīlāʾ*):[10] 'Balance means 'absolute domination'. Certainly, on this station [that of the Balance and the Throne] God dominates all things … The creation of the Throne refers thus to the absolute domination of the [divine] Presence … and to the place of manifestation and balance of the [divine] Unity (*aḥadiyya*)' (276a).

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Throne symbolises the place of the first and supreme manifestation of God, and is therefore identical to the Word and to Adam, who is the locus of manifestation of the complete Word. This first manifestation is perfectly 'in balance' with the number 32 characterising the Word. Starting from the Throne, Balance enters the creation and gives it the capacity to express the 28/32 'words':

> '*The All-Compassionate sat Himself [in balance] (istawā) upon the Throne*'[11] [Q. 20:5]. For which reason does [this verse] mention the Throne and not another place? Because His first manifestation is realised on the Throne, which has the form of the 32 [ontological 'words']. It is from this place that He

[10] This kind of metaphorical interpretation is usually associated with the Jahmites or the Muʿtazilites. See, for example, Shahrastānī, *Livre des religions et des sectes,* vol. 1, p. 357; T. Nagel, *The History of Islamic Theology from Muḥammad to the Present* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), p. 103; and J. van Ess, 'Le *miʿrāj* et la vision de Dieu dans les premières spéculations théologiques en Islam', in M. A. Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam* (Louvain and Paris, 1996), article pp. 27–56, in particular pp. 42–43.

[11] For the translation of *istawā* as 'established Himself in balance', see Chapter 1, note 49.

> manifests Himself afterwards … in all [other] places … There is no other 'place' beyond the Throne; all the heavens and earth are underneath.[12] [The verse]: '*the All-Compassionate sat Himself [in balance] (istawā) upon the Throne*' refers to the fact that the capacity to represent the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 ['words'] is not inherent into the original nature (*khilqa*) of the heavens and the earth. [This capacity is given to them] by the Throne (313b–314a).

The passage 102b, already cited above, mentions the state of balance in combination with the idea of division. It suggests that the line of Balance introduces differentiation into the initial undifferentiated state of 'smoke', transforming it into the ontological writing, which is the science of the divine Word:

> In the beginning [of the creation], the heavens were smoke, and afterwards, [God] '*determined them as seven heavens*' [Q. 41:12] … The smoke represents the initial [phase], which is [described in the verse]: '*Then He established Himself [in balance] (istawā) upon the heaven when it was smoke*' [Q. 41:11]. The balance upon the heavens was thus attained when the heavens were in the condition of smoke, or like smoke (*wa hiya dukhān ay shabīh dukhān*). The smoke is the divine writing (*kitābat-i khudā*), which is the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 and 28 [ontological 'words']. The science of the *kāf* and of the *nūn* [of the Imperative *Kᵘn!*], by which were created [all] things, is smoke. Whenever [this smoke] appears in the heavens, with it appears also the science of the Creator (*ʿilm-i mukawwin*), who is the Word (*kalima*) and the Master of the Word (*ṣāḥib-i kalima*) (102b).

In the technical language of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, transformation into ontological writing means the revelation of the basic forms of the original letters in any object. Let us recall that the letters, according to the definition of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, are the science of the corresponding phonemes. The idea that, in order to reveal the basic elements of the divine writing, any object has to be *split*, or broken, shattered, is central to the *Jāwidān-nāma*. We have already encountered this idea in fol. 350b–351a above, which mention the Qurʾānic image of the mountain pulverised before Moses. Another

[12] The Throne marks the limit of the world of forms. Beyond the Throne is the world of divine Unity, where the category of form does not exist.

citation which establishes a link between breaking, balance and revelation of the divine writing is also related to the history of Moses:

> '*And We wrote for him on the Tablets of everything an admonition, and a distinguishing of everything: So take it forcefully, and command thy people to take the fairest of it. I shall show you the habitation of the ungodly*' [Q. 7:145]. The admonition written by God on the tablets refers to the Tablet of the face of Adam, may peace be upon him … Moses, may peace be upon him, threw these tablets and broke them,[13] because the perfection is in breaking (*kamāl dar shikastan būd*), which realises the manifestation of the science (*ʿilm*) of the 28 [ontological] 'words' when the line of Balance is drawn … Before the break, the science of the 28 divine words does not manifest itself in the Tablet of the creation … If Moses … did not break these tablets, the science of the 28 and 32 divine words and lines would not be manifested. Those who think that [the action of Moses] was disrespectful (*adab nadānistand*) have not found the way to the wisdom of God and of Moses (414b–415a).

The 'face of Adam' refers to the conception of Adam as the original Book of God, the only form that is the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word: 'The line of Balance of [the form of] Adam reveals the science of the 28 and 32 [ontological] 'words', as well as the line and the writing of the Pen of the divine power: "*Their mark is on their faces, the trace of prostration*" [Q. 48:29]' (303b).

All created objects are transformed by the line of Balance into the loci of manifestation of the 28/32 original 'words'. Any created object receives, through the line of Balance, the status of the writing and the aptitude to express the science of the Word. The capacity to reflect and to express the divine 'words' communicated to the objects by the line of Balance makes that any object can potentially speak:

> When the line of Balance is drawn on the things, they become the science (*ʿilm*) … : '*We have neglected nothing in the Book*' [Q. 6:38], '*Everything We have numbered in a clear register*' [Q. 36:12] … The division by the line of Balance transforms things into the science [of the ontological 'words'] … On the Day of Resurrection, everything will speak, as it is said: '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*' [Q. 41:21] (385b–386a).

[13] Inventory II, no. 2.

Thus, the line of balance transforms the creation into the Book of God: ‘ “*And with Us is a Book speaking truth*” [Q. 23:62]. It is known that the form of the true Book (*kitāb-i ḥaqīqī*) created by God appeared when the line of balance was drawn’ (184a).

All levels of the universe, from the heavens and constellations down to the tiniest atoms, are thus interconnected by the invisible thread of the line of balance starting from the divine Throne. One of the interesting deductions that the *Jāwidān-nāma* derives from this fact is that the entities belonging to the different levels of the universe are not simply ‘corresponding’ to one another, but are potentially *equivalent*. This makes possible their evolution (or involution) when the entities of one level are transformed or integrated into the entities of another level. The following passage discusses the transformations of this kind which are taking place within the food chain:

> If a grain of wheat, which has the line of balance in the middle, were divided into a thousand pieces and then eaten by the animals, it would reappear in the line of balance [proper to the form] of these animals. If it were eaten a thousand times, [then] became a plant and forage, [the line of balance of the grain] would appear again in the line of balance of a leaf or that of [another] grain. [Any substance composed of] earth, water, air and fire seeks a line of balance when it manifests itself in a mineral, a tree or [another] plant or in an animal. It is impossible to go astray from the line of balance, because [every stem of] the forage has the line of balance in its middle, which [divides it into two halves and thus produces] the science of the two [ontological] ‘words’ [corresponding to two consonnants] of the [Imperative] $K^{u}n!$. It becomes thus the name of the 32 ‘words’ [which] in every particular language [constitute] the science of this plant. If you strike this plant against something, it will produce a ‘word’ from among the 32 [ontological] ‘words’. If you wanted to separate this ‘word’ produced [by the plant from the plant itself] by imagination (*wahm wa taṣawwur*) or supposition (*farḍ*), this would be impossible. If someone extracted this ‘word’ from the plant, there would remain no existence in this plant (*ān nabāt-rā wujūd namānad*), because it is identical to this [ontological] ‘word’. ‘*Upon the day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens*’ [Q. 14:48], the things will be changed to the divine words. You see first of all the things and the bodies (*ashyāʾ mīdīdī wa ajsām*). But if you look [through the eyes of] ‘*those who possess the knowledge of the Book* [or of

> *writing*] (*man ʿindahu ʿilm al-kitāb*)', [you will see that] all is the divine Book [or writing], and the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*) [are] Adam and Muḥammad, upon them be peace, and the lines of their faces (456b).[14]

It was already mentioned that the relationship between the series of 28 and 32 'words' in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is complex and paradoxical: the two series either complete each other (28+32=60), or the shorter is included in the longer (28+4=32). One of the functions of the line of balance is exactly the transformation of 28 into 32: '"*He revealed its commandment in every heaven*" [Q. 41:12]. The commandment to each heaven was fourfold, 28 [for the seven heavens]. When the line of balance was drawn, [the 28] became 32' (74a). In this perspective, the line of balance reveals the full number of 'words' of the divine Word, which is also expressed in the bodily form of Adam and taught to Adam by God: 'Until the 14 [lines of the human face] located on 14 [parts of the face] are not divided [by the line of balance], the 32 ['words' taught by God to] Adam will not become manifest' (320b). The knowledge of the bodily form of Adam as being the locus of manifestation of the complete Word gives access to Paradise. And the eight gates of Paradise also allude to the line of balance:

> In Paradise, there will be only seven black [lines] on the faces of Adam, Eve and [other] humans … This is the Supreme Blackness (*sawād-i aʿẓam*) which, [multiplied] by the number of four natural elements, makes 28. [With the line of balance, there are] eight [lines which, multiplied by four, make 32]. This is why the gates of Paradise, which is the time (*waqt*) of the balance and of the line of balance-'*And the earth shall shine [with the light of its Lord]*' [Q. 39:69]-are eight, which [refers to] 32 (246b–247a).

---

[14] In this fragment we probably have a vague outline of the theory of transmigration, developed by some of Faḍl Allāh's followers. Some passages apparently related to transmigration can be found in the works attributed to Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, one of the closest disciples of Faḍl Allāh. See the *Hidāyat-nāma,* edited by Huart, *Textes persans,* pp. 11–12 of the Persian text, and the *Maḥram-nāma,* ibid., pp. 41–42. However, unlike the *Jāwidān-nāma,* where the idea of Balance seems central, the works of Sayyid Isḥāq emphasise the role of actions (*aʿmāl*) and 'impressions' (*idrākāt*) in the formation of a new body. Also, the Nuqṭawīs, an offshoot of the Ḥurūfīs founded by Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī, were known as the 'transmigrationists' (*ahl-i tanāsukh*, cf. Ṣ. Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān,* p. 11). However, the Nuqṭawī doctrines are still virtually unknown.

It has already been mentioned that, in the perspective of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the creation of the visible universe is essentially an act of writing. This is perfectly in accordance with general Muslim views, based on the Qurʾān, of the creation as divine writing. The specificity of the Ḥurūfī approach – which states that this ontological writing is composed of 28/32 letters representing basic elements of form and constituting the 'science' of the corresponding 28/32 phonemes of the divine Word – does not prevent the author from extensive usage of Qurʾānic symbolism, which receives thus a new interpretation in the context of Ḥurūfī theories. One of the Qurʾānic symbols associated with the line of balance is the divine Pen (*qalam*). The Pen manifests the writing, just as the line of balance manifests the 28/32 basic forms of ontological letters in any given form. The Pen thus establishes a link between this particular form and the invisible name that is manifested by its means. In addition, the author observes that the tip of any pen is split into two halves, exhibiting a line in the midst: this is also an allusion to the line of balance.[15]

The following passage makes again extensive usage of the symbols of the story of Moses. At the same time, it illustrates an extremely free, creative approach of the author to the symbolism of the Qurʾānic text. This can be seen in the manner he establishes parallels between the idea of balance and the images such as pen and the staff of Moses. The pen with its split tip is similar to the staff of Moses, one of the ends of which is divided in two parts. Just as the pen is dipped into the ink prior to writing, the staff of Moses is dipped into the sea; a Qurʾānic verse provides a link between the ink and the sea. Just as the line of balance generates differentiation and thus displays the science of the divine Word, the staff of Moses divides the waters of the sea – water representing the undifferentiated condition – and opens the 'dry passage', that is to say, brings forth the earth associated with form and

[15] Several passages in the *Jāwidān-nāma* mention specifically that the action of the line of balance consists in its division into two halves: fol. 173b–174a (two series, that of 28 and that of 32 'words'); fol. 296b (division of the seven heavens into 14 halves); fol. 385b–386a (the line of balance produces couples), etc. This is implied also by the idea of balance itself: balance is usually the balance of two equal parts, something in the *middle*. From this point of view, the line of balance seems close to the Imperative which, as was mentioned before, played a central role in the transition from the primordial One to Two.

science. Another symbol associated to the same idea of division and balance is a snake with its forked tongue:

> Whosoever asks '*those who possess the knowledge of the Book*' [Q. 13:43] and those who are '*witnesses to the people*' [Q. 2:143] what represents the staff (*ʿaṣā*) of Moses, the answer is that [the staff] represents 'the first thing that God created was the Pen'.[16] When God was writing the ten verses[17] on the tablet: '*And We wrote for him on the tablets*' [Q. 7:145], Moses, upon him be peace, could hear the clatter of the pen, the clatter produced by the division of the tablet by the line of balance of the Throne: '*The All-Compassionate sat Himself [in balance] upon the Throne*" [Q. 20:5][18] … Why has God [established] a similarity [between the two words when] He said 'staff' and meant 'pen'? Firstly, because a staff is kept in hand, like a pen. Secondly, because the upper end of the staff of Moses was cleft, and so is the tip of the pen. Thirdly, '*Strike with thy staff the sea*' [Q. 26:63] refers to the pen dipped into the sea of ink, which is water, in accordance with '*And if (all the trees on earth were pens and) the ocean [were ink], with seven oceans behind it to add to its [supply]*' [Q. 31:27].[19] '*Strike for them a dry path [in the sea]*' [Q. 20:77]: the '*dry path*' is produced by the writing (*kitābat*) … Another similarity is that among all animals, the snake [is the only one which] possesses two tongues, just as the pen and the staff of Moses. This is why in the [state of spiritual] disclosure (*kashf*), God showed [the staff to Moses] as a snake … it was the pen that produced all the magic[20] … All [the creation] came forth from the two 'words' [corresponding to the consonnants] of the [divine Imperative] *Kᵘn!*. The two tongues of the pen made manifest the science (*ʿilm*) [corresponding] to the two 'words' of the *Kᵘn!* (107a–108b).

The definition of form as the science of the invisible Word is not just a convention in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The line of balance, establishing a correspondence between the visible forms and the elements of the divine Word, guides the seeker to the real knowledge of the

---

[16] Inventory I, no. 8.

[17] An allusion to the Ten Commandments inscribed by God on the tablets given to Moses. See Inventory II, no. 15.

[18] Cf. Chapter 1, note 49.

[19] Yusuf Ali's translation.

[20] Allusion to the Qurʾānic description of the transformation of the staff of Moses into a snake, Q. 20:20.

transcendental metaphysical truths emanated from the divine Essence, that is, to the highest knowledge accessible to a created being.

The account on the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of differentiation and manifestation that we have attempted in this chapter would not be complete without the mention of the negative side of this process. The transition from the original Oneness of the divine Essence to the duality of the Imperative which triggers the differentiation and the creation, implies the emergence of opposites. The light of the divine Word has the shadow of the form as its counterpart. As mentioned before, though this shadow is the means of the intelligible perception of the Word, its science, it is also the veil which hides the Word. In other words, in the differentiated universe, the science is simultaneous to its opposite, the ignorance. Indeed, in the passages concerning the original point cited above, usually with reference to the well-known saying attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: 'The knowledge [*ʿilm*, 'science' according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s technical vocabulary] is one point, it is the ignorant who multiplied it',[21] the *Jāwidān-nāma* expresses the idea that the differentiation is made in order to overcome the ignorance of minds based on discriminative perception, unable to grasp the undifferentiated metaphysical truth. The science and ignorance are essentially the same and have the same support, which is the form of the visible or mental objects. Completely opaque to the ignorant unable to transcend the superficial conventions, the same form is perceived by an initiate as a piece of divine ontological writing. The limit between two opposites is very subtle: it is, exactly, the line of balance, as narrow as the '*Straight Path*' (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*) mentioned in the Qurʾān:[22]

> Outside the station of Equity (*maqām-i ʿadl*), it is impossible to find the path [to the knowledge] of one's own [self], and to [the knowledge of all other] things, [because of] darkness and ignorance (*ẓulmat wa jahl*). When the things come to the station of Equity, it will manifest itself in accordance with the words of the Messenger: '[He (the *Mahdī*) will fill the earth with equity and

[21] Inventory I, no. 31.

[22] The line of balance is often compared in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the 'Straight Path' of the Qurʾān as, for example, in the following passage: 'All things are on the divine Straight Path of the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ-yi ṣirāṭ-i mustaqīm-i ilāhī*), which is the science (*ʿilm*) of the 28 and 32 [primordial] 'words" (455b–456a).

> justice (*ʿadlan wa qisṭan*) as] it was filled with injustice and oppression (*jawran wa ẓulman*).'[23] Before the Equity of the original nature (*ʿadl-i khilqa*) manifested itself, the [condition described as] 'filled with injustice and oppression' [predominates]. But the manifestation of God [realises] the opposite [condition]. The injustice and ignorance (*ẓulm wa jahl*) appear in compounds of the [ontological] 'words' (*tarkīb-i kalima*). When the [condition of] compound is transcended, all the injustice [or 'all the darkness'] of the [ontological] 'words' appear as equity (161a).[24]

In this chapter we have limited ourselves to the cosmogonical function of the principle of balance, to its role in the 'descent' of the divine Word into the creation. The epistemological function of the balance, that is, its role in the 'ascension' starting from the material world and the divine Word fixed in the prophetic books in the writing proper to human languages, and leading to the knowledge of the original divine Word, will be discussed in Part Two. The soteriological dimension of the principle of balance will be discussed in Part Three.

---

[23] Inventory I, no. 17.

[24] The Arabic root *ẓlm* contains the connotations of darkness, injustice, tyranny and oppression. In this passage, the author refers probably both to injustice (*ẓulm*), the opposite of equity (*ʿadl*), and to the darkness (*ẓulmat,* pl. *ẓulam*) of the ontological writing, the science of the Word, founded on the divine Equity.

3

Adam and Eve: The Form of the Word

We have seen in the previous chapters that, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the creation is essentially the unfolding of the ontological Language. It is described as Speech and Writing. The creation begins with the differentiation, when the divine Word, originally One, is 'split' under the action of the Imperative K^uN, the two consonants of which symbolise the idea of division, and manifested as distinct basic sounds or phonemes, the 28/32 ontological 'words'. At the same time, the distinct forms of the 'words', the 28/32 primary Letters appear as result of the differentiation of the black Point, the shadow and counterpart of the undifferentiated Word. Various groups from among the 28/32 'words' compose the names, while the combinations of the corresponding letters compose the forms and bodies of the named objects and beings. The names contain the transcendental knowledge emanated from the divine Essence. The quantum of knowledge conveyed by any particular name is proportional to the number of original 'words' of which it is composed. This knowledge is encoded and manifested in the form of the corresponding object in accordance with the principles of Measure and Balance. These principles ensure that any existing form is the locus of manifestation of the corresponding name. As any name is a unit of knowledge, the form which manifests this knowledge and thus makes it accessible is defined in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the 'science' of the corresponding name.[1]

However, there are three entities that stand out from the rest of the creation, because they result not from a partial combination but from the complete set of the 28/32 ontological 'words' and letters. Therefore, these three entities are the differentiated counterparts of the original divine Word, and they contain not just some particular aspects, but the

[1] For all the key concepts mentioned in this paragraph, see the Glossary.

fullest possible science of the divine Essence. As such, though very different in their natures and ways of manifestation, these three entities are fundamentally equivalent to each other. They are the Human Being, Time and Universe.

In this chapter, I will outline the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s views concerning the cosmic status of the human being, represented by the primordial couple of Adam and Eve, in his or her relationship with the divine names and attributes during the first stages of the creation, in particular during the stage of differentiation which was discussed in the previous chapter.

As mentioned, the uniqueness of the human bodily form is due to the fact that this form is the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word with its 28/32 'words'. This manifestation is, in particular, concentrated on the human face: 'All things are, in actuality and in potentiality (*bi-l-fi'l wa bi-l-quwwa*), the loci of manifestation of the [ontological] 'words'. … but the locus of manifestation of the complete Word and science (*maẓhar-i tāmm-i kalima wa 'ilm*) is the face of Adam' (369a); 'The 32 'words' are the distinctive signs (*'alāma*, pl. '*alāmāt*) of the human face. Necessarily, the human face is the locus of manifestation of the complete Word (*maẓhar-i kalām-i tāmm*), while other [objects and beings] are not the loci of manifestation of the complete [Word]' (389b). Since the loci of manifestation of the 'words' are the ontological letters, the human bodily shape and, especially, the human face contain the full ontological Writing. The following fragment gives a somewhat extended description of the 'totality' represented by the human bodily form, that of Adam and Eve:

> God brought together all the named [objects]… established them as counterparts of the 32 'words', and made of 32 'words' the names of all [named objects]. He created Adam in accordance with the number of these [32 'words'], and wrote them on the face of Adam by the hand of His power (*yad-i qudrat*). He [made these 'words' so that they] expressed themselves from the 32 teeth, from the tongue and face [of Adam] … When all things are bound together by the line of balance, they [produce] the science of the divine Word (*'ilm-i kalima-yi khudā'ī*). Adam and Eve are, each of them, the locus of manifestation of all 32 divine [ontological] 'words'. Their bodies (*wujūd*) are bound to all things, as everything is part of them, and [their bodies represent] the totality (*kull*). All the heavens and planets with their effusions

> (*fayḍ*) face the earth, and they [Adam and Eve] are the spiritual direction (*qibla*) of the all. Eve is the foundation (*aṣl*) and the Mother (*umm*) – during the prayer over the dead (*talqīn-i gūr*) and the Resurrection (*qiyāma*) everybody is called back to the Mother – because it is through the original nature of the face (*khilqat-i wajh*) of Eve that the original nature of the face of Adam and the science of the 32 [ontological] 'words' manifests itself. Adam, Eve and the 32 'words' shine from behind the soot and the smoke [of the ink] of the conventional (*iṣṭilāḥī*) writing. They are the divine Books (*kutub-i khudāʾī-yi ilāhī*), [the letters of which] shine through their faces and their bodies. They are the divine Word (*kalima*): '*Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only the Messenger of God, and His Word …* ' [Q. 4:171]; 'I am the speaking Word of God' (*anā kalām Allāh al-nāṭiq*).[2] All things are bound to their bodies [i.e., of Adam and Eve] from six [spatial] directions, and thus also [included into] the divine Book: '*Light upon light*' [Q. 24:35]. The six [spatial directions] are bound to the bodies [of Adam and Eve] and form their members. All that face them from the six directions is [part of] their members and of their bodies. All things are one body of Adam, and the names of all things come from him. The innermost meaning (*maʿnā*) and secret (*sirr*) of all things manifests itself in him. In this sense, he is the father (*padar*) and the spiritual direction (*qibla*) of all things: '*a place holy, and a guidance to all beings*' [Q. 3:96]. The spiritual direction of all objects and beings, including angels, is the world of earth (*ʿālam-i khāk*) (91a–b).

Because it contains the science of the whole set of original 'words', the human face is the counterpart of the supreme name of God: 'The face of Adam is the supreme name, in the sense that it is the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 separated divine 'words' (*kalima-yi mufrada-yi ilāhī*)' (26a). Therefore, in the whole universe, only human beings possess, at least in their bodies if not in their minds,[3] the complete science of the divine Word: 'The human form (*ṣūrat-i bashariyya*) is the science of the

---

[2] Inventory I, no. 22.

[3] The *Jāwidān-nāma* comments extensively on two stages of the Qurʾānic story of the creation of Adam. The first is the creation of the body of Adam, the shape of which contains the complete set of 28/32 basic forms of primordial letters, the complete 'alphabet' of the creation. The second stage is when Adam becomes aware of this science of the divine Word written upon his body and face. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this happens when God teaches him the '*names of all things*' (Q. 2:31). The science of the Word is thus incorporated into every human body, but the

divine Word. Since the 'science' is the locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of the Word (*kalima*), he [the human being] is the supreme name of God. Unlike other creatures, [the human being possesses] the science of 28 and of the *nūn* [=50]' (363b).[4]

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the members of the human body are the *form* of the divine attributes. The concept of form as science, i.e., as the locus of manifestation of metaphysical truth, determines the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to the anthropomorphic vocabulary of the Qurʾān, to the issue of 'likeness' between divine and human, a topic of much controversy in Islamic theology.[5] The position of the *Jāwidān-nāma* in this regard can be summarised as follows: since Adam was created as the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word, the members of his body are the loci of manifestation of anthropomorphic attributes of God mentioned in the Qurʾān. The Qurʾānic expressions such as 'Face of God', 'Hand of God' and so on thus refer, quite literally, to the human body.

> The Throne of God is the external form (*ṣūrat-i ẓāhir*) of Adam … The innermost meaning (*maʿnā*) of his form and of his language is [the fact that they are] the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 pre-eternal divine 'words' … The lines of [the ontological] writing on the [human] face and [the human body] in its entirety is the divine [ontological] Writing … the [Well-preserved] Tablet (*lawḥ*) is a reference to Adam, who is the locus of manifestation of the pre-existent Word (*kalima-yi qadīm*). His face, his hand and his fingers are the science (*ʿilm*) of the pre-existent Word because they are the Face of God, the Hand of God and the Fingers of the All-Merciful (112a–b).

This, however, should not be understood as plain anthropomorphism, that is, the actual incarnation of divinity in human form. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of form is crucial in this regard: the relationship

---

understanding of this science requires a special teaching, which is the purpose of prophetic missions. This topic will be discussed in more detail in Part Two.

[4] The number 50 is the sum of 28 letters and 22 points of the Arabic alphabet. In the *Jāwidān-nāma,* this number is usually associated to the 50 prayers which, according to the tradition, Muḥammad received from God during his heavenly ascension.

[5] O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Historical Development of the Paradox of "Likeness" between Divine and Human as Source of Religious Knowledge in Islam', *Ishraq,* 3 (2012), pp. 331–352 (in Russian).

between the divine attribute and the corresponding part of the human body is the relationship between an invisible, transcendental truth and its locus of manifestation. There is an essential link between the two, the link of Balance and Measure, which was discussed in the previous chapter. But this link does not mean that they are placed at the same level. Without taking into consideration this specific definition of form as science and locus of manifestation, the statements such as 'Adam, created according to the form of the Merciful,[6] is the form of God on the earth and in the heaven' (125a), 'The form of Adam is the form of God' (139a), or 'The face of Adam is the Face of God' (237a), could indeed be misunderstood as expressions of extreme anthropomorphism (*tashbīh, tajassum*).

However, as we already have seen above, the *Jāwidān-nāma* contains an elaborate theory of correspondences between the transcendental and formal levels. In other words, whereas the *identity* of the realities belonging to the different levels is not admitted in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, a certain *likeness* between divine and human is not only confirmed, but is also essential to the work. Let us recall that the *Jāwidān-nāma* states that the divine Essence is beyond any manifestation and is absolutely unknowable; but the Word, the emanation of the Essence, its revealed part, *Deus Revelatus*, though transcendental to the creation, can be manifested in it following the laws of Balance and Measure outlined above. This means that *Deus Revelatus* has a form, a Shadow, a locus of manifestation which perfectly expresses His innermost reality, just as every ontological 'word' and name corresponding to any transcendental truth has a form, which perfectly expresses this particular truth. Exactly in the same manner, *Deus Revelatus*, the Word, which is nothing other than the *totality* of the primary ontological phonemes, generates a corresponding form reflecting this totality, that is, its locus of manifestation: 'God speaks from behind the curtain of the bodily form [of Adam], because it is the science of the 32 divine 'words', and it is His Word' (331b). It is in this sense that Adam, the prototype and perfect model of human physical form, is essentially the form, the locus of manifestation and the science of the *Deus Revelatus*: 'The human [body] is the locus of manifestation of the Word, and the Word

[6] Inventory I, no. 11.

is the locus of manifestation of God, inseparable from God, just as it is inseparable from the Perfect Human' (345b). In this specific sense then, the form of Adam is the form of God.

The divergence from the plain anthropomorphism resides in the fact that the locus of manifestation of a certain reality is not this reality itself. The form that expresses a divine truth is not this truth itself, but only a means to knowledge of that truth. In other words, the relation between transcendental reality and its locus of manifestation is asymmetric and does not work conversely in both directions: the fact that the form of Adam is the form of God does not mean that Adam is identical to God. God can see Adam in his totality, but Adam can see only the form of God, which is the form of Adam's own body, but he cannot see the divine Essence; and this is only *like* to see God:

> 'Serve God as if you are seeing Him' (*taʿbud Allāha ka-annaka tarāhu*).[7] Since Adam is [made] in accordance with the form of God (*bar ṣūrat-i khudā*), when you see him [i.e., Adam], it is [as] 'if you were seeing Him', 'because He sees you' (*fa-innahu yarāka*) 'in the form of Adam' (*ʿalā ṣūrat Adam*), which means that the name (*ism*) of God is his [i.e., Adam's physical] form (*ṣūra*) … (26b).

This '*like*', or '*as if*' expresses the whole distance from plain anthropomorphism. The way from the name to the named is immediate because the name creates the named and thus generates its own form. But the inverse path, from the form to its ontological principle, is more difficult and cannot be covered without some special knowledge, which enables the seeker to perceive the form as the locus of manifestation or 'science' and to read it, thus leading him to the ultimate meaning of this form, to an invisible truth. This specific knowledge is akin to the prophetic revelation,[8] and will be discussed in

---

[7] Inventory I, no. 43.

[8] The Ḥurūfī description of the Cosmic Human as the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the divine Word or divine Light is very close to the Shiʿi concept of the cosmic Imām. On the latter see Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* in particular pp. 73–95. Just as the Ḥurūfī Adam, the Imām is the locus of manifestation of the divine attributes, the visible Face of God, the *Deus Revelatus.* According to Shiʿi doctrine, the Imām is the perfect guide to the knowledge of God, who cannot be known without the Imām. The Ḥurūfī doctrine of the cosmic Human is fundamentally the same, and diverges from the traditional Shiʿi views only in some details, such as the concept of

Part Two. At the present point, let us quote the following passage about the relationship between the form of God and the form of Adam:

> God manifested Himself to the Messenger in the most beautiful form (*ṣūra*),[9] so that [Muḥammad] became aware that his [bodily] form is the form of God and the form of Adam, and that he knew why the Essence (*dhāt*) of God came into this form … [God speaks in the first person]: 'Because when you know [the innermost meaning of] your own bodily form and of your face, you know My Face and Myself: "Whosoever knows himself knows his Lord."[10] Because I have written on My Face the 32 'words', which are the signs of My Word, you are My Word and My writing (*kitāba*) … When you read My form – "*He has prescribed for Himself mercy*" [Q. 6:12] – [only then] will you know me, you [can] not know Me otherwise … Adam is My vicegerent (*khalīfa*) in the sense that he has My form: "God created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful."[11] Truly, this form of Adam is My form (*bi-ḥaqīqa ān ṣūrat-i Adam ṣūrat-i man ast*) … Know your own form in order to know Mine. All objects and beings are annihilated (*maḥw*) within My form. All objects (*ashyāʾ*), creatures (*makhlūqāt*), stars (*anjum*) and heavens (*aflāk*) … move within My form (*sayr dar ṣūrat-i man dārand*). Every one of them, at the moment of its creation, manifests something from My form (*namūdārī az baʿḍ-i ṣūrat-i man and*) … This form, I gave it to Adam, I clad him in it' (221b–222a).

The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to the anthropomorphic vocabulary of the Qurʾān is interesting both from the point of view of the general history of Islamic theology and for a better understanding of Ḥurūfī doctrinal positions. It seems therefore useful to give at this point, in addition to the fragment 37a cited above, a somewhat extended selection of quotations related to this question. These quotations exemplify the different formulations of the same basic statement concerning the relationship between the bodily form of Adam and the anthropomorphic attributes of God: 'By his creation (*az rū-yi khilqat*)

28/32 ontological 'words'. Although the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not contain a theory of imamate in the Shiʿi sense, the relevant sayings attributed to the Shiʿi Imāms are repeatedly cited in the text.

[9] Inventory I, no. 30.

[10] Inventory I, no. 52.

[11] Inventory I, no. 11.

[Adam] is the science of the divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi khudā*). All divine attributes, such as the Face of God, Hand of God and Side of God, refer to the attributes of Adam, because Adam was created in accordance with these attributes' (111a).

> The human being (*insān*) is created '*in the fairest stature*' [Q. 95:4]. In accordance with '*I am setting in the earth a viceroy*' [Q. 2:30], and with 'God created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful', [every human] is the locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of God. [He or she] is created in accordance with the form and the attributes of God, and is the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of all divine names … This is why [God] used [the anthropomorphic vocabulary] metaphorically (*istiʿāra*) [in order to refer to the divine attributes] (8b).
>
> '*All things perish, except His Face. His is the Judgment, and unto Him you shall be returned*' [Q. 28:88] … The Face (*wajh*), Hand (*yad*), Side (*janb*) and Fingers (*aṣābiʿ*) of God are the metaphors (*istiʿāra wa majāz*) referring to Adam, because it is possible to attain the 32 [ontological] 'words' starting from the face of Adam and his side and finger. The divine Word (*kalima-yi khudā*) is emitted by the mouth and throat [of Adam]. Even if [Adam] was unable to speak, with the permission of God the writing [of the ontological 'words'] could be read on his face by means of the divine signs (*bi-ishārat-i khudāʾī*). [God] used the face of Adam and his finger as metaphors (*istiʿāra*) because it is possible to attain the presence of the divine might (*ḥaḍrat-i ʿizzat*) starting from the face of Adam, the finger of Adam and the side of Adam (28b).
>
> 'God created Adam in His form.' The form of God is an attribute of God, and [each] divine attribute [consists of] the 32 divine 'words'. The original nature (*khilqat*) of Adam was created in accordance with this attribute [of form]. The form of Adam is [therefore] really the form of God (*bi-ḥaqīqat ṣūrat-i Adam ṣūrat-i khudāst*) (139a).
>
> O seeker, be aware that, in accordance with '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31] Adam, peace be upon him, is the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of these 32 divine 'words', which are the origin (*aṣl*) of [all] the names. [All anthropomorphic attributes of God mentioned in the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*] such as Face, Hand, Fingers, Side, Leg, '*the fairest stature*' [Q. 95:4] and the 'form of the beardless youth'[12] (*ṣūrat amrad qaṭaṭ*) are all localised on a determined object (*az barā-yi shay-i muʿayyan*

[12] Inventory I, no. 30.

> *mawḍūʿ ast*). For example, 'face' is a word (*lafẓ*) referring to … the face of Adam, and the same [is true when speaking of the] hand, leg and fingers … When God mentions the Hand of God, Face of God and Fingers of the All-Merciful, these are the metaphors referring to Adam and to nobody else. Because it is [Adam] who possesses the face, the hand, the leg, the side and the fingers, and it is he who taught the names (448a).[13]

In the previous chapter, we have seen that the category of form, support of the 'science', first emerges in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as a black Point. This primordial Point contains, in an undifferentiated condition, the complete science of the original divine Word. The form of the human body expresses the same complete knowledge, but in a differentiated condition; the human body is the differentiated counterpart of the original Point.

> The first thing that the pen of a scribe produces when it touches [the paper] is a point (*nuqṭa*). The Word (*kalima*), rooted in the Essence of the presence of the [divine] Unity (*dhāt-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*), is the counterpart of this original Point [produced by] the scribe [on the] Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*) of Adam's face, [in the beginning] of the [lines of the] writing of the face, which are 28 or 32 with the line of balance (320a).[14]

Thus, the human form synthesises the complete set of 28/32 original letters, the basic elements of form resulting from the differentiation of the Point. In other words, the human body represents the complete divine 'alphabet' of the creation: 'Adam was created to be the form (*ṣūra*) of the 32 [ontological 'words'], in accordance with the 32 [lines of writing upon] his face. He is the Word of God (*kalimat'ullāh*)' (29a); 'The graphic form (*naqsh*) of the letters of the alphabet is similar to the form of Adam (*mithāl-i ṣūrat-i Adam*). This is why he [Adam] represents the science (*ʿilm*), in the sense that the letters are made [to represent] the science of the Word (*ʿilm-i kalima*), and the form of Adam is the science of [all] the 32 [ontological] 'words' on the 'Straight Path' (*ṣirāṭ mustaqīm*)' (153b).

---

[13] Allusion to Q. 2:33, where Adam teaches angels the names he received from God.

[14] According to the *Jāwidān-nāma,* there are seven basic lines on the human face, which become eight with the line of balance drawn in the middle. Multiplied by four, which is the number of natural elements (earth, water, air and fire), seven and eight become respectively 28 and 32. See Chapter 4.

It should be noted that the prototypal human being is most often considered in the *Jāwidān-nāma* in his dichotomy of the masculine and feminine aspects, as the couple Adam/Eve. Eve represents the *original form* of every human being, male as well as female. In the couple Adam/Eve, Eve is the *form* of Adam. In order to support this position, the *Jāwidān-nāma* observes that it is the mother who gives bodily form to the human being; this form is originally that of the mother. The lines and features specific to the male body develop only in adult men. All inhabitants of Paradise have the bodily form of Eve, and even Adam has in Paradise the form of Eve. The relationship between Adam and Eve is similar to the relationship between the series of 28 and 32 'words': the 28 (Eve) represent the foundation potentially containing the 32 (Adam); this potentiality is realised by the line of Balance. Adam was created before Eve. Adam's body contains the complete science of the divine Word, but this science is inaccessible without the basic science represented by the bodily shape of Eve. These positions will be analysed more closely in the following chapters. Let us just note, however, that even if Eve is not explicitly mentioned in all passages cited below, any mention of the bodily form of Adam may equally be a reference to Eve.

The ontological letters required in order to create, to 'write down' the actual form of any other being or object, can only be derived from the alphabet of the human form. Just like the forms of the letters of any ordinary alphabet are intended to express corresponding sounds, the human form is intended to express the science of the divine 'words':

> About the composition of the form (*waḍʿ-i shakl*). The forms [of the names of the letters] *alif, bāʾ* and *tāʾ* are made with the purpose of representing the science (*ʿilm*) of these words [i.e., the names of letters] *alif, bāʾ* and *tāʾ*. Similarly, God composed (*waḍʿ*) the human form (*shakl-i insānī*) with the purpose of it to be the science of the 32 'words' of His [Word] (218b).

But the letters of human alphabets are only a metaphor of the only real Alphabet, that of the creation represented by the bodily form of Adam:

> The letters and the point are the science and the locum tenens of the Word (*kalima*). This visible science of the 50 [graphical signs] is a metaphor (*majāz*) of the science of the 28 words emitted by the humans. In reality (*ḥaqīqa*), the science of these 28 words is the locus of manifestation [which is] the human [body] (*maẓhar-*

> *i insānī*) and [the human] face, which bears 28 [lines of the divine writing] (316a–b).

Just as the original Point is the source from which any letter is derived, the human form is the source of any writing based on differentiated elements. Adam and Eve are, essentially, the original and only real Book of God, containing potentially any possible book, especially any prophetic revelation. Again, any prophetic book written in a human language is only a metaphor of the real ontological writing appearing on the human body and face:

> The divine Book is the visible form of the divine Word metaphorically (*bi-majāz*), while in reality (*bi-ḥaqīqa*) it is the human body that is the Book of God. From the [human body] you can learn the 32 sciences, which manifest themselves on the face, and which lead to the 32 [ontological] 'words' (318a).

This is why the *Jāwidān-nāma* identifies the human form, and particularly the human face, the most expressive part of the body, with the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*), the archetype of all prophetic books as well as of the whole creation considered as divine writing: 'The Well-preserved Tablet is the place where the Qurʾān and other [prophetic] books, as well as the [ontological] names of all things, are fixed. And this person who is the Tablet is the locus of manifestation of all sciences (*ʿulūm*), and [this person] is Adam' (38b). The form of any created being or object originates from the human form. As the result of the differentiation of the Word, the human form emerges from the blackness and smoke of the undifferentiated condition and irradiates the Balance and the Measure, establishing thus the correspondence between the creation and the original divine Reality. In its quality of Well-preserved Tablet, the human form contains potentially all possible forms of the created universe. Since the potentialities of all existing things are contained in the form of the human body, the universe with all that it contains reproduces in its structure the human body, represented by the primordial couple of Adam and Eve. All parts of the universe are articulated together as members of a human body.

The human being is the central figure of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s cosmology. He/she encapsulates the totality of creation, from beginning to end:

> Imagine all things of the three worlds as [if they were] one world, [established] as the counterpart of the human being (*bi-khilāf-i insān*). From the vantage point of the line of balance of the creation (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ-yi khilqat*), you can see that they are all loci of manifestation of the Word (*kalima wa kalām*), and that the human being (*insān*) is the locus of manifestation of [all] that [is contained] in all [things of the three worlds], in actuality, in potentiality, and from the point of view of the [ontological] science [expressed by the forms of these things] (*chi az rū-yi bi-l-fiʿl wa bi-l-quwwa wa chi az rū-yi ʿilmiyyat*) … Any locus of manifestation and any [expression of the ontological] science (*maẓhariyyat wa ʿilmiyyat*) that exists in the heavens [exists also] in [every] single human being: '*We have neglected nothing in the Book*' [Q. 6:38], and '*Everything We have numbered in a clear register*' [Q. 36:12] … All the creation, with the infinite [multitude of] objects [contained in it], is a single human person. All visible objects are the parts and attendants (*ajzāʾ wa ḥawāshī*) [of this person] (267a).

Since the human shape is the locus of manifestation of the complete Word and includes all the 28/32 ontological letters, that is, the totality of divine science, no other form can contain more science. The human form is the most perfect form of the universe, and stands therefore at the limit between the created universe and the eternal, invisible, creative divine Word. It is the first locus of manifestation of the science of the divine Word, and also the place where this science will return at the end of times. In many passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* Adam is identified with the Qurʾānic 'Lote-tree of the Boundary' (*sidrat al-muntahā,* Q. 53:14): 'The Lote-tree of the Boundary refers to Adam: "God created Adam in His form and in the form of All-Merciful." There is no station (*maqām*) above this one … The complete science (*ʿilm-i kullī*) coming from the heavens attains first of all [the Lote-tree] … and comes back to it at the end' (274a).[15] The following two fragments develop the idea of the human form as the 'boundary' of the forms:

> The 'Lote-tree of the Boundary' mentioned [in the Qurʾān, 53:14] is, in a sense, [the 'good tree' of the verse]: '*A good word is as a good tree*' [Q. 14:24]. The boundary (*muntahā*) is mentioned because the boundary of the Word (*muntahā-yi kalām*) is

[15] We will see more examples on the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the Qurʾānic 'Lote-tree of the Boundary' in the following chapters.

> constituted by the 32 [ontological] 'words'. In a sense, they are similar to the human form (*mithāl-i ṣūrat-i bashariyya*). It is in this sense that the Lote-tree of the Boundary [is located on the boundary]. The form of the 32 [ontological 'words'], which is the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 'words' manifests itself in [the Lote-tree]. And it is the human form that possesses the science of the 32 'words'. [The human form] is therefore the Lote-tree of the Boundary (208b–209a).
>
> His [Adam's] form (*ṣūra*) is the form of God (*ṣūrat-i ilāhīst*), and this is why the angels bowed down before [Adam]. Necessarily, his [Adam's] form is the boundary form (*ṣūrat-i muntahā*). In this form, it is possible to see the presence of Unity (*ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*). '*Nigh which is the Garden of the Refuge*' [Q. 53:15]: near the Lote-tree of the Boundary is a Garden '*whose breadth is as the heavens and earth, prepared for the godfearing*' [Q. 3:133] (415b).

The Qurʾānic symbols of the divine Throne (*ʿarsh*) and Footstool (*kursī*) are used in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to make the link between the limit position of the human form expressed by the Lote-tree of the Boundary and the principle of the Balance which, as we have seen, originates from the Throne. The dichotomy Throne/Footstool reflects the dichotomy of the masculine and feminine aspects of the human form, which will be discussed in more detail further below. At this point, let us exemplify this idea through the following citation:

> In [the verse] '*The All-Compassionate sat Himself [in balance] upon the Throne*' [Q. 20:5],[16] God mentions the Throne (*ʿarsh*) in order to refer to Adam … The Throne is the body (*wujūd*) of Adam, because the balance of the divine Word (*istiwāʾ-yi kalima-yi ilāhī*) manifested itself in the original nature (*khilqa*) of his face. Eve is His Footstool (*kursī*). There are seven lines [of the divine writing in the] shape (*hayʾa*) of the Footstool, compared to the Throne which [represents] the complete [writing] of [Adam's] face (272b–273a).[17]

Both Throne and Footstool are related to the same concept of the Lote-tree of the Boundary as the limit:

---

[16] Cf. Chapter 1, note 49.

[17] According to the *Jāwidān-nāma,* the female face contains seven fundamental, 'motherly' lines. To these are added, on the face of the adult male, seven 'fatherly' lines. See Chapter 4 below.

> About the Throne. It is said that above [all] things there is the Throne of God. This is true because, if the things are not limited on one side, on another side they are limited by the divine Throne and Footstool. Beyond the Throne and the Footstool is the world of God (*ʿālam-i khudā*), that of the divine Word (*kalima-yi ilāhī*) (364b).

Adam is the Throne of God, and the Throne is essentially the source of the Balance. It is from Adam/Throne, the primary locus of divine manifestation, that the Balance spreads to the rest of the creation, and thus conveys to every object the ability to express a divine reality:

> Adam is the Throne (*ʿarsh*) of God because … he was created in the form of the All-Merciful: 'God created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful.' Therefore, Adam is the divine Throne, and the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the pre-existant Word (*kalām-i qadīm*). The science (*ʿilm*) of the 28 and 32 [ontological] 'words' appears on the tablet of his face. '*All things perish, except His Face*' [Q. 28:88], because this science of the divine Word (*ʿilmiyyat-i kalima-yi ilāhī*) does not manifest itself on the face of any creature other than on the face of Adam … The balance of the [divine] presence (*ḥaḍrat*) and of His Word (*kalām*) on the Throne and on all things is like a king sitting on his throne and commanding his deputies. Even if God and the 32 [ontological] 'words' [of His Word] manifest (*tajallī*) themselves in everything, nowhere else than on the face of Adam, which is His Throne, did He found the [perfect] balance (*istiwāʾ*) for His manifestation and His writing. [The Prophet] said: 'In the night of my heavenly ascension, I saw my Lord in the form of a beardless youth, in the most beautiful form (*aḥsan ṣūra*)', because Adam was [created] '*in the fairest stature*' (*aḥsan taqwīm*) [Q. 95:4], as the locus of manifestation of the 32 'words' without beginning and without end (*azalī abadī*), from the point of view of his language and from the point of view of his original nature (*khilqa*). His teeth, his forehead, his members and his side are the science of the complete divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi tāmm-i ilāhī*). This is why Adam is the Throne of God: '*The All-Compassionate sat Himself [in balance] upon the Throne*' [Q. 20:5] (276a–b).[18]

The human form is thus the focal point of the science of the Word. From this point, the science is irradiated and distributed to the rest of

[18] Cf. Chapter 1, note 49.

the creation. In other words, the human form, which summarises and expresses the supreme Truth or Meaning of the creation, that of the original divine Word, is like a standard or mould which gives to the creation a structure appropriate to the reception and visible expression of metaphysical truths and meanings derived from the divine Word. In this sense, the human form is what makes the creation meaningful, literally fills it with meaning. The action of the principle of Balance inherent to the human form is applied first of all to two general components of the creation: Time and Universe. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Time and the Universe are, like Adam, the loci of manifestation of the complete Word. However, unlike Adam, Time and the Universe do not possess a proper form. They are therefore dependent on the human form through which they acquire a structure corresponding to the science of the Word:

> Divided by the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwā'*), the body of Adam is the divine writing and the Well-preserved Tablet (*kitābat-i khudā wa lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*). From this location, [the ontological writing is] spread, by the [action] of the line of balance, on all things, and in particular, on the things [composed] of the four elements, which are the remnants of the original nature of Adam (*baqiyyat-i khilqat-i Adam*), that is to say, the things made of earth … After that, by the division of the world of earth, water, air and fire (*bi-taqsīm-i 'ālam-i khāk wa āb wa hawā wa ātash*), the [division of] the body (*wujūd*) of Adam was transmitted to the natural elements (*bi-ṭabā'i'*). After that, [this division attained the heavens and the heavenly bodies] according to the [verses]: '*By heaven of the constellations*' [Q. 85:1]; '*And the moon – We have determined it by stations*' [Q. 36:39]. The Prophet Idrīs established that [the moon has] 28 stations, and [that the heaven of the constellations is divided into] 12 constellations, each constellation [measuring] 30 degrees, so that [together they cover] 360 degrees, like [the number] of articulations of Adam, of his bones, of the parts of flesh and skin [composing his body]. After that, the division [extended] to the nights and days which are 12,[19] just as the constellations (82a).

[19] Reference either to the six days of creation mentioned in the Qur'ān (six days and six nights), or to the 12 hours of day and 12 hours of night.

Some details of this process of differentiation and structuring of Time and the Universe according to the proportions of the human bodily form will be examined in the following chapters.

4

Excursus on Knowledge and Love

It is hardly possible to discuss any topic of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine without reference to human beings. The human being is the key figure of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s *Weltanschauung* and, in a sense, the whole work is essentially an 'anthropology'. The present Excursus is focused on two important attributes of the human being: Knowledge and Love, mentioned only briefly elsewhere in this book, but important to the understanding of the following chapters. As we have already seen, the human shape is conceived in the *Jāwidān-nāma* essentially as the model for the creation of the universe, as the source of cosmic Measure and Balance. In the following chapters, the human being will be considered respectively as the source and the final goal of the prophetic revelations, and the personification of the end of time. Knowledge and Love characterise human beings in their own existence and their relationships between each other.

The differentiation between the male and female bodily forms has an important epistemological significance in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Man and Woman are both the loci of manifestation of the divine Word, but their forms express the knowledge of the Word in two different ways.

In the beginning, we are told, Adam and Eve dwelled in Paradise. This means, according to the interpretation given in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, that they were inseparably united to each other within the undifferentiated divine Word with its 28 and 32 'words'. The expression of this idea in the following passage is widely based on the interpretation of the symbolism of the Qurʾānic description of Paradise:

> '*Adam, dwell thou, and thy wife, in the Garden*' [Q. 2:35]. There is a tree in Paradise: '*A good word is as a good tree*' [Q. 14:24], that is

> to say, 'dwell in a single word' (*bi-hī [=yak] kalima qarār bi-gīr*). The discourse that God addressed to Adam [in the cited verse of the Qurʾān] refers to the 32 [ontological] 'words', [brought together] within one single Word. '*Eat where you desire from this single word*',[1] that is, 'recognize the [fundamental] unity of all [things]'. 'Thou and [thy] wife': 'thou' [refers] to the soul (*nafs*), and 'wife' means the spouse of the Word (*zawj-i kalima*) … She, too, dwells in a single Word, because her body is dependent on [this Word] (*wujūd-i khū [=ū] qāʾim bi-khūʾī [=bi-ūst]*) (166b).

This quotation suggests that Adam is the soul (*nafs*) of the Word, while Eve is its body (*wujūd*). The idea that Adam is closer to the initial, invisible stage of the Word, while Eve represents the principle of embodiment is further developed in other passages. The couple Adam/Eve is able to reproduce the entire cosmogenesis such as it has been described in the previous chapters, from the generation of the invisible and undifferentiated Word symbolised by the drop of sperm, through the stages of differentiation until its embodiment in the perfect locus of manifestation, a human form constituted in the womb of Eve. Thus, Adam provides the original Point, the 'ink' of the ontological writing, associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the symbols of smoke and blackness; but it is in the womb of Eve that this writing is developed and actualised as a concrete human form:[2]

> The sperm (*nuṭfa*) [contained] in the back of Adam is similar to the soot and blackness (*dūda wa siyāhī*), which comes from the inkwell of his back into the original nature of the pen of [his] penis (*khilqat-i qalam-i dhakar*), which produces, in the womb of [Eve] the Mother (*dar shikam-i umm*), the bodily form of mother (*ṣūrat-i umm*), divided [in accordance with] the lines of the divine [ontological writing]. Whosoever, male or female, comes [in this world] from [the belly of his or her] mother, comes with the bodily form corresponding to the form of Mother (*bi-ṣūrat-i umm*) (262a).
>
> Any [ontological] 'word' from among the 32 divine 'words' … is, in the beginning, one point (*nuqṭa*) … [All] that is outside the point [exists only] for the purpose of differentiation (*tamyiz*). For example, the sperm (*nuṭfa*), which [passes] from the back of the

[1] *Az hī [=yak] kalima har jā ke mīkhwāhī be-khwūr*: modified Persian paraphrase of Q. 2:35.

[2] Other aspects of relative position of Adam and Eve with regard to the original Word will be discussed later.

> father to the womb (*raḥim*) [of the mother], does not possess in its essence (*dhāt*), in actuality (*bi-l-fi'l*), any shape or form (*shakl wa ṣūrat wa paykar*). When it takes place in the womb – and this holds true for the male [embryo] as well as for the female – it acquires the shape of the mother (*shakl-i umm*) with its [characteristic] seven lines of the divine writing. [It is in this shape] that it appears from the belly of [its] mother with [its autonomous] body (233b).

The following passages confirm that the sperm of Adam has no specific form in itself; the form is given to it in the womb of the mother, and any human form, male and female, is originally the form of Eve the Mother: 'The sperm (*nuṭfa*), produced and emitted from the back of Adam, does not possess externally the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam, nor that of the Mother. [It is only] when it receives a body (*wujūd*) from the Mother that it acquires the shape and form of the Mother' (27a):

> The sperm of Adam does not possess this form [of the human body] in actuality (*bi-l-fi'l*). It is produced from the form of Eve. This is why it is said: 'Truly, Paradise is at the feet of mothers.' The original nature (*khilqa*) of Eve is the last in the creation,[3] and the last writing is the writing on the faces of the sons of Adam [born] from her [from Eve] (57b).

In the womb of Eve, the original point of sperm undergoes differentiation, reproducing the differentiation of the cosmic Black Point. The letters and the lines of ontological writing appear progressively as the foetus develops. At the moment of birth, crucial because it marks the passage from the interior, invisible (*bāṭin*) to the exterior, visible (*ẓāhir*) existence, the half of the lines are fully developed and visible in the form and facial features of the new-born baby, independently of its sex:

> When a … boy [lit. 'man', *rajul*] is born from the belly of his mother, he already has two times seven [lines of divine ontological writing on his face]. The other seven [lines, proper to the adult man], like the moustache and others, develop only in the external material world (*dunyā*). One half [of the lines] appears thus in the womb of the mother (*dar baṭn-i umm*) and

[3] This is an allusion to the biblical story of the creation, which places the creation of Adam and Eve in the last, sixth day, Eve being created after Adam.

> another in the exterior material world (*dar dunyā ki ʿālam-i ẓāhirast*). This shows that interior and exterior are governed alike (*ān kas ki murabbī-yi bāṭin ast hamāzan ast ki murabbī-yi ẓāhirast*) (213b).[4]

This original divine writing represented by the form of Eve, and shared by women, children and adolescents of both sexes, is the foundation on which develops the more complete writing contained in the form of adult men, exemplified in the form of Adam. This original writing is symbolised in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the seven facial lines: a hairline, two lines of eyebrows and four lines of eyelashes. Together with the seven parts of the face where they appear, they are 14, that is, half the number 28 symbolising the complete Word. The additional seven lines, which appear on the face of an adult man, are constituted by the lines of beard and moustache. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the prophetic description of the vision of God narrated in a well-known *ḥadīth* where God shows Himself to Muḥammad in the form of a beautiful youth,[5] refers to the revelation of the original divine writing in its original form, that of Eve. The central idea here seems to be that the form of Eve is essentially that in which the original divine writing is revealed and can be seen. This is why 'the hand of the divine Power' hinders the manifestation of the additional lines proper to the adult man in women, children and adolescents. Indeed, if the basic writing visible on the faces of the latter was hidden by the additional lines, the more complex writing on the face of an adult man could not be deciphered:

> The original nature (*khilqa*), which is the starting point of the degrees [of development] of any human being (*insān*), is the form of the mother (*ṣūrat-i umm*) … But the relationship to the mother is, [in particular], due to the fact that the human being receives his or her body (*wujūd*) from the mother, [and this body has] the shape and the form of Eve (*bi-shakl wa ṣūrat-i ḥawwāʾ*). This means that the original nature (*khilqa*) of his or her face [is constituted] by the [ontological writing figured by] the hairline, [two] eyebrows and four eyelashes. All the youth in Paradise have the form of the Mother (*ṣūrat-i umm*). The division of other seven [lines] on the face of Adam is produced by the [original

[4] Note the opposition between *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* suggested in this fragment.

[5] Inventory I no. 30.

> division] of the face of the Mother who is Eve. [Only] then the word of the line of the divine [ontological writing] manifests itself on the face of Adam. Without the original nature of the face of Eve, who is the Mother – [which would not have been visible] if the Pen of the [divine] might had not prevented the original natures of Adam and Eve from mixing together [and thus be indistinguishable from each other] – it would be impossible to attain the 32 divine 'words'. This is why, during the night of the heavenly ascension, God showed Himself [to Muḥammad] in the form [mentioned in the *ḥadīth*]: 'I saw my Lord in the form of a beardless youth', so that Muḥammad, who possessed himself the 'Seven Twofold' (*sabʿ al-mathānī*)[6] [on his face], could read the Mother of the Book [constituted by these 'seven twofold'] from the Well-preserved Tablet (69a–b).
>
> The shape, the form and the lines [of the] divine [ontological writing] of the face, [acquired by the embryo] in the womb of Eve, those that it bears when it appears [in the exterior world] are a half [of the lines proper to] Adam. The hand of the divine might prevents [the development] of the other half, constituted by the [lines] of beard, moustache and side whiskers, in the womb of the mother. [These lines] develop only in this [exterior] world (57b).

It is therefore the form of Eve/Mother, and not that of Adam/Father that expresses the basic lines of the divine writing which constitute the original human nature: 'The 'Seven Twofold' (*sabʿ al-mathānī*) belong to the Mother (*umm*), because they are in the original nature of the mother (*khilqat-i mādar*), not [in that of] the father' (244b). In this sense, Eve represents the original form and nature of Adam:[7] 'The

---

[6] This Qurʾānic expression refers here to the seven lines of hair which appear on the face of any human being at birth: hairline, two eyebrows and four eyelashes, together with the parts of the face where they are located, which, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, symbolise the divine writing on the face of women, children and youth of both sexes.

[7] Speculations concerning the metaphysical link between form and the feminine principle were present in various Shiʿī currents from early times. See L. Massignon, 'Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam', *Eranos Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 55–77, in particular pp. 64–66. For a similar theme in the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabi* (Paris, 1958), in particular pp. 110–138, and in the works of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī, see Corbin, *En islam Iranien,* vol. 4, p. 267 ff. The conception of the theophanic role of human beauty, developed in Sufism and, in particular, in Persian mystical poetry, the

original nature of Adam [is] the original nature of Eve' (*khilqat-i Adam khilqat-i Ḥawwāʾ*) (244b):

> In Paradise, both Eve and Adam had the bodily form of youth (*ṣūrat-i amrad*), that is to say, Adam had the form of Eve (*Adam bi-ṣūrat-i Ḥawwāʾ bāshad*) … From the point of view of original nature (*khilqa*) and external appearance (*ẓuhūr*), every man (*mard*) comes into existence (*wujūd*) from his mother and in the form of the mother (*bi-ṣūrat-i umm*). This means that he bears the science of the mother (*ʿilmiyyat-i umm*) on his face, not the science of the father (*ʿilmiyyat-i ab*) (266a).

The following passage highlights the idea that it is by means of the form of Eve that the original nature of Adam becomes *visible*:

> Why is Mecca not called 'father of the cities' (*abū-l-qurā*)? The answer is that Eve was the second [being after Adam] to be created in the location [of Mecca]. [Therefore], the human original nature (*khilqat-i insānī*) is better visible in her, because [Eve] has the shape of the Seven Twofold (*shakl-i sabʿ-i mathānī*). In addition, the sperm of Adam reaches the perfection of the human form in the [womb] of Eve. This is why [Mecca] is called 'mother of the cities' (*umm al-qurā*) (240a).

The fact that it is the form of Eve/Mother and not that of Adam/Father that is essential for the expression of the divine writing is further confirmed by the fact that Jesus, the Word of God and a Spirit from God according to the Qurʾān, took spontaneously a human form in the womb of Mary, without participation of a physical father: 'It is said in the Gospel (*injīl*) that Jesus is the Word of God (*kalima-yi ilāhī*), which came into the womb (*baṭn*) of the Virgin Mary and became flesh. This means that [the Word] took the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam without [the participation of] the father (*bī-padar*)' (421b).

In the light of the passages cited above, it becomes clear why the form of Adam cannot be understood, or 'read', without the key provided by the form of Eve. Eve is the basic writing starting from which develop the lines of Adam. Her form is the original manifestation of the divine writing: 'It is by the original nature of Mother (*khilqat-i umm*) that the science of the divine writing became

---

vocabulary of which is extensively used in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* is based on similar premises.

recognisable on the face of Adam. Otherwise [this science] would not be available' (238a–b). It will be recalled that the form of Adam is defined in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the 'science' of the complete divine Word, because this form makes the invisible truths contained in the Word visible and knowable. From this perspective, Eve is the 'science of the science': she personifies the clear model of division, from which appear the basic lines of the divine ontological writing without which the science of the form of Adam cannot be accessed. The knowledge of the form of Adam means the knowledge of the complete divine alphabet of creation and knowledge of the Word as the first emanation of the Essence. It gives the possibility of recognising the universal ontological writing in any existing form, 'reading' the creation and discerning its ultimate metaphysical meaning. In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this is the highest knowledge that can be attained by a created being. Such knowledge is proper to the condition of Paradise; and since it is the form of Eve that leads to the realisation of this knowledge, all the inhabitants of Paradise have the form of Eve. With regard to this point, the *Jāwidān-nāma* refers to the Qurʾānic descriptions of Paradise which mention the *houri*s and youths which, according to the interpretation that we have seen above, represent the form of the Mother with its seven basic lines of writing. The meaning of this form was revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad when God appeared to him in the form of a beautiful young man. We have encountered this interpretation above in passage fol. 69a–b. Another example is given in the citation below:

> 'Paradise is at the feet of Mothers.'[8] The Mother will appear [in Paradise] because, by her original nature (*khilqa*), it is possible to recognize the original nature of man's face (*wajh-i mard*), and reach thus the 32 [original] 'words' of the divine line [of ontological writing]. It is said that whosoever goes to Paradise … [goes there in the form of] youth (*amrad*), because he or she has reached the original nature of the Mother (*khilqat-i umm*) … All the *houri*s [of Paradise represent] the original nature of Mother. During the night of heavenly ascension, the Messenger contemplated the presence of Unity (*ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*) 'in the form of a beardless youth', that is to say, [in the form] of the original nature of Mother, the Mother of the Book (*umm*

[8] Inventory I, no. 36.

> *al-kitāb*). If the original nature of the face of the Mother did not exist, it would be difficult to read the 32 [ontological] 'words' on the human face. This is why God showed Himself in the form of a youth, [and this is why the Prophet] said: 'I saw my Lord in the form of a beardless youth', and in 'the most beautiful form' (*aḥsan ṣūra*). The 'most beautiful form' is that of youth (*amrad*), which corresponds to the original nature of the Mother. This is how, during the night of the heavenly ascension, the secret of prayer, which is the secret of the Seven Twofold (*sabʿ mathānī*), was disclosed [to Muḥammad] by means of the form of youth and mother (266a–b).
>
> Read [the divine ontological writing which manifests itself on the face of Eve the Mother] and, starting from it, reach the lines [of the ontological writing] on the face of Adam. Starting from [Eve and Adam], who are Mother and Father, reach the [ontological] writing in all things. A letter comes a long way before it reaches its addressee. When the latter looks at the letter, the letter speaks to him/her (*dar sukhan khwāhad āmadan wa sukhan mīgūyad*). Whosoever is able to read the divine [ontological] writing in the 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*), can afterwards read the [ontological] writing in the things. He/she discovers then the secret of: '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*' [Q. 41:21]. [Such a person] becomes a reader of the lines of the divine [ontological] writing (233b).

The idea that the form of Eve expresses the basic writing leading to the understanding of the complete writing represented by the bodily shape of Adam brings us naturally to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s description of Adam and Eve as the original Book of God. Several passages above identify the form and the face of Eve/Mother with the Qurʾānic expressions 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*) and 'Seven [of the] Twofold' (*sabʿ min al-mathānī*). The 'Mother of the Book', generally understood as the heavenly archetype or source of the Qurʾān, is also one of the names of the opening sura of the Qurʾān (*Fātiḥat-ul-kitāb,* or *Fātiḥa*), and the definition of the Seven Twofold as the seven verses of the *Fātiḥa* is common in Islamic exegetical literature.[9] We have seen that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the human body, represented by

[9] For the 'mother' of the Book see D. Madigan, 'Book', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* vol. 1, pp. 242–251. For the *Fātiḥa* and the 'Seven Twofold' see W. A. Graham, 'Fātiḥa', and U. Rubin, 'Oft-repeated', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* respectively vol. 2, pp. 188–192, and vol. 3, pp. 574–576.

the primordial couple of Adam and Eve, is the original and the most complete Book of God, the unique locus of manifestation containing the full ontological alphabet, and the 'Well-preserved Tablet'. Adam and Eve are the prototype of any divine revelation, of all the prophetic books, and especially the Qurʾān which contains the most complete revelation of the divine Word. The human being is the 'speaking' Qurʾān, equivalent to the written 'silent' Qurʾān.[10] The following passages remind us of this idea:

> The 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*) is, in reality, the writing that God wrote on the face of Adam, as well as in the universe (*kāʾināt*) with all the shapes and forms [contained in it], in the prophetic books, and in every existing line, in accordance with the [verse]: '*taught by the Pen*' [Q. 96:4] … [The human shape] is therefore the 'Mother of the Book' and the 'mother of the lines' [of the ontological writing] (*umm al-khuṭūṭ*), the foundation (*aṣl*) compared to which all [other objects and beings] are branches (*farʿ*) (175a).
>
> [God] made Adam and Eve the loci of manifestation of the Word (*maẓhar-i kalima wa kalām*). He made their bodies and faces the lines [of writing of the ontological] 'words', the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*). [Expressions such as]: '*We have neglected nothing in the Book*' [Q. 6:38], and '*With Him is the knowledge of the Book*' [Q. 13:43] refer to them. (28a)

Other passages contain additional details concerning this analogy between the human body and the structure of the Qurʾān. The 14 letters which appear in various combinations at the beginning (the 'head') of some suras symbolise the 14 basic lines of writing on the human face (either seven 'lines of Eve' counted with the seven parts of the face where they are located, or 14 lines of hair on the face of an adult man, obtained by the addition of the seven basic lines of Eve and of the seven lines formed by the beard and moustache of Adam):

> [ʿAlī's utterance]: 'I am the speaking Word of God' refers to Adam as master of the Face (*khudāwand-i wajh*). The complete science (*ʿilm-i tamām*) [represented by the] 14 [lines on his face]

[10] For the terms 'speaking/silent' (*nāṭiq/sāmit*) in the Shiʿi tradition, where the Imām is usually described as the 'speaking Word of God', or the 'speaking Qurʾān' see, for example, Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* p. 200. There is little doubt that the *Jāwidān-nāma* refers to this Shiʿi paradigm. See also Inventory I, no. 22 and 45.

> is located on his head, just as the 14 [disjointed letters] are located at the beginning [lit. 'on the head', *bar sar*] of the 'silent Word' (*kalām-i ṣāmit*) [of the Qurʾānic suras] (209a).

This explains the anthropomorphic appearance of the Qurʾān at the end of days mentioned in an apocryphal *ḥadīth*:

> The Messenger, peace be on him, said that during the Resurrection (*qiyāma*) the Qurʾān will appear in the form of a man (*dar ṣūrat-i rajul*).[11] The Qurʾān in its entirety [is composed of] 29 letters. Similarly, the divine [ontological] writing on the face of Adam [is composed of] 29 true [ontological] 'words' (*kalima-yi ḥaqīqī*). At the time of the Resurrection, when the Qurʾān will be represented (*mumaththal*) [by a form], it will be made known under the form of a man (*bi-ṣūrat-i rajul*) (221a).

A perfect human form is a perfect, complete divine Book. Not only the Qurʾān, but also any other prophetic book where the divine Word is written symbolises the human body and face. This is particularly true when speaking of the Book given to Moses and believed to have been written by God's own Hand:[12]

> The only true book (*bi-ḥaqīqat muṣḥaf faqaṭ ḥaqīqī*) is the form of the humanity of the Perfect Human (*ṣūrat-i bashariyyat-i insān-i kāmil*) … The perfect Adam is the true 'clear book' and 'clear register' [mentioned in the verses]: '*Everything We have numbered in a book and in a clear register*' [free combination of Q. 78:29 and 36:12], because all things are the loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 [primordial 'words'], but he [i.e., Adam] is alone the locus of manifestation of [the complete set of the] 32. He is therefore the Book of God that He wrote with His own hand. Such is the shape of the perfect humanity (*shakl-i bashariyyat-i kāmil*), [represented] by the human form (*hayʾat*). This is why it is said that God wrote the Torah with His own Hand (162a–b).

The next passage defines the human face as 'living pages' of the holy writing:

> Starting from the visible silent pages [of the Qurʾān], which begin by 'She who opens the Book' (*fātiḥat-ul-kitāb*) with her seven

[11] Inventory I, no. 61.

[12] The *Jāwidān-nāma* usually identifies this Book of Moses with the Tablets of the Law.

> verses which are the 'Seven Twofold' (*sabʿ mathānī*), from the *qibla*, the words of Abraham (*kalimāt-i Ibrāhīm*) and prostration before Adam,[13] pass to the Book of Life (*muṣḥaf-i ḥayāt*), which is the face of Adam (66a–b).

This is an allusion to another extra-Islamic reference used in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, namely to the sealed Book mentioned in the Revelation of St John.[14] The seven seals of the 'Book of Life' are identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the seven lines of the basic divine writing on the face of Mary, identical to the original writing on the face of Eve:

> Learn, O true seeker, what is the 'Book of Life' (*muṣḥaf-i ḥayāt*) under the seven seals received by the Lamb with seven horns. O seeker, learn that the face of the Virgin Mary bears seven [lines of the divine ontological] writing: hairline, two eyebrows and four eyelashes. This divine writing constitutes the first seven seals (423a).

If both Adam and Eve are the Book of God, Adam represents more specifically the complete Book, while Eve is the 'opening chapter' without which this book cannot be read. Hence the identification of Eve with the *Fātiḥa,* which is believed to contain the summary of all the truths contained in the Qurʾān.[15] The seven verses of the *Fātiḥa* symbolise the seven basic lines of divine writing on the face of Eve with the seven parts of the face where they appear. Eve thus possesses the 'Seven Twofold', and she is literally the Mother of the human Book: 'Eve is the Mother of the Book, with reference to the Book of face (*kitāb-i wajh*)' (352b):

> The Mother of the Book, that is to say, the origin of the Book (*aṣl-i kitāb*), consists of the seven lines of the face of Eve. If these seven lines did not exist, the 32 lines of the face of Adam would not appear. Truly, the Mother of the Book consists of the seven lines of the face of Eve, and 'Paradise is at the feet of mothers'[16] (405b).

---

[13] Allusions respectively to Q. 2:124 and 2:31.

[14] The name of John is not mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* and the citations concerning the sealed Book and the sacrifice of the Lamb are always given with reference to the 'Book of Peter' (*Kitāb-i Fiṭrūs* or *Shamʿūn*), i.e., to the apocryphal text of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter*.

[15] Cf., for example, Madigan, 'Book', pp. 242–251.

[16] Inventory I, no. 36.

The form of the 'youth', in which God appeared in the vision of the Prophet Muḥammad,[17] is also the form of the Mother of the Book: 'During the night of the heavenly ascension, God showed Himself [to Muḥammad] in the form of the Mother of the Book' (29a).

> [The *Fātiḥa*] is recited during the prayer and without it the prayer is not valid. It is named 'Mother of the Book' because it really has the form of the Mother (*ṣūrat-i umm*), who is Eve … The inhabitants of Paradise, like youth and young servants, have this form, and [it is in this form that the Prophet Muḥammad contemplated God during his heavenly ascension]: 'I saw my Lord in the form of a beardless youth.' This form [represents] the original division (*mabdā'-yi qismat*) [according to which is divided] the face and the writing on the face of Adam. This is why [it is called] 'Mother of the Book' (24b).

Several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* underline the statement that Eve is the *last* being produced in the order of the creation.[18] If Adam is the summary of the creation, Eve is the summary of the summary; her form is derived from the form of Adam and contains the basic ontological elements necessary for the understanding of the latter: '"*And from it created its mate*" [Q. 4:1]. If the shape (*shakl*) of Adam, who is a man, did not exist, the science (*'ilm*) of the 32 [primordial 'words'] would not appear in [the form of his] wife. [This science was transmitted] from the face of Adam and appeared in the original nature (*khilqa*) of Eve' (185a); 'Eve is the last created (*makhlūq-i ākhir*). She has on her face seven lines of the divine [ontological writing]. Otherwise, it would be extremely difficult to read the complete divine lines [of writing] on the face of Adam' (119a–b).

As the last created, the form of Eve concludes the descent of the divine Word. For this reason, it is the form of Eve, and not that of Adam, that is the clearest manifestation of the Word. This idea is also expressed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to the symbolism of the divine Throne (*'arsh*) and Footstool (*kursī*), which we have discussed earlier. According to a *ḥadīth*, at the end of days God will step down from His Throne onto His Footstool, and it is upon the Footstool that He will be visible. The *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests a link between this

---

[17] Inventory I, no. 30.

[18] See note 3 above.

ḥadīth and the Prophetic vision of God in the form of a beautiful youth:

> The Messenger said: 'Upon the day when God will come down onto His Footstool.'[19] This means that [God will come down] from the Throne (*ʿarsh*), which is Adam and his bodily form (*ṣūra*), to the bodily form of his wife, who is the last [in the order of] creation (*ākhir-i khilqa*). It is she who is referred to as the 'Footstool' (*kursī*). According to another tradition, the verse of the Footstool[20] will appear in the form of a youth (*ṣūrat-i amrad*) (57b).

The position of Eve as the last point of the descent of the Word means also that her bodily form corresponds to the deepest, innermost level of the Word. The following passage identifies the seven lines on the face of Eve with the seven levels of meanings or truths in the Qurʾān:

> 'The Qurʾān has an exoteric and an esoteric [level], and its esoteric [level] has another esoteric [level], and so on up to seven esoteric [levels].'[21] The limit of the seventh esoteric level is the [ontological] writing on the face of Eve, who is created the last, after all [other] objects and beings (*ākhir khilqat-i hame ashyāʾ*). First were created the four elementary natures, heavenly bodies and all that which is useful for humans. After a long delay, Adam was created, peace be upon him. After Adam, Eve was created. After all the members and organs of the body of Eve, the seven lines [of the ontological writing] were written down on the face of Eve … The Prophet said that the Qurʾān has an exoteric [level], and this exoteric level has up to seven esoteric [levels]. [These seven esoteric levels] are the seven lines [of ontological writing] on the face of Eve, who is the last created creature (*ākhir-i makhlūqāt*) (307a–b).

From this deepest source the truths are manifested, just as the human form of the new-born human being, the 'living Book', is manifested from the womb (*baṭn*) of Eve. Eve is the source and the principle of manifestation of the truths or meanings of the Word, just as the innermost (*bāṭin*) truth of the Qurʾān is the source of its sensible manifestation in the form of a Book:

---

[19] Inventory I, no. 49.

[20] *Ayat al-kursī,* Q. 2:255.

[21] Inventory I, no. 40.

> The 'Seven Twofold' (*sabʿ-i mathānī*) [i.e., the seven verses of the *Fātiḥa*] are called 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*) because they are the mother of all the meanings (*mādar-i hame maʿānī*). All the meanings are [contained] in the 'womb' (*baṭn*) [of the Seven Twofold], and are born from them (*wa azh khū bi-zhāyad [= wa az ū bi-zāyad]*) (24b).

The last point of the descent is also the first point of the return to the origin. The form of Eve and the basic lines of the divine scripture on her face are the starting point on the way back to the origin of the divine Word. Every human being receives his or her bodily form from the mother, and it is in this form of the mother that he or she will enter the Paradise of the divine Word. On the Day of Judgment, human beings will be addressed by their mothers, and if they did not realise the basic writing contained in the form of the Mother, they will not be admitted to Paradise. The revelation of this basic writing related to the form of the Mother is the mission of the 'motherly' prophets (*ummiyīn*), whom we will discuss in more detail in Part Two.

> The first station of a descendant of Adam [on the path] of religion is that at which the sperm (*nuṭfa*) of Adam and Eve takes, in the womb (*raḥim*) of Eve, the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam and Eve, and comes [in this form] into the external world. Since [every human] obtains the shape of Adam's human nature (*shakl-i bashariyyat-i Adam*) from the mother (*umm*), he or she necessarily enters the world of return (*ʿālam-i maʿād*) and Paradise in the form of Eve. It is this form that is referred to by the [symbol of] youth (*amrad*). [This is why], in the prayer over the dead, [the deceased person is addressed as]: 'O son of Eve!' (*yā ibn Ḥawwāʾ*). [The verse]: '*One day We shall call together all human beings with their (respective) Imāms*' [Q. 17:71] can be understood along the same lines (57b).[22]
>
> Whosoever, male or female, who comes into existence from his or her mother, has in the beginning the form of the mother (*ṣūrat-i umm*). At the end, [humans] will be again in the form of the mother in Paradise … because they will reach the original nature of the mother (*khilqat-i umm*). Otherwise, they will not be in the form of the mother and will not be among the inhabitants of Paradise (262a).

[22] The Qurʾānic *imāmihim,* 'their Imāms, their leaders' in this verse, is usually interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the plural of *umm*, 'their mothers'.

Many ideas concerning the relationships between the male and the female bodily forms and facial features with regard to the expression of the knowledge of the Word that we have discussed above are concentrated in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretations of the *ḥadīth*s related to the terms derived from the Arabic root *rḥm.* Let us examine these relationships briefly.[23] The *Jāwidān-nāma* refers essentially to the *ḥadīth*s which establish the relationship between the Merciful (*al-raḥmān*) identified with Adam, and the womb (*al-raḥim*) identified with Eve.[24] There is, therefore, an essential link between the divine Mercy and the fundamental 'motherly' knowledge contained in the human form produced in the womb of Eve. Notwithstanding the unavoidable repetitions in the fragments cited below, they add some new elements to the topics discussed in this chapter.

> Adam is the Supreme Name (*ism-i aʿẓam*) [of God]: 'I am God and I am the All-Merciful (*al-raḥmān*). I created the womb (*al-raḥim*) and I gave it a name derived from My own name.'[25] … 'The womb is attached to the Throne and says, "If someone joins me, let God join him, but if someone cuts me off, let God cut him off"[26] … From a certain point of view, 'mercy' (*raḥma*) refers to Eve, because she is the Mother, and God [appeared before Muḥammad] 'in the form of a beardless youth' [which is the form of Eve]. The ultimate purpose of this shape (*shakl*) is [to represent] the shape of God. It is from it that Eve had been 'derived'. It is the mercy and the womb (*zahdān*) of every science (*ʿilm*) attached to the Throne of God, that is, to Adam. Whosoever joins her, God appears to this person in the form [mentioned in the *ḥadīth*]: 'I saw my Lord in the most beautiful form, that of a beardless [youth].' … Eve is the name of mercy of the All-Merciful (*ism-i raḥmat-i raḥmān*), from which the womb (*raḥim*) was derived (256a–b).

The link between the womb and the vision comes from the fact that the womb expresses the original nature of the Face. The womb is attached

---

[23] For a more detailed study, see Mir-Kasimov, 'Les dérivés de la racine *rḥm*'.

[24] The relationship between the Word and the divine attribute of Mercy has been discussed previously in Chapter 1.

[25] For this and following three *ḥadīth*s I reproduce the English translation of S. Murata, in *The Tao of Islam: a Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought* (Albany, 1992), pp. 215–216, sometimes slightly modified.

[26] Inventory I, no. 12.

to the Throne which symbolises Adam, the full manifestation of the Word. It is then impossible to attain the knowledge of Adam/Word without knowing first the original nature represented by Eve/womb. This is why, when Eve asked God to give her the same bodily shape as that of Adam, God refused her claim:

> The matrix (*raḥim*) is the womb (*zahdān*) and refers to the original nature of the face [of Eve], in the virtue of which she can be described as 'attached to the Throne'. 'Throne' refers to Adam, as it has already been mentioned. Relation by blood (*qarābat*) and womb [belong to] Eve, of which it is said: '*And from it created its mate*' [Q. 4:1]. [She said]: 'Whosoever joins me will reach my foundation (*aṣl*) who is Adam, and "God will join him." ' [In other words], 'Whosoever joins me, joins the original nature (*khilqa*) of Adam, and the [divine] Presence. But 'Whosoever cuts me off, let God cut him off.' Consider this *ḥadīth*: 'The womb stood up' – that is, Eve – 'and seized the All-Merciful by the waist.' This means that [Eve] wanted to don the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam, because 'waist' (*ḥaqwā*) refers to virility (*rujūliyya*). '[The All-Merciful] said: "What is this?" '[27] God prevented [the manifestation of] the [lines of] writing [proper to the adult man] on the face of Eve. Had He not done so … the 32 lines [of the divine writing] would not be visible on the face of Adam … This is why God said: 'Will you not be satisfied that I join him who joins you and cut him off who cuts you off?' The womb replied, 'Yes, I will' (277b–278a).[28]

We have seen that Mercy is closely related to the 'motherly' form of Eve and the fundamental ontological writing expressed by this form. The following fragment highlights this essential link between Mercy and writing:

> The visible blackness of the letters of the Qurʾān is a mark (*ʿalāma*) of the divine Word (*kalām-i ilāhī*) … This mark of human writing is related to the divine writing [symbolised by the] Throne (*ʿarsh*) … The starting point (*ibtidāʾ*) of the creation of the human body (*badan-i insānī*) and shape (*hayʾa*) is the Word (*kalām*): '*And We have brought to them a Book that We have well distinguished, resting on knowledge, a guidance and a mercy unto a people that believe*' [Q. 7:52]. 'Mercy' is a disposition (*ḥāl*) related to the Book [or writing, *kitāb*]. Therefore, [in the

[27] Inventory I, no. 12.

[28] Inventory I, no. 12.

> verse]: '*My mercy embraces all things, and I shall prescribe it for those who are godfearing*' [Q. 7:156], 'My Mercy' means 'My writing' [or 'My Book'] (*raḥmatī ay kitābī*) (206b–207a).

When Eve/womb seized the All-Merciful and asked to be given the bodily shape of Adam, God refused in order to preserve the basic writing on the face of Eve without which the writing on the face of Adam would not be accessible. This basic writing is formed from the sperm of Adam in the womb of Eve, and appears on the face of any new-born baby. Eve is therefore literally the Mother of the human Book, and the *Fātiḥa*, the opening chapter of the Qurʾān, reproduces the structure of this original divine writing on the face of Eve:

> The seven [fundamental] lines are those that are produced by the sperm (*nuṭfa*) of Adam in the womb (*raḥim*) of Eve. They complete the shape (*paykar*) [of the embryo], in which it comes into the external [world]. These seven lines [on the face] of Eve, [featured by] the hairline, two eyebrows and four eyelashes are, in a sense, identical to the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*). With the seven parts of the face where they are located, there are 14 [lines]. God prevented the appearance of the seven [lines featured by the lines proper to the face of an adult man on the face of Eve, but she does possess the seven locations corresponding to these lines on her face]. Three times seven makes 21 divine 'words'. [The *Fātiḥa* also] is composed of seven verses, which include 21 'words' [i.e., letters] from the [complete set of the] 32 divine 'words'.[29] [The *Fātiḥa*] is thus the [exact] counterpart of the face of Eve. This is why [it is said]: 'Paradise is at the feet of mothers.' The Messenger gave [to the opening chapter of the Qurʾān] the title *Fātiḥa* – 'She that opens the Book' (*fātiḥat al-kitāb*) – because she [Eve] introduces the division of the lines on the face of Adam … She is also named 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*), because it is impossible to read the lines [of the ontological writing] on the face of Adam without reading first the lines on the face of Eve (437b–438a).

It seems that the relationship between the masculine and feminine bodily forms in the expression of metaphysical knowledge can be characterised as 'inclusive', which means that Eve is considered in this perspective essentially as a part of Adam. She represents the

[29] Seven letters of the Arabic alphabet (*thāʾ, jīm, khāʾ, shīn, zayn, ẓāʾ* and *fāʾ*) do not occur in the *Fātiḥa.*

fundamental and visible half of the knowledge, the seven lines of writing which express the original nature of Adam. These seven lines have to be *completed* by seven others in order to attain the full shape of the Word which is that of Adam, just as, as we will see in the next chapter, the six days of the creation have to be completed by Friday to attain the full number of six times 28 hours. This kind of relationship between the bodily forms of Eve and Adam seems to be confirmed by the following passage:

> In order to read the divine writing, Adam needs the original nature (*khilqa*) of Eve, who is the Mother and who introduces the division [which reveals] the line [of divine writing] (*muqassim-i khaṭṭ-i khudā'ī*) … Eve [also] needs the original nature of the face of Adam, because she does not possess the complete [divine] writing on her face (247b).

Knowledge and Love are closely related in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. In the following passages we will see that the love-inspiring beauty is defined essentially as the distinctive feature of the manifestation of knowledge. In this context, love is essentially the desire to know, to discover the ontological writing of the divine Word in any object and being and, first of all, in the human being who is the only complete manifestation of the Word. But the relationship between two lovers seems to be in the *Jāwidān-nāma* 'complementary' and not 'inclusive'. In other words, this relationship is described as the relationship between two 'youths', each of which possesses the 'form of the Mother' containing one half of the complete knowledge of the Word. Their union produces the complete entity which is greater than any of them taken separately.

The source of Love is God and His Word: every manifestation of the Word is beautiful and inspires love. Since, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, every existing object and being is essentially the locus of manifestation of some elements of the divine Word, the whole of creation is beautiful; love is everywhere.[30]

Every existing thing is part of the divine writing, originally recorded on the 'Well-preserved Tablet' and in the Mother of the Book of the faces of Adam and Eve. Since beauty is the distinctive mark of the manifestation of this writing, the elements of human beauty can be

[30] See, for example, fol. 102b.

found in everything. The faces of Adam and Eve are the source of this beauty, and whosoever understands its innermost meaning realises union with God and enjoys the everlasting life:

> Starting from the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*) and lines [of the divine writing] on the faces of Adam and Eve, [contemplate] all existing objects and beings, seek a mark of the beauty of the beloved one in everything, and read [in this beauty] the line of the divine [writing]. When you meditate on the line of the Mother of the Book (*taʾammul-i khaṭṭ-i umm al-kitāb*), remember this *ḥadīth* where it is said that God has a beverage, and when the saints drink it 'they seek, and when they seek, they find' [and] 'they attain the union, so that there is no more difference between Him and them.'[31] This beverage [comes from the] reservoir of Kawthar [of] the face of Adam [divided by] the line of balance [into the] 32 'words' of water, 32 'words' of air, 32 'words' of fire and 32 'words' of earth: '*a fountain at which do drink those brought nigh/ as they are given to drink of a wine sealed whose seal is musk*' [Q. 83:28, 25–26]. This water and this beverage are sealed with the musk … the blackness of which is the blackness of the lines of the curling lock (*zulf*), eyebrows (*abrū*) and eyelashes (*muzha*). Whosoever drinks water in the reservoir of Kawthar will never more know the thirst (462b–463a).

In the following passages, the beauty of the human face and body as the locus of manifestation of the complete Word is highlighted. Everything in a human being is beautiful and the human face is the manifestation of the complete knowledge of the divine Word. Love is essentially a link between the locus of manifestation and the manifested truth of the Word. The discourse on beauty and love in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is clearly marked by the technical vocabulary of Persian mystical poetry, which acquires a specific meaning in the context of Ḥurūfī anthropology.[32] 'Love [is inspired by] a curling lock, eyebrows, eyelashes, and [other] features [of the face], which are the science (*ʿilm*) of the 28 or 32 [ontological] 'words'' (217a).

---

[31] Inventory I, no. 60.

[32] For further details on the formation of the technical vocabulary of Persian mystical poetry, see N. Pūrjawādī, 'Bāda-yi ʿishq', in *Nashr-i Dānish* 66 (1370 Sh.), pp. 420–429; 67 (1370 Sh.), pp. 4–18; 68 (1370 Sh.), pp. 91–99; 69 (1371 Sh.), pp. 198–204; 70 (1371 Sh.), pp. 282–290.

> God made the human shape (*shakl-i insān*) the science (*ʿilm*) of the Word. [Indeed], His command 'Be!' (*Kun!*) has no other locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*). That is how this Word fell in love with its own [locus of manifestation], and with the form of the beloved one (*ṣūrat-i maʿshūq*). Since [every feature] of the form of the beloved one, such as hair, eye, eyebrow, amorous glance, stature, lip, teeth and mouth (*mū wa chashm wa ghamza wa qadd wa lab wa dandān wa dahān*), is created in accordance with the science of the [ontological] 'words' (*ʿilm-i kalima*), and is locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of a 'word', the Word came into the locus of manifestation of the lover and fell in love with the lover and with itself. The amorous glances that the beloved one makes with her eye and eyebrow, her elegant movements and talk, her playfulness (*shīwa*), her qualities, her graceful walk (*khirāmīdan*). Nothing of all this would appear if her being was not governed by the Word; [nothing would appear of] this … joyfulness (*shūkhī*), grace (*raʿnāʾī*), tenderness (*nāzukī*), elegance (*laṭāfat*) that ravish the heart of the lover (199a).

In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, love is before all a transforming force. In Chapter 6, we will see that a human being can integrate the lower forms of existence into his or her body through the food chain by means of a sacrifice accomplished with love. Similarly, the heavenly bodies are also attracted by the beauty of the human form and aspire to become part of it. Although they cannot enter into the food chain leading to integration into the human body, their attraction and love is expressed in their eternal rotation around the earth, which is at the same time the location of the human body and the essential element in its constitution. Let us note that, in the passages related to this idea, the human form is often represented by the form of the *female* body, that of Eve who is the Mother of the Book:

> During the night of the heavenly ascension, the presence of Unity (*ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*) appeared to the Messenger in the form of a youth (*amrad*): 'I saw my Lord in the form of a beardless youth.'[33] [In accordance with the verse]: '*The All-Compassionate sat Himself [in balance, istawā] upon the Throne*' [Q. 20:5],[34] this [form of the youth] is the form of the divine Throne (*ṣūrat-i ʿarsh-i ilāhī*), the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 divine 'words', and the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*) of God. This form is

[33] Inventory I, no. 30.

[34] Cf. Chapter 1, note 49.

> indeed the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 and 28 divine 'words'. Just as a human being falls in love with the human form (*ṣūrat-i insān*), all existent beings (*mawjūdāt*), the heavens, heavenly bodies and angels spin around the earth and the centre of the earth, in order to attain this human form. The angels [are able] to descend from the heavens in human shape. But the heavenly bodies and planets, in their [circular] movement around the human shape, cannot produce for themselves this human form, with its beauty and the science (*ʿilm*) of the line [of ontological writing represented by the] curling lock and other [attributes of human beauty] (305a–b).
>
> '*On the day when We shall call all men with their Imām (bi-imāmihim)*' [Q. 17:71], this is to say, 'with their mothers' (*ay bi-ummahātihim*), who are the [ontological] 'words' and the 'Seven Twofold' (*sabʿ mathānī*) of God. All moving things (*hama ashyāʾ ki ḥarakat mīkonand*) are in love with this form (*shakl wa ṣūrat*) of the mother. They [received] all that they possess in their original natures (*khilqa*) from the mother. They strive therefore to reach the form of the mother. Some of them [eventually] reach it, but some of them [perpetually] turn around and educate it. [The latter] never reach this station (*maqām*); they will eternally turn around it in their love (261b).

Although the form of Adam and Eve exists potentially in the heavens, which is divided in accordance with its proportions, the actual realisation of this form exists only on the earth:

> All objects [and beings], angels, heavens, plants, minerals, natural elements and [other] creatures (*mawjūdāt*) have their faces turned in the direction of the world of earth and to the human condition (*ʿālam-i khāk wa bashariyya*). They are all in love with [this world], and accomplish the ritual circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) around the centre of the earth … . They want all to reach the complete form of Adam (*ṣūrat-i tāmm-i Adam*), who attained the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 divine 'words', and became their locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*). The innermost meaning (*maʿnā*) [of the form of Adam] is the [reason] of the perpetual movements of all things, but it is out of reach of any existing entity (*mawjūd*), with the exception of the world of earth … The form (*shakl*) [of Adam and Eve] exists in the heavens in potentiality (*bi-l-quwwa*), [contained in the] 360 degrees and minutes, as it already has been mentioned, and in the division of the sphere of constellations (*falak al-burūj*), which [determines] the division of all [other

> heavenly] spheres: 'his length is 60 cubits in the heaven'.[35] But this form, which is produced [only] as potentiality in the heavenly spheres, appears in actuality (*bi-l-fi'l*) in the world of earth, water, air and fire (274a–b).

Love is thus fundamentally the desire to attain the complete knowledge of the Word, and this is possible only by means of the human bodily form, the only form which contains the complete science of the Word. This is why the human form is the object of universal love *par excellence*. From this point of view, the love between two human beings acquires a particular significance. The passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* related to this topic consider generally each lover as a 'youth', that is, a young woman or a young man who has not yet developed the facial lines proper to the face of an adult man. Each lover is therefore a locus of manifestation of the 'motherly' lines, which represent the half of the lines of the full Word. The love between two humans is a way of transformation alternative to that taking place in the food chain. If the lower forms of existence can be brought to the fullness of the Word after being assimilated as food in the body of Adam, the two lovers realise the same fullness in their amorous union.

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the deepest motivation of human love is the desire for such realisation. As long as this motivation is unconscious, it manifests itself as ordinary, 'profane' love. But, unlike any other being, human beings can bring to consciousness the real reason of their love. This is possible because they are originally made as the loci of manifestation of the full Word, and because the knowledge of the Word was taught to Adam and transmitted from him to his descendants. In this case, 'profane' love (*'ishq-i majāzī*) is transformed into 'sacred' love (*'ishq-i ilāhī*), leading to knowledge of the divine Word. This part of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s discourse takes over the concepts and terminology widely used in Sufism and Persian mystical poetry: at the extreme point of intensity of the 'profane' love, the lover progressively loses the conscience of his or her ego and its needs. This can lead to symbolic death, or sacrifice of the ego by means of which the profane love is transformed into a sacred one. Only then

[35] Inventory I, no. 19. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma,* the 360 heavenly spheres are divided into six times 60 degrees, every set of 60, identified with the measurements of Adam's body, corresponding to the 28 and 32 primordial 'words'.

can the lover read the lines of the divine writing in the features of the beloved:

> [The lover] sacrifices himself to the beloved (*maʿshūq*). [In order to access] the reality of profane love (*ḥaqīqat-i ʿishq-i majāzī*), [one should let] the reality kill [one's self]. By the love of a human being, such a lover becomes indifferent (*mustaghnī*) with regard to his own sleep, food, name, reputation, renown and [even] life (*khwāb wa khwārid wa nām wa nang wa nāmūs wa ḥayāt*). In a sense, this beauty (*ḥusn wa jamāl*) he fell in love with is the divine Beauty. [Indeed]: 'God created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful.'[36] The profane love contains within it the divine love (*ʿishq-i ilāhī*), because this beauty is the science of the divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi ilāhī*), and the lover is [in fact in love] with this divine Word which becomes, [after the division] by the line of balance, the 32 [ontological] 'words'. This is [the true reason] of falling in love; [this is why the lover] forgets himself (*bī-khūd*), abandons sleep and food, material possessions (*māl*), life, name, renown, as well as [the distinction between works leading to] reward or punishment (*thawāb wa ʿiqāb*), and follows [the path of] blame (*malāma*). [Such a lover] reads the 28 and 32 divine 'words' and the divine Book (*muṣḥaf-i ilāhī*). Even if he does not know that the beauty [of his beloved, expressed by such attributes as] eye (*chashm*), eyebrow (*abrū*), down on the cheek (*khaṭṭ*), mole (*khāl*), hair (*mū*), and curling lock (*zulf*), is the science of the divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi ilāhī*), he is in fact the Word of the presence of Unity and the science of the Word of the presence of Unity (*ʿilm-i kalām-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*). If he dies [in such a condition], he will certainly be redeemed. Even if his love remained profane, he was not conditioned by lust (*shahwa*), which [would have prevented him from] becoming an accomplished lover of this beauty (304b–305a).[37]

The story of Joseph and the wife of al-ʿAzīz (biblical Potiphar), known in the Muslim tradition under the name of Zulaykhā, exemplifies, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the sacred dimension of love. The love first manifested itself at the profane level as a carnal desire. Joseph was then imprisoned which, in the interpretation of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, means that he stayed away from the object of his love until his passion was

[36] Inventory I, no. 11.

[37] For another example, see the fragment in fol. 462b.

purified of any lower component. Joseph thus realised the sacred character of his love for Zulaykhā:

> Each of them [Joseph and Zulaykhā] possess, in their original nature (*az rū-yi khilqa*), seven [lines of the divine ontological writing on their faces]: the hairline, [four eyelashes of] eyes, and [two] eyebrows … with the seven locations [of these lines on the face] … [This is why] they fell in love with each other: '*For she desired him; and he would have taken her*' [Q. 12:24]. Because this was a natural attraction (*mayl-i ṭabīʿa*), Joseph said: '*Surely the soul of man incites to evil*' [Q. 12:53], and he had to be put in prison, which means restraint and abandon of carnal desires (*ḥabs wa tark-i hawāʾ*), until the demon of the carnal ego (*shayṭān-i nafs*) left him. [His love was then transformed into the] divine love (*maḥabbat-i khudāʾī*) (199a).
>
> The story of Joseph is 'the most beautiful story' (*aḥsan al-qiṣaṣ*) … because it is about love, the beauty of Joseph and his attraction (*mayl*) to the form (*ṣūra*) of Zulaykhā, which is the science of the divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi ilāhī*). Since Joseph was [himself] the science of the divine Word, they were involuntarily and irresistibly [attracted to each other]: '*For she desired him; and he would have taken her*' [Q. 12:24]. Zulaykhā saw the beauty and the line of the divine [writing] on the face of Joseph, peace be upon him. Zulaykhā lost self-control (*ikhtiyār*) [in contemplating] the science (*ʿilm*) of the divine Word … [Their mutual] attraction was therefore, [in fact], attraction to the divine writing (*kitābat wa khaṭṭ-i ilāhī*). The imprisonment of Joseph, peace be upon him, refers to the obstacle of the carnal desire (*shahwat-i jismānī*) [created] by his own lower self (*nafs*) (306b).

The realisation of the sacred dimension of love means, in the context of *Jāwidān-nāma*, essentially the capacity to discern and to read the lines of the ontological writing, the Seven Twofold, on the face of the beloved. Through the beauty of the beloved, the lover is able to understand the ultimate meaning of his or her own physical form as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word:

> Zulaykhā fell in love with Joseph, because she saw in Joseph the locus of manifestation of the Word (*maẓhar-i kalima*). Joseph was the locus of manifestation of the Word in the sense that, [among the heavenly bodies mentioned in the verse]: '*I saw eleven stars, [and the sun and the moon]*' [Q. 12:4], he was the 14th, and it is before him that the sun and the moon bowed down. They bowed down because Joseph is superior to the moon

> and the sun. Since a copy of the science of the Word (*mithāl-i ʿilm-i kalima*) appeared in him and on his face, he said: '*O my Lord, Thou hast taught me the interpretation (taʾwīl) of tales*' [Q. 12:101] … The perfection (*kamāl*) of Zulaykhā was in her attraction (*mayl*) to Joseph, [since this attraction was provoked by the fact] that Joseph was the locus of manifestation of the complete Word (*maẓhar-i ʿilm-i tāmm*) (217a–b).
>
> The divine writing [which determines the form of a] *houri* consists of the Seven Twofold (*sabʿ mathānī*).[38] Her inner word (*kalima-yi bāṭin*) [becomes visible] in the movement of her eyes and eyebrows. It is said: '*Thou shalt not speak, save by tokens, to men for three days*' [Q. 3:41]. '[Speak by] tokens' (*ramz*) means speak by the eyes and eyebrows. There are two kinds [of such speech]. One of them is the divine writing (*kitābat-i khudāʾī*). Another is the inner word composed of the Seven Twofold of God, the movement of which [produces] the shape (*shakl*), amorous gestures (*shīwa*) and qualities (*shamāʾil*) underlying the beauty and mutual love and attraction [of humans]. [The humans] are provided from birth with the beauty of the Seven Twofold of God, bestowed upon them by their mothers. In Paradise, [their appearance] will be in accordance with this writing, line and beauty. Zulaykhā saw the Seven Twofold on the face of Joseph. She saw also the innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*) [of] her own form (*ṣūra*). And Joseph saw in Zulaykhā his own beauty. This is why they felt attraction to each other, as it is said: '*For she desired him; and he would have taken her*' [Q. 12:24]. This was an essential attraction (*mayl-i dhātī*), [in accordance] with the innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of their gender and their beauty. The attraction of the *houri* and youth in Paradise is of the same kind (238a).

The passage from profane to real love is, therefore, a way to self-realisation:

> '*They cut their hands*' [Q. 12:31]: they were so seduced by the beauty of Joseph, that they did not notice how they cut their hands. Such is [the effect] of profane love (*ʿishq-i majāzī*) [inspired by] the divine line and writing. [But] if someone interprets (*taʾwīl*) the divine writing on the basis of [personal] spiritual realisation (*az sar-i taḥqīq*) … [he or she will find] the key of all heavenly provision: '*And in heaven is your provision*' [Q. 51:22]. [Such a realisation is attained by] the meditation

[38] On the meaning attributed to this Qurʾānic expression in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see note 6 above, and the Glossary.

> (*taʾammul*) of the black lines on the faces of Adam and Eve: 'Whosoever knows himself, knows his Lord.'[39] … Whosoever knows the 32 and 28 divine words without beginning and without end (*abadī azalī*), knows the Presence of the Unity (*ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*). This is why the Messenger said: 'Whosoever knows himself, knows his Lord' (307a).

Both Joseph and Zulaykhā are the loci of manifestation of the Seven Twofold. Each of them possesses the form of 'mother' or 'youth' containing a *half* of the complete Word: 'Joseph is half of the beauty (*shaṭr al-ḥusn ki niṣf-i ḥusn*), which refers to the [form of the] youth (*amrad*)' (264b).[40] In their amorous union, they restore the complete Word with its 28/32 'words':

> No inhabitant of Paradise, – and they will all [have the form of] youth (*amrad*) – will have less than one *houri*: '*We shall espouse them to wide-eyed houri*s' [Q. 44:54]. In his union with a *houri*, [every] youth becomes master of the Seven Twofold (*khudāwand-i sabʿ mathānī*), from the point of view of original nature (*khilqa*) and divine writing. When the line of balance of the divine creation (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ-yi khilqat-i khudāʾī*) is drawn, the 32 [primordial 'words'] appear: '*The All-Compassionate sat Himself upon the Throne*' [Q. 20:5] … Joseph was at the extreme limit of beauty (*dar ghāyat-i ḥusn-i jamāl*); he was a master of the Seven Twofold. And Zulaykhā was at the peak of beauty (*dar ḥadd-i jamāl*): '*For she desired him; and he would have taken her*' [Q. 12:24]. She was a mistress of the Seven Twofold, too… Therefore, the one who had the knowledge of the Seven Twofold was attracted to the Seven Twofold (264a–b).

The same restoration of the complete Word is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, alluded to in the Qurʾānic verses mentioning the *houri*s intended for believers in Paradise. The *Jāwidān-nāma* states indeed, as we have seen above, that anyone, man or woman, can only enter Paradise in the form of the Mother, which is the original bodily form of a human being. This form contains a half of the elements or

---

[39] Inventory I, no. 52.

[40] 'Half of the beauty' certainly refers here to the number 14, half of 28, which is the number of the metaphysical phonemes or 'words' of the divine Word. This is confirmed by frequent citations of the first verses of the 12th sura, where Joseph narrates his dream vision including 11 stars, the moon and the sun. The *Jāwidān-nāma* emphasises that Joseph himself was the 14th in this series.

aspects of the complete Word. The *houri* possesses another half, and the union of two halves brings the believer to the original condition of Adam and Eve living in the fullness of the divine Word. The condition of Paradise cannot be realised without this union: ' "*Therein maidens good and comely … [houris] … untouched before them by any man or jinn*" [Q. 55:56/74]. According to the Messenger, nobody was able to reach them … Whosoever is able to reach his *houri*, will not be among [the sinners who] "*shall be seized by their forelocks and their feet*" [Q. 55:41]' (388a). According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this interpretation also constitutes the innermost meaning of the marriage prescribed by the religious law:

> The *houri*s about who it is said: '*restraining their glances*' [Q. 37:48 ff.], who look at their men and nowhere else, just as the 28 letters and points look, metaphorically, only at the [ontological] 'words' that they refer to (*madlūl*) and nowhere else. The face of the black-eyed *houri*s does not reveal its original nature (*khilqa*) to anyone other than the 'men', that is to say, the [ontological] 'words'.[41] Their union with men means that it is from the original nature of the face, [symbolised by the] moustache, beard and other lines proper to the [adult] men that the original nature of the 32 [primordial 'words'] appears on the faces [of the *houri*s]. If the original nature of the male lines did not exist, the science of the 32 [ontological] 'words' could not be known from the original nature [of the *houri*s]. The reason of the presence of youth (*amrad*) in Paradise is that the *houri*s possess seven [lines], and the [youth] possess seven lines, too. This is why, [since the science of the 32 primordial 'words' comes into the original nature of woman from the] original nature of man, when a marriage is concluded between a man and a woman, God requires, according to the religious law (*sharīʿa*), that the man, not the woman, provides the necessary expenses for living (*nafaqa*), including food and clothes (376a).

The beauty of any existing form is the mark of the words of the divine Word which manifest themselves through this form. Several forms can be loci of manifestation of the same ontological words; in this case,

[41] A similar image appears in the *Kitāb al-sawāniḥ* of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī: 'Our task here is to marry the virgin ideas to the men of words in the private chambers of speech', tr. N. Pourjavady, *Sawāniḥ: Inspirations from the World of Pure Spirits. The Oldest Persian Ṣūfī Treatise on Love* (London, 1986), p. 15.

they have the same 'expressive capacity' in the terms of the divine Word, which means, according to the definition of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, that they are equal in beauty. This conception is the basis of the symbolic relationships between things, by means of which one thing can *symbolise* another. For example, the beauty of a human face can be described as a beauty of a precious stone, because both human face and precious stone express some aspects of the divine Word:

> The *houri*s, the youth … [beautiful humans, precious stones] or other beautiful forms are beautiful because they are created in accordance with the science of the Word (*ʿilm-i kalima*). It is the Word that manifests itself (*tajallī*) in the loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*) [perceived then as beautiful forms]. The same Word manifests itself in ruby, musk and other [attributes of Paradise]. Both [the human form and these noble substances] are brought into existence by the word [of the divine command] 'Be!' (*Kun*). This is why, in the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i kashf*), a human can be seen in different forms (*ṣūra*), such as the form of a ruby or another precious stone. This is how Moses heard a voice coming from the tree: '*Verily I am God!*' [Q. 20:14] (364b).

The *ḥadīth* according to which there is a market in Paradise where the forms (or beauty) are sold refers,[42] in the interpretation of *Jāwidān-nāma*, to this same fact.[43] This kind of symbolism is at work in sacred texts, in ecstatic visions, as well as dreams. The true love leads to the understanding of the innermost meaning of beauty as the manifestation of the divine Word in His writing. The accomplished lover is therefore able to discern the divine Word in any object and being, including those appearing as dream images. This is why love is closely related in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the power of dream interpretation.[44] The following passage illustrates this idea again with reference to the Qurʾānic story of Joseph:

> The story of Joseph is called 'the most beautiful of stories', because it is said: '*[O my Lord…] Thou hast taught me the interpretation of tales (taʾwīl al-aḥādīth)*' [Q. 12:101]. The knowledge [of the innermost meaning] of tales (*ʿilm-i ḥadīth*),

[42] Inventory I, no. 64.

[43] See, for instance, fol. 217a–b, 304b, 438a.

[44] In the Introduction, we have seen that the interpretation of dreams played a central role in the career of Faḍl Allāh.

> which are words (*kalima*), refers [to the science of the divine 'words'] on the faces of Joseph and Zulaykhā. [These are] the most beautiful lines of the divine [writing referred to by the expression]: '*fairest stature*' [Q. 95:4]. Both of them, Joseph and Zulaykhā, are the masters of the Seven Twofold (270b).

From this point of view, the power of dream interpretation is just another aspect of the general idea of interchangeability of forms based on their essential equivalence as loci of manifestation of the ontological words. The same idea underlies the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of evolution/involution of forms which will be discussed in Chapter 6. The accomplished lover understands this fundamental unity of all existing forms, and is therefore able to permute or 'substitute' visible forms for the 28/32 original 'words' which constitute the source and ultimate meaning of any form:

> 'The saint practising substitution (*abdāl*) is the person before the eyes of whom I take form and shape (*muṣawwar wa mushakkal wa mumaththal bāsham*).'[45] [This person] substitutes the 28 visible and silent 'words' [i.e., the forms of the letters of the alphabet, *kalima-yi ẓāhir-i ṣāmit*] by the 28 [ontological] 'words' without beginning (*azalī*), without end (*abadī*) and without form (*bi-lā shakl wa bi-lā mithāl wa ṣūrat*), [i.e., the primordial phonemes of which the visible letters are the loci of manifestation]. He substitutes the 28 [letters written with ink composed] of soot and blackness by the 28 'sciences' (*'ilm*) of the faces of Adam and Eve[46] … and he further substitutes these 28 of Adam and Eve by the 28 and 32 [primordial] 'words' without beginning and without end. In order to reach the secret of [the verse]: '*Upon the day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth*' [Q. 14:48], you must recognise in the object of substitution (*mubdil*), represented [first] by the 28 visible [letters], and [then] by the 28 'sciences' of the face of Adam an [additional] level of depth (*baṭn-i dīgar*), [that is to say,] the 28 and 32 divine 'words' without beginning and without end (301b–302a).

The knowledge of the divine Word embodied in the human form is transmitted and gradually revealed by perfect Lovers in the line of the prophets, which will be discussed in Part Two.

---

[45] It seems that God speaks in the first person in this statement.

[46] That is to say, the facial features of the human face which are, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the counterpart of the complete ontological writing.

5

Time: The Receptacle of the Word

The chapter on Time is the first in the list of the six 'beginnings' (*ibtidāʾ*) of the anonymous plan included in the British Library manuscript of the *Jāwidān-nāma* that has been discussed in the Introduction. The reason for that is specified in the citation below. Time encompasses the whole creation. Time introduces universal measure and division:

> The first 'beginning' (*ibtidāʾ*) is the house of the original nature of the hour (*khāna-yi khilqat-i sāʿa*) of the night and of the day, of three, six, seven, 10 and 40 days and nights (*shabānrūz*), of month and year, times and centuries … [The author wanted] to place [the 'beginning' on] time before [other 'beginnings'] in the divine *Jāwidān-nāma* (*Jāwidān-nāma-yi ilāhī*), because all that exists in the created world is brought into existence within the hour (*dar sāʿa*). The [author] considered that the explication [of time] is the basis of all other questions. Indeed, the questions arise when there is a disagreement in the approach to a given topic. And there is no opposition whatsoever among any groups belonging to any religion or nation in what concerns the six days [of the creation], the seven days [of the week], the months and the years. All [of mankind] agrees [on this topic] (482a).

The term usually applied in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to characterise the relationship between Time and the rest of the creation is *ẓarf/maẓrūf*, 'container/contained'. I took the point made by the author by placing the 'container' before the 'contained', the chapter on Time before the chapter on Universe. However, I thought that it is more suitable to situate our discussion on Time after the description of the first stages of the differentiation of the original Word and the chapter on the cosmic role of Adam, which provide a frame necessary to the better understanding of the passages related to the issue of Time.

Like the category of Form, the category of Time does not exist at the level of divine Unity. This idea was already expressed above, in the account on the condition of the primordial Unity and the first stages of differentiation. The Unity is the eternal Present, where the categories of 'past', 'future', 'beginning' or 'end' do not apply:[1] 'Time does not exist for God' (96a).

Similar to Form, the category of Time emerges as the result of the differentiation of the original Word by the Imperative *K^{u}N!*. The two consonnants of the Imperative, *K* and *N*, are the 'two fingers of the All-Merciful', the divine attributes of Beauty and Glory; and the names of these phonemes, *kāf* and *nūn*, contain six phonemes:

> [The Prophet], peace be upon him, said: 'The hearts are between the two fingers of the All-Merciful.'[2] 'Two' [refers here to] the attributes of Beauty (*jamāl*) and Glory (*jalāl*), which are the two [ontological] 'words' (*kalima*), *kāf* and *nūn* [of the Imperative *K^{u}n!*], containing six 'words'. The past and the future are subordinated to these [six 'words'] (291b).

The reason for which the six letters of the Imperative contain 'the past and the future' is the parallel that the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes between these six letters and six days of the creation mentioned in the Torah and in the Qurʾān. As we have seen, the *Jāwidān-nāma* states that in the course of the differentiation, the 28/32 separate phonemes were produced from the two primordial phonemes of the Imperative. This generation of the separate phonemes represents the crucial passage from the primordial Unity to the condition of multiplicity. In the course of this passage, the two phonemes of the Imperative produce six phonemes contained in their names,[3] and each of these six then produce 28/32 basic phonemes which eventually generate the infinite variety of ontological names. An additional postulate, namely the identification of the six phonemes contained in the Imperative with the six temporal units, the 'days' of the creation, allows the author of the *Jāwidān-nāma* to apply the same schema of differentiation to the temporal dimension.

---

[1] Cf. *supra* fol. 472a–b.

[2] Inventory I, no. 18.

[3] *KN = kāf + nūn = kāf + alif + fāʾ + nūn +wāw + nūn.*

Indeed, since Time is produced by the Imperative, the differentiation of Time develops in perfect accordance with the differentiation of the Word. But there is an important detail that should be mentioned at this point. It seems that the *Jāwidān-nāma* operates with two different concepts of Time: 'ontological' Time, that is, Time considered as the product of the Imperative and closely related to its division into 28/32 'words', and 'physical' time determined by the movement of the heavenly bodies.[4] The 'measure' of the ontological time is entirely determined by the six phonemes of the Imperative. It cannot be determined by the movements of the sun and the moon because, at that early point of creation, the heavens did not yet exist. The six days of creation mentioned in the Bible and the Qurʾān refer, therefore, to this ontological Time structured in accordance with the six phonemes of the Imperative, and not to the ordinary terrestrial days of 24 hours.

> [The creation was accomplished] in seven days, according to the Prophet Muḥammad, and in six days according to the Torah, which says that the heavens and the earth were created in six days, and on the seventh day God rested.[5] This [description of the creation in the Torah] is a witness to the truth of [Muḥammad's] message '*whom they find written down with them in the Torah*' [Q. 7:157]. If they ask, 'What does this mean?', the answer is that the six days during which, according to the Torah, God created all things, cannot be taken literally, because there was then no [physical] time (*waqt wa zamān*).[6] [Indeed, the latter is determined by] the movements of the [heavenly] spheres and by the cycles of the sun and of the moon [which were not yet created]. There remains only one [explanation, namely] that 'six

[4] The division of 'ontological' and 'physical' time is not explicitly stated in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. I introduce it because it seems to be supported by the textual evidence, and I believe that it provides a logical extrapolation of the essentially symbolic thought of the author, giving us an insight into the central ideas of his theory of Time.

[5] Seven days are not explicitly mentioned in any of the Qurʾānic accounts of the creation. The *Jāwidān-nāma* reads them into the interpretation of the Qurʾānic expression 'Seven Twofold' (*sab' min al-mathānī,* 15:87), and in the statement: '*Every day He is upon some labour*' (Q. 55:29). We will see an example of such interpretations further below. The biblical reference is *Genesis* 1 and 2:1–3.

[6] The same idea is expressed at the beginning of the fragment in fol. 287a: 'The expression "six days" [in the Q. 25:59] refers to the duration of six days' (*murād az sittat ayyām muddat-i sittat ayyām khwāhad būd*), and in fol. 65a cited below.

> days' refer to the measure or quantity (*miqdār*) represented by six days (298a–b).

Each phoneme of the Imperative has as its counterpart the full set of 28 ontological 'words'. The 'measure' of the creation is therefore six times 28, which makes 168 hours. After the creation of the heavenly bodies and the emergence of the regular cycle of day and night, this 'measure' of ontological time is divided into the seven days of 24 hours (168=6×28=7×24). The ontological Time introduces the measure and proportion of the Imperative and 28 ontological 'words' into the creation, into anything that is created and exists within Time:

> The Word [of the Imperative], *kāf* and *nūn*, [is composed of] six 'words'. In accordance with the [principle of] unity, every 'word' [from among these six is equivalent to] the 28 'words'. [This makes] six times 28 hours, which demonstrates that He [God] … set the 28 'words' as a measure (*andāza*) to all objects and beings. [They are all] created in accordance with the number of the divine 'words': '*His command, when He desires a thing, is to say to it* '*Be!*' *and it is*' [Q. 36:82]. Time (*zamān*) has been created and divided by the 28 [ontological] 'words', which are the receptacle (*ẓarf*) of everything. And the things have been created in accordance with the number [which determines the structure] of the Time, itself contained (*maẓrūf*) [within the 28 'words'] (77a).

The original parallelism between the Word and Time becomes more apparent as the revelation of the Word progresses from one prophetic mission to another.[7] In the mission of Muḥammad, it is exemplified by the fact that Muḥammad received both the Qurʾān and the 'Seven Twofold' which, in this context, are interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as seven days and seven nights of the week:

> '*We have given thee seven of the Twofold*' [Q. 15:87]. [These are] the seven days and nights of which are composed all the years and months, '*and the mighty Qurʾān*' [Q. 15:87], [composed of the] single letters and their combinations. This means: as long as will last the seven nights and days, the nights being related to the seven planets, the time of the right guidance (*zamān-i hidāya*), of the prophecy (*nubuwwa*), and of the religious law (*sharīʿa*), are entrusted to you [Muḥammad] (299a).

[7] The link between the cycles of the Word, Time and Revelation will be discussed in more detail in Parts Two and Three.

The Qurʾān, revealed in the Arabic language, contains 28 letters, the number of the complete Alphabet of the creation. It expresses the complete divine Word, and is contained in the receptacle of the 'Seven Twofold' which correspond to the temporal dimension of the Word:

> If someone asks why the seven days and the seven nights which, according to you, are the Seven Twofold (*sabʿ mathānī*) and the receptacle (*ẓarf*) of the Qurʾān, were given to Muḥammad and not to other prophets (*payghambarān*), the answer is that the Seven Twofold, which are [identical to] the seven nights and seven days, are six times 28 hours. They are therefore [identical] to the six 'words' of the *kāf* and *nūn* [of the Imperative], each of which contains 28 'words' … This is what was given to Muḥammad. All the Time, the hours, the nights and the days, are contained in seven days and nights. During these seven days, '*Every day He is upon some labour*' [Q. 55:29]. Time (*zamān*) and all that is contained within these seven days and nights is [included in] six times 28 hours, because the 28 'words' are the foundation of the Word [or Speech] (*aṣl-i kalām*), by the means of which God spoke to him [to Muḥammad], with reference to the [Imperative] *Kun* (12a).

Even if the prophetic mission of Muḥammad is usually linked in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the full revelation of the series of 28 original 'words', corresponding to the 28 letters of the Arabic Qurʾān, and it is on this series that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of correspondence between the measure of the week and the Word seems to be founded, the series of 32 are not totally excluded from this approach. In Part Two, we will see that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the mission of Muḥammad also contains implicitly the series of 32, prefiguring thus the full revelation of the divine Word made in the time of Adam. These 32 appear in the division of the physical time of six days mentioned in the Qurʾān and the Bible: 144 hours of the six days can be represented as four times 28 plus 32 hours. We have already seen an example of such calculation above, in fragment fol. 75b–76a, and will come back to it later in this chapter. The presentation of the week as six times 28 hours also contains implicitly the series of 32, because each hour is composed of 60=28+32 minutes. We will see several examples of this division based on the number 60 in the next chapter.

More generally, the measure introduced into the creation by the means of Time establishes a perfect correspondence between any

object existing within Time and the divine Word: 'Any object is a 'word' of God' (74b). The idea that Time is the receptacle (*ẓarf*) of the creation containing all that was accomplished within six days, is repeated throughout the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*:

> Hour, day, days and nights are the receptacle (*ẓarf*) of all things, according to [the verse]: '*He created the heavens and the earth in six days*' [Q. 7:54]. [God] divided the time according to the number of His 'words' and of His Word (*kalām*), brought into existence by the Word [of the Imperative] 'Be!' (*Kun!*) … All that is [contained] in the six days [of the creation], and '*in a day whereof the measure is fifty thousand years*' [Q. 70:4] … is divided according to [the division of] time (85b).

The idea of Time as the receptacle of creation is further developed in the passages that establish a link between the six days of the creation containing, as we saw, 28 hours each, and six spatial directions (four cardinal points, nadir and zenith): 'One week consists of seven days and nights, or six times 28 hours. Every existing [object or being] possesses six directions, and every direction of this [object or being] faces 28 hours, which represent the time of existence of this existent (*zamān-i wujūd-i ān mawjūdast*)' (272b). Every existing object is thus literally encompassed by Time. Each of six sides of every object faces one of the six ontological days and its 28 hours corresponding to the complete set of 28 original 'words' of the divine Word. Therefore, by the intermediary of Time, every object faces the divine Word in every possible direction. Since the locus of manifestation of the divine Word is the body and the face of Adam, which expresses the anthropomorphic attributes of God, any side of any object finds itself before the Face of God:

> Anything that has been created … possesses six directions (*jahat*). Every direction [of any existing thing] was thus brought into existence by the 28 divine 'words'. Every direction was educated (*tarbiya*) by the 28 divine 'words'. Time (*zamān*), which governs (*murabbī*) every direction of [any particular] thing, is divided into 28 [parts], according to the number of the 28 divine 'words'.[8] Whatever the direction that faces a human being or

[8] For the technical terms associated with the root *rbb,* see T. Mayer, *Keys to the Arcana: Shahrastani's Esoteric Commentary on the Qur'an* (Oxford, 2009), in particular pp. 42 and 160.

> [any] other creature, he/she/it faces something that is divided in accordance with the number of the 28 divine 'words', and created by them: '*So set thy face to the religion, a man of pure faith – God's original upon which He originated mankind*' [Q. 30:30], '*Whithersoever you turn, there is the Face of God*' [Q. 2:115]. This makes clear that every direction [of any existing thing] is divided into 28 [parts] … and the six [directions, divided into] 28 [parts, are in fact subjected to] one [and the same division into] 28 [parts], just as one hour refers to the 168 hours of the week (95b).

Friday, analogue of the Jewish Sabbath, occupies a particular place in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine of Time as a link between 'ontological' and physical time. Being added to the six other days, the 24 hours of Friday complete the ontological 'measure' of the week and bring it to the significant figure of 6×28=168 hours.[9] This establishes the perfect correspondence between the time of creation and the means of creation, the Imperative, each of its six phonemes being a counterpart of the 28 original 'words':

> '*And it is He who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His Throne was upon the waters*' [Q. 11:7]. [With] Friday (*jumʿa*), which is the 'day of increase' (*yawm al-mazīd*),[10] [the week of the creation] counts 168 hours, or six times 28 hours, in accordance with the number of the divine 'words', which are the receptacle of Time (*ẓarf-i zamān ast*) (85b).

The 'conversion' of the six phonemes of the Imperative into Time thus results in exactly seven days of 24 hours. The *Jāwidān-nāma* argues that this position is in accordance with the Qurʾān. Indeed, it is not said in the Qurʾān that the creation was *completed* within six days; it is only said that '*the heavens and the earth and all that is between*' (Q. 25:59) were created during this period. But the Qurʾān does state that the Throne of God was '*over the waters*' when He created the heavens and the earth.[11] This suggests, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, that the Throne and the waters existed *before* the creation of the

[9] On Friday's epithets, 'the day of increase' (*yawm al-mazīd*) and 'the added day' (*al-yawm al-mazīd*), see S. D. Goitein, 'Beholding God on Friday', *Islamic Culture* 34 (1960), pp. 163–168.

[10] Inventory I, no. 10.

[11] Cf., for example, Q. 11:7.

heavens and the earth. It is at this point that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s polemical discourse against the Jews is situated. The Bible mentions explicitly that there was an additional, seventh day of the creation. This is true and confirms the Qurʾānic evidence which, without any explicit mention of the seventh day, clearly indicates that some time in addition to the six days was necessary for the creation of the Throne and the waters. But the Jews misunderstood Moses when they said that the seventh day was the day of rest:

> Moses said that on the Sabbath (*rūz-i sabt*), which is the seventh day [of the week], there remained no more work for God, in accordance with 'the pen was dry' (*jaffa al-qalam*). He said this with reference to the things that were created within the six days, that is to say, four times 28 hours and one time 32 hours [=144=6×24]. Because Time (*zamān*) was created according to this [measure], there remained nothing [outside of Time]. As to the meaning that some people, following the Jews, [attribute to this statement of Moses] when they imagine that God did nothing [on the Sabbath], God [Himself] said: '*We cursed the Sabbath-men*' [Q. 4:47], '*Every day He is upon some labour*' [Q. 55:29]. The resurrection (*qiyāma*) and the retribution (*jazāʾ*) will take place on Friday (*jumʿa*), which is the seventh [day], as well as the manifestation of the Essence (*ẓuhūr-i dhāt*), the blow of the Trumpet (*nafkha*) and other [eschatological events] (75b–76a).

This is why the passage in fol. 298a–b cited previously asserts that the creation lasted seven days, and this would be in perfect accordance with the Torah if the Jews had not misinterpreted Moses' message. The six days of ontological Time cover the seven days of physical time, leaving no place for the biblical 'day of rest'.[12]

---

[12] A. Rippin, 'Sabbath', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* vol. 4, pp. 510–511: 'The Qurʾān restates the biblical notion that there were six days of creation (Q 7:54; 10:3; 11:7, etc.) but denies the biblical implication that God "rested" from creation and that this is to be commemorated through keeping the Sabbath as a day of rest. God says after his experience with creation, "Weariness did not touch us" (Q 50:38). Thus the exegetical problem arose of how to explain that the seventh day of the week was called *sabt* while not implying that the word conveyed that sense of "rest." The answer was contained in the derivation of the word *sabt* from the word *sabata* restricted in its meaning to senses of "ceasing" or "being still," without conveying an implication of "rest"; the word *subāt* was still seen to have that meaning, however, as was necessitated by Q 25:47 and Q 78:9, where sleep is termed a "rest."' See also G.-H. Bousquet,

The Throne and the Footstool represent Adam and Eve in their 'limit' position between the creation and the invisible divine Word. In this position, Adam and Eve support and convey the Balance which links these two incommensurable dimensions together. Let us recall that the primordial Water also refers in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to a kind of limit and transition. The passages where water is interpreted as the natural element characterising the undifferentiated, germinal state of the world at the very beginning of the creation, the substrate which, though invisible itself, contains potentially any possible shape, just as the point contains potentially the form of any possible letter, were quoted in Chapter 1:

> In accordance with [the verses]: '*And it is He who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His Throne was upon the waters*' [Q. 11:7], and '*His Footstool doth extend over the heavens and the earth*' [Q. 2:255], the creation of the Throne (*ʿarsh*) and of the Footstool (*kursī*) did not take place within the six days. Since '*Every day He is upon some labour*' [Q. 55:29], [their creation] took place on Friday. The Messenger has said indeed that the divine Throne will manifest itself on a Friday, which is the day of the creation of Adam. We have already explained above [the meaning of the] Throne [=Adam] and Footstool [= Eve]. Since '*His Throne was upon the waters*' [at the moment of the creation of the heavens and of the earth], it is clear that the Throne, the Footstool and the Water were created before the creation of the heavens and of the earth. When the six days were increased (*mazīd shawad*) with [the addition of] Friday, God sent Gabriel who brought the Friday to the Messenger in the form of a mirror (*dar ṣūrat-i mirʾāt*), and said: 'We call it the Day of Resurrection, the day of increase.'[13] Friday with six [other] days and nights [of the week], which are the basis (*aṣl*) of months and years, makes [a week of] six times 28 hours, in accordance with the number of six 'words' of [the Imperative] *kāf* and *nūn* … Any existent thing has six directions (*jahat*), and every direction is governed (or 'educated', *murabbā*) by 28 hours, and these 28 hours are divided in accordance with the 28 divine 'words' (287a–288a).

'Etudes islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher. Traduction analytique (III)', *Arabica* 7/3 (1960), pp. 237–240.

[13] Inventory I, no. 10.

Until this point, doctrinal developments concerning Time, its relationship to the Imperative and its link with the six spatial directions were mostly based on the series of 28 original 'words', identified with hours. Friday opens new perspectives in the structure of time which restores the balance between 28 and 32.

The textual evidence of the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests that the relationship between Friday and six days of the week has some similarity with the relationship between the series of 28 and 32. This relationship is either 'complementary', the two series completing each other (28+32=60, particularly in the passages concerning the structure of the heavenly spheres), or 'inclusive', when the series of 28 is contained in the series of 32 (28+4=32, often found in the passages on anthropology and prophetology). In the same manner, Friday is either added to complete the six days up to the six times 28 hours, or considered as a day encompassing and synthesising the six other days. It also seems that the *Jāwidān-nāma* distinguishes between these two paradigms using two different traditional names of Friday. The passages related to the first, 'complementary' paradigm, often refer to Friday as the 'the day of increase' (*yawm al-mazīd*), as in the fragment in fol. 287a–288a cited above. The expression 'master of the days' (*sayyid al-ayyām*), which will be contextualised in the passages below, could be a mark of the second, 'inclusive' approach, designating Friday as an independent measure of Time summarising the time of the six days.

The fragments cited above referred mostly to the 'complementary' perspective, which apparently supposes that the time of Friday is essentially homogeneous to the time of other six days. If the time of Friday were measured on a scale different from that applied to the six days, it would not be possible to add them together in order to bring the measure of the Time of creation in accordance with the measure of the six phonemes of the Imperative. We observe that this perspective is based essentially on the series of 28. The series of 32 interfere here only indirectly: 15 *rakʿa* of the Friday prayer complete the 17 *rakʿa* of the prayer on the ordinary days in order to match the complete number of 32 original 'words':

> A week is [composed of] seven nights and seven days, according to the number of the 'words' [that God taught] Adam: '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31]. [Indeed, a week contains] six days and Friday, and the obligatory prayer [contains] 15

> [*rakʿa*] on Friday … and 17 [*rakʿa* in all other days of the week], so that [the number of the] 32 ['words' of the complete Word] is achieved through the [weekly cycle of the] prayer (89a).

The 'inclusive' perspective supposes, on the contrary, that the time of Friday and the time of the other six days belong to different scales. If the 'complementary' paradigm clearly privileges the series of 28, the 'inclusive' one restores the usual parity between 28 and 32. Many passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* refer indeed to the six ordinary day cycles of 24 hours as an independent and full measure of time which is in accordance with the original 28/32 'words' without being completed by the 24 hours of Friday: 'In a sense, six nights and days [represent] a complete number (*ʿadad-i tāmm*), because they [contain] four times 28 hours and one time 32 hours' (64b). Since the period of six days is explicitly mentioned in the Qurʾān, it should be significant not only as 'ontological' time measured with days of 28 hours, but also in its most direct sense, with reference to the empirical reality:

> [God] created the heavens and the earth in six days, which means in accordance with the measure of duration (*miqdār-i muddat*) of the six days. Their measure of duration is four times 28 and [one time] 32 hours … Everything existing, in [present], past and future, [exists] within the measure of duration determined by six days, [established by] the 28 and 32 [ontological] 'words' (65a).

On the other hand, with reference to the etymological meaning of Friday – *jumʿa*, 'day of assembly and congregational prayer', from the Arabic root *jmʿ* expressing the idea of gathering, coming together, synthesis, and therefore interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* in this broad sense as the 'day of synthesis' – Friday is not an homogeneous extension to the sequence of six days, but rather a counterpart of six days, representing a specific measure of time summarising and synthesising the creation and the Word: 'Friday is the time where all divine 'words' are brought together (*jamʿ*)' (207a). This special status of Friday can be better understood with reference to the stage of creation where the *Jāwidān-nāma* situates Friday: the creation of the physical universe is accomplished in six days, while Friday is the day when the Throne/Adam is created. The latter, as we have seen earlier,

is the model and synthesis of the entire universe.[14] If the creation of the universe was accomplished within the measure determined by the period of six days, the creation of Adam on Friday introduces its own specific measure, determined this time by the period of 40 days. Just as the measure of week, the measure of 40 days essentially establishes a correspondence between the 28/32 original words, the principle of creation, and the created entity, which is, in this case, the body of Adam:

> According [to the divine saying]: 'I kneaded the clay of Adam with My two hands during 40 days',[15] the creation of Adam took 40 days and nights, or 16 times 28 and 16 times 32 hours.[16] The time (*zamān*) is divided in the same way as his [Adam's] original nature (*khilqa*), his names,[17] and the [ontological] writing on his face, in accordance with [the principle of] unity (*tawḥīd*): 'Do not insult time, for I am time'[18] (84a).

Closely related to the Imperative, Time is essentially the measure of the creation, realisation and actualisation. It is the means of transition from non-existence into existence, from potentiality into actuality:

> The pre-existent Word (*kalām-i qadīm*) of God, by the means of which He spoke to prophets (*anbiyā'*) and to angels, and [their]

---

[14] A cautious parallel could be suggested here with the Mazdaist interpretation of time, and more particularly with the idea that a member in a series of units can also represent the series as a whole. This idea is implied in the relationship between Ohrmazd and six archangels. The Mazdaist distinction between the unlimited and limited Time also seem to correspond to the two aspects of Time in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* which I refer to as 'inclusive' and 'complementary' paradigms. The Mazdaist idea of personification of Time is explicitly expressed in the fragment of the *Jāwidān-nāma* that mentions the names of Mazdaist angels corresponding to the months (98b). For a discussion of the Mazdaist conception of Time see H. Corbin, *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis* (London, 1983), pp. 1–30.

[15] Inventory I, no. 27.

[16] Other passages mention different forms of division of 40×24=960 hours in the multiples of 28 and/or 32, none of which is arithmetically exact: 960=32×32 [32×32=1024] (fol. 62b–63a, 82b); 960=32×28+28+32 [32×28=896, 896+32+28=956] (fol. 79a–b).

[17] That is, the 32 ontological 'words' of the complete divine Word to which, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, alludes the Qur'ānic verse 2:31: '*He taught him the names, all of them.*'

[18] Inventory I, no. 6.

> original nature (*khilqa*), does not exceed the six letters *kāf* and *nūn* [of the Imperative *K^{u}n!*]. Similarly, the creation (*ījād*) of the existent [objects and beings] (*makhlūqāt*) and of all that is not God (*mā siwā Allāh*), and of the created beings and [ontological] writings (*mukawwināt wa maktūbāt*) [represented by their physical forms], [emerging] from the concealment of non-existence into the plain of being (*az katm-i ʿadam bi-saḥrā-yi wujūd*), does not exceed, and can never exceed, from pre- to post-eternity (*az azal tā abad*), six days and seven days and nights, which [contain] six times 28 hours, or four times 28 and one time 32 hours: '*There is no changing the words of God*' [Q. 10:64] (11b).
>
> The heavens and the earth, all [material] things, all [those] that can be imagined (*ānchi taṣawwur wa takhayyul tawān kard dar dhihn*) and others, have been created within the six days, and accomplished (*tamām shuda and*) on Friday … [This is how] they appeared in the visible world (*ʿālam-i shahāda*) from the invisible world (*ʿālam-i ghayb*). [They are all] brought into existence by the Word [of the Imperative] *Kun!,* and [then] become manifest (*bi-ẓuhūr mī-āyand*), without lack and without excess (*bi-lā ziyāda wa nuqṣān*) (98a).

In the previous chapter we discussed the significance of the human bodily form as the locus of manifestation of God. Many passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* discuss the equivalence between the ontological measure of the time represented by six or seven days and the proportions of the human form:

> God embodied (*mujassam kardānīd*) Time (*zamān*), night and day, by [His] Imperative: '*He but says to it "Be," and it is*',[19] when He divided [the time of the week] into six times 28 hours, similarly to the [body] of Adam and its members [made of] clay in accordance with the [ontological] 'words' and [the complete divine] Word (*kalima wa kalām*): 'I am Time' (98a–b).
>
> 'God created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful.'[20] 'The Time turns according to his shape',[21] that is to say, 'according to the shape of the Master of the Time' who will be Adam. The six days [of the creation] refer to four times 28 hours and one time 32 hours; and a week [contains] six times 28 hours, and the shape of Adam (*hayʾat-i Adam wa shakl-i Adam*)

[19] The Qurʾānic experssion *kun fa-yakūn,* occurs in several verses beginning with 2:117.

[20] Inventory I, no. 11.

[21] Inventory I, no. 46.

> is [formed] according to this shape (*hayʾa*). This is why God said: 'Do not insult Time' (101b).
>
> All the prophets agree that the week [contains] seven nights and days. [Seven nights and seven days] are 14, just like the the lines [of the divine writing] on the faces of Mary and Eve, which are seven lines [consisting of] the line of the hair, two eyebrows and four eyelashes. With the seven parts [of the face] where these lines are located, they are [also] 14. These seven nights and days [contain] six times 28 hours, in accordance with the number of 28 divine 'words' [written] on the faces of Adam, Jesus and the Messenger [Muḥammad], peace be upon them. [14 lines on the face of an adult man with 14 parts of the face where they are located are 28.] The heavens and the earth have been created in six days … [the measure of duration of which] is four times 28 and one time 32 hours, in accordance with [the division] of the original nature (*khilqa*) of the face of Adam, Jesus and Muḥammad: '*With Him is the knowledge of the Hour*' [Q. 43:85] (330b).

Since Adam was created on Friday, the seventh day of the week, the measure of the week is the means of actualisation of the bodily form of Adam, in which God manifests Himself. The week is therefore the measure of time which makes possible the eschatological vision of God.[22] With reference to a *ḥadīth* according to which the archangel Gabriel showed Friday to Muḥammad as a mirror,[23] the *Jāwidān-*

[22] Cf. S. D. Goitein, 'Djumʿa' in *EI2,* vol. 2, pp. 592–594: 'The Sabbath should be a foretaste of the world to come, where the righteous are granted the beatific vision of God. This idea, prevailing in ancient Judaism, was enormously expanded – or perhaps developed independently – by Islamic mysticism and religious folklore. In Heaven, Friday is called *yawm al-mazīd*, the day of Allāh's special bounty (cf. Sūra L, 35). On it, Allāh sends to each of the pious Muslims in Paradise an apple. When they take the apple in their hands, it splits in two, and out steps a beautiful maid with a sealed letter containing a personal invitation from Allāh. Soon the general move of those who are thus invited begins. The men on horseback, the women in litters, the men led by Muḥammad, who is accompanied by Adam, Moses and Jesus, the women led by Fāṭima and other women saints, all move towards the Holy Enclosure, where a gorgeous meal, described with glowing details, awaits them. At its conclusion the pious call on Allāh asking Him to show them His face. Allāh lifts His veil and reveals Himself to them (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 1326, xxvi, 108; Abū Ṭālibal-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 72; Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī, *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn*, 130–1 and the extensive literature quoted in S. D. Goitein, 'Beholding God on Friday', *Islamic Culture*, 34, 1960, pp. 63–8).'

[23] Inventory I, no. 10.

nāma compares Friday to the mirror reflecting the face of Adam, the locus of manifestation of the divine Face and Word. This comparison to the mirror probably gives us a key to the solution of the contradiction which appears between, on the one hand, the passages which state that the Adam/Throne existed *before* the creation of the universe, and the measure of the time of six days was fashioned according to the proportions of the bodily form of Adam and, on the other hand, the passages that state that Adam was created on the last, seventh day of the creation, his bodily form being thus contained within the 'receptacle' (*ẓarf*) of Time. These apparently contradictory passages could be based on the supposition that the pre-existent form of the Throne/Adam is contained in Friday as an image is contained in a mirror, and becomes visible only with the accomplishment of the Time of the creation, that is, at its *end*:

> Adam was created on Friday, which is the seventh day, added [lit. 'increased', *mazīd*] to the six days [of creation] … because the original nature (*khilqa*) of Adam is the purpose of the two worlds (*ḥāṣil-i kawnayn*) … The [creation] of Adam and the meeting with God (*liqāʾ Allāh*) take place on this day. The divine metaphors (*istiʿāra*), such as 'Face of God' and 'Fingers of God', refer to the Master of the Friday (*ṣāḥib-i jumʿa*), who is Adam. This is why [Friday is named] 'lord of the days' (*sayyid al-ayyām*), and appeared in the form of a mirror (*ṣūrat-i mirʾāt*) showing the face of Adam (6b–7a).[24]
>
> [The Prophet said]: 'Gabriel came to me with a mirror in his hand.' … The mirror has no function in the making of the creation (*waḍʿ-i khilqat*) other than to show the face of Adam and the faces of humans, to show the divine 'words' and the lines of the divine [writing] on the face of Adam and on the faces of humans. [The mirror] is thus the place where the lines of the divine [writing] on the face of Adam can be read … [Similarly], the water (*āb*) and any [other entity in the constitution of which] the aquatic quality (*māʾiyyat*) predominates are, by their original nature (*az rū-yi khilqat*), that which mirrors (*numāyanda*) the face of Adam … The meeting with God [takes place] on Friday because [Friday] is the day of the creation of Adam … [Friday] is named the 'increased day' (*yawm al-mazīd*) because it has been

[24] Significantly, this passage mentions both the names of Friday, 'the day of increase' (*yawm al-mazīd*), textual marker of the 'complementary' paradigm, and 'the lord of the days' (*sayyid al-ayyām*), marker of the 'inclusive' paradigm.

> added to the six days during which the heavens, the earth and all that is in between had been created. Adam was created on Friday, and this was also the day when the divine Throne (*ʿarsh-i khudā*) manifested itself … It is said: 'The believer is a mirror of the believer',[25] [because] they can see the original nature of God (*khilqat-i khudāʾī*) on the face of each other. The creation of the heavens, of the earth and of all that is in between was accomplished in six days, with the exception of the Throne (*ʿarsh*) and of the water (*māʾ*), which [were created] on the seventh, 'increased' day. [With] the creation of the Throne and of water, [the duration of the creation reached] 84 hours of day and 84 hours of night, or six times 28 hours. Thus, in whatever of six [possible] directions [i.e., four cardinal points, nadir and zenith] you turn your face, you will face a mirror reflecting the divine Word and the Face of God (*kalima-yi ilāhī wa wajh Allāh*) (88a–b).

The vision on Friday (*jumʿa*) is made possible also by the fact that on this day, the spirit of Adam was joined (*jamʿ*) to his body:

> The seventh day is necessarily the 'lord of the days' (*sayyid al-ayyām*), the mirror (*mirʾāt*), and Friday ['the day of Assembly' (*jumʿa*)], because on this day the spirit (*rūḥ*) was assembled with the body and could contemplate itself in the mirror of Friday [or 'in the mirror of Assembly', *dar mirʾāt-i jumʿa*] (7b).

In analogy with the measure of the week, the measure of 40 days also produces the form of Adam, and is therefore also related in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the possibility of the vision of God. But if the measure of the week refers rather to the eschatological vision of God at the end of time, the vision at the end of 40 days, exemplified by the story of Moses' encounter with God, is probably related more to the individual mystical experience. Because 40 days is the period of time necessary to produce the form of Adam, the only form of the complete visible manifestation of the divine Word, the encounter with God and the contemplation of His visible aspect are not possible before the period of 40 days:

> If someone asks why it was the [period of] 40 days, neither more nor less, that was appointed for the creation of Adam and for the encounter of Moses [with God], [this question] concerns the

[25] Inventory I, no. 3.

> knowledge of the vision of God and of the creation [or original nature] of the person of Adam (*maʿrifat-i ruʾyat-i khudā wa khilqat-i nafs-i Adam*). The answer is that [40 days contain] 32 times 32 [hours], neither more nor less, in accordance with the [divine] Unity (*barā-yi tawḥīd*).[26] '*Thirty nights*' [appointed to Moses, Q. 7:142], [contain] 360 hours,[27] '*and We completed them with ten*' [Q. 7:142], in order to obtain 960 [hours], or 32 times 32. [Moses] said: '*O my Lord, show me*' [Q. 7:143], that is to say, 'your Face' (*ay wajhuka*), '*that I may behold Thee!*' [Q. 7:143]. In the Torah, [Moses says]: 'I want to see Your Face'[28] (*mī-khwāham ki rū-yi tū-rā bi-bīnam*),[29] '*desiring His Face*' (*yurīdūna wahjahu*) [Q. 6:52], and '*All things perish, except His Face*' [Q. 28:88] (63a).
>
> [God said]: 'I kneaded the clay of Adam 40 days with My two hands.'[30] … '*And We appointed with Moses thirty nights and We completed them with ten, so the appointed time of his Lord was forty nights*' [Q. 7:142] … and 'God created Adam in His form.'[31] [Adam] is created in the form of God, and 'I saw my Lord in the most beautiful form, [in the form of a] beardless youth.'[32] Moses asked to see God at the end of [the period of] 40 [days]: '*O my Lord, show me, that I may behold Thee!*' [Q. 7:143]. The meeting with God (*laqāʾ Allāh*) … must be asked at [the end of a period of] 40 days … The appointment for the meeting with God and the clay of Adam, who is the father of all prophets and saints (*anbiyāʾ wa awliyāʾ*), are [determined by a measure of] 40 days, because the duration of time of 40 days is needed in order to facilitate the meeting with God and the vision of God (*tā laqāʾ wa ruʾyat muyassar shawad*) (380b–381a).

The passages related to the question of the vision of God quoted above allow us also to catch a glimpse of the point where the 'complementary' and 'inclusive' paradigms of time meet together. Indeed, the form of Adam, mirror of the divine Reality and *summary* of the creation, emerges only when the measure of the time of the

---

[26] Although 32 times 32 makes 1024, and 40 times 24 makes 960, the author does not seem to be concerned by this difference.

[27] One night is here counted as 12 hours, 30 nights make therefore 360 hours.

[28] Inventory II, no. 9.

[29] Probably an allusion to Exodus 33:12–23.

[30] Inventory I, no. 27.

[31] Inventory I, no. 11.

[32] Inventory I, no. 30.

week is *completed* by Friday. In other words, Friday summarises the measure of the week *because* it completes it up to the full number of the original words, and at the same time contains the fullness thus realised.

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the week is the basic complete measure of time, and is in perfect accordance with the Imperative and the 28/32 original 'words' or aspects of the divine Word on the one hand, and with the spatial dimensions and cosmic cycles of the universe on the other.[33] The greater periods of time, such as months, years and ages, are all composed of weeks, up to the end of time, the last Gathering and the Resurrection:

> God manifested/created everything, belonging either to the spiritual or to the material world (*umūr-i dīn wa dunyā*) … in six days, '*and His Throne was upon the waters*' [Q. 11:7], within a week, in accordance with [the verse]: '*Every day He is upon some labour*' [Q. 55:29] … After that, He came to the Saturday (*shamba*), and [a new week started] until the next Friday. [Every time] when He came to Saturday, [all that] He decreed (*taqdīr*) in the pre-eternity was re-actualised in [a new] week. This will be repeated until the coming of the Hour on a Friday, [a day] which has the form of the mirror (*ṣūrat-i mirʾāt*) [reflecting the image of] Adam (65a).
>
> The cycle (*madār*) of reckoning of things, created and written (*mukawwināt wa maktūbāt*), is [based on] seven nights and days. When a week is over, the count starts again from the first day … Similarly, the prayer [contains] 17 [*rakʿa*] during the six days, and 15 [*rakʿa*] on Friday, [and this cycle is repeated the next week], and [this will continue] until the extinction of the world (*tā inqirāḍ-i jahān*). Months, years and ages are composed of weeks, weeks of days, days of hours. The hour and its division, as well as the stations of the sun and of the moon [depend on] the constellations, [which determine the number of] degrees (*daraja*), minutes (*daqīqa*), seconds (*thāniya*), thirds (*thālitha*), and [so on] until the tenth [fractions of degree] (12a–b).

To conclude the present chapter, let us quote the following statement which mentions Persian names of months related to the names of

[33] The hours and further subdivisions of time remain in accordance with the 28/32 original 'words' because they are measured by 60=28+32 units (minutes in an hour, seconds in a minute, etc.).

angels in Mazdaism: 'To each of the 30 days of every month [corresponds an angel]. The names of months – *khordād, mordād, tīr* and *ordubihisht* – are the names of angels' (98b). This remark suggests that, as previously noted, Faḍl Allāh had at least some notions of the Mazdaic conception of time.

In the next chapter, we will see how the universe, another general entity equivalent to the complete divine Word, is organised in accordance with the model represented by the form of Adam and evolving within the 'receptacle' of Time.

6

The Universe: Diversity in the Unity of the Word

In the anonymous plan of six 'beginnings' that was mentioned in the Introduction, the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma* to be included in this chapter on the universe are described as follows:

> The second 'beginning' (*ibtidā'*) is the house of '*the heavens, the earth and all what is in between*' [Q. 25:59 and ff.] … [It is] about the heaven containing seven heavens, nine heavenly spheres (*aflāk*), 12 constellations, 360 degrees, minutes, seconds and so on until the 10th [fractions of degree], with angels dwelling in the heavens and on the planets; about earth, clay … mountains, provisions, wild beasts and birds, and all that is generated for humans from the four elements … From the beginning to the end of the divine *Jāwidān-nāma,* every explanation (*bayān*) [related to these topics] enters in this house (482a–b).[1]

For several reasons, it is proper that this chapter appears after the chapter on Time. First, it includes 'the heavens, the earth, and all that is in between', that is, the contents of the six days of the creation excluding Friday which is the day of Adam, the Throne and the Water. Second, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Time is structured and measured in accordance with the divine Imperative, and it conveys the same structure and measure to all that is contained in it. There is therefore an essential homogeneity between physical time and the movements of the heavenly spheres and bodies. Seven days of the week, the basic measure of the complete time, have seven planets as counterparts. Twelve hours of day and 12 hours of night correspond to 12 constellations of the Zodiac. Twelve months of a year with its 360 days correspond to 12 constellations in the 360 degrees of the heavenly sphere:

[1] The full Persian text of this anonymous note is reproduced at the end.

> In accordance with [the verse]: '*By the heaven of the constellations*' [Q. 85:1], the 12 constellations (of the Zodiac) cover 360 degrees … or six times 60 [degrees]. There are 12 hours in a day: '*an hour of the day*' [Q. 10:45].[2] Six days and seven days are [established] upon the same measure (*qiyās*). Following the divine order, seven days are related to the seven stars (*kawākib*) [i.e., the seven planets]. Six days are related to the creation of the heavens and of the earth, and one day is related to the creation of the Throne and the water (78a).
>
> One year [contains] 12 months and every month [contains] 30 days, [which makes] 360 days and 360 nights … For what reason does God mention in His book that a year is composed of 12 months?[3] When you read the Well-preserved Tablet [of the face of Adam], you will discern these 12 lines [of the divine ontological writing], similar to the 12 constellations. Every constellation [covers] 30 degrees, and the 360 degrees [correspond] to 12 months. Every month [contains] 30 days. There are thus 360 days [in a year] (83b).

This close structural homogeneity between Time and the Universe is the basis of the astrological developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, to which we will come later in this chapter. There is also a close link between this chapter and the chapter on the cosmic dimension of the human bodily form (Chapter 3). It would be impossible to describe the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s vision of Time and Universe without some previous acquaintance with its anthropology. Let us recall here the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s schema of the generation of forms, which we have examined in Chapter 2. The primordial Word is the first manifestation of the divine Essence, unknowable in itself. The Word is what makes knowable a number of aspects, attributes or names of the Essence, and carries thus all available knowledge of the Essence. The *Jāwidān-nāma* states that there is a limited set of 28/32 simple basic aspects, from the number of which all other names and attributes are composed. At one of the first stages of the creation, there appears the category of Form. Before the beginning of differentiation, the germ of the form is represented by a

---

[2] '*And on the day He shall muster them, as if they had not tarried but an hour of the day, mutually recognizing one another; lost will be those who cried lies to the encounter with God, and were not guided.*' Q. 10:45.

[3] Allusion to Q. 9:32: '*The number of the months, with God, is twelve in the Book of God.*'

black Point, the shadow of the unique and undifferentiated divine Word. The essential correspondence between the invisible Word and the black Point is guaranteed by the principles of identity of the name and the named, measure and balance. If the Word is the manifestation of the Essence, the Point is the manifestation of the Word made visible. All knowledge contained in the Word is expressed in the Point and can be accessed through the Point. The *Jāwidān-nāma* defines the science (*ʿilm*) as the locus of manifestation of a metaphysical meaning (*maʿnā*) or truth (*ḥaqīqa*). Therefore, the Point is the science of the Word. In the process of the differentiation, the 28/32 basic aspects emerge from the Word as distinct simple elements of sound, or primordial phonemes, named 'words' (*kalima*, pl. *kalimāt*). As a result of the parallel process, 28/32 simple elements of form emerge from the single invisible Point. The relationship between the primordial phonemes and the corresponding elements of form is governed by the same laws that establish the correspondence between the primary Word and Point. These elements of form corresponding to the primordial phonemes are the first Letters (*ḥurūf*). The complete set of the 28/32 letters focalises in a unique form, which is the science of the entire divine Word and a differentiated analogue of the black Point. As such, this form gives access to the complete available knowledge of the divine Essence. This unique form, summarising the full divine 'alphabet', is that of the human being, originally represented by Adam. Other forms of created objects result not from the comprehensive combination of the ontological letters, but only from their partial combinations. All objects and beings are thus fragments of the total science represented by the form of the human body:

> The human being (*insān*) is the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 [ontological] 'words'… because God made manifest the distinctive signs (*ʿalāma* pl. *ʿalāmāt*) of the 32 'words' in the original nature (*khilqa*) of the humans. Other objects [and beings] are not enabled to such a manifestation, and the science (*ʿilm*) cannot be manifested in them in its entirety (162a).

Our discussion of Adam and Eve in Chapter 3 concluded with the citation of passage fol. 82a, where Adam is described as the Well-preserved Tablet of God, the sum and archetype of the divine ontological writing. Considered from this angle, the human form is the matrix of the creation. This form is the standard and the source of the

measures and proportions that are given to time and to the universe contained in the time, from the highest heavens down to the spheres corresponding to the four elementary natures, and then to all the diversity of particular forms: a structure in accordance with the original Word and its 28/32 'words'.

The idea of correspondence between the human microcosm and the macrocosm is the basis of all *Jāwidān-nāma*'s developments concerning the universe. It seems possible to distinguish two general aspects in the relevant fragments. The first aspect deals with the similarities between the human bodily form and the structure of the universe, including heavenly spheres, constellations, planets and natural elements, together with the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s astrological and alchemical developments. The second aspect focuses on the relationships between the human form and all particular forms of objects and beings existing within the universe, including the theory of evolution and involution of forms between the most perfect, which is that of the human body, and the lower realms of animals, plants and minerals. In our account of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s discourse on the universe, we will follow this twofold division of broad topics.

The link between the human bodily form and the general structure of the universe is associated with such symbols related to the cosmic dimension of the human form as the 'Lote-tree of the Boundary' (*sidrat al-muntahā*) and Throne/Footstool (*ʿarsh/kursī*). In Chapter 3, we discussed these symbols characterising the human bodily form as the limit between the world of the pure, invisible, divine Word and the universe of created forms. Both the Lote-tree and the Throne/Foostool were described as the place which receives the first effusion of the divine ontological Word, from which this effusion is distributed to the rest of the creation in accordance with the principle of balance inherent to human form and with the proportions of human body corresponding to the basic structure of the divine Word. The symbols of Throne/Footstool, from which God governs the creation (as a mighty king governs his realm),[4] underlines this role of the human form as the principle of organisation of the entire creation.

In this cosmic dimension, as the form of the complete divine Word, the human form can only have as counterpart the universe as a whole.

[4] Cf. fol. 276a–b above.

Indeed, only the universe as a whole is the locus of manifestation of the complete Word, and therefore fully commensurable with the human form; no particular form contained in the universe can possess this capacity. We already have seen the application of this idea to the temporal dimension: only the complete measure of Time contains the proportions of the human body and can produce the manifestation of the human form. The universe as a whole is represented in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the heavenly spheres and, most particularly, by the highest heaven.

Most passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* seem to identify the Lote-tree of the Boundary and the Throne/Footstool with the eighth heaven and the constellations located in it.[5] 'It is said that above the seven heavens there is the Lote-tree of the Boundary. This is a reference to the sphere of constellations (*falak al-burūj*), because beyond [the Lote-tree] there is no star-source of effusion (*kawkab-i fayyāḍ*)' (131b). 'The Lote-tree of the Boundary … located above the seven heavens is the form of Adam (*ṣūrat-i Adam*), which is in the form of the heaven of constellations (*dar ṣūrat-i falak al-burūj*)' (126a).

Indeed, just as the Lote-tree, Throne and Footstool, the eighth heaven is the limit of the world of forms, since there is no form beyond it. The eighth heaven encompasses seven planetary heavens and can thus be considered as the outer 'shell' of the universe, its most comprehensive shape. Both the human form in its cosmic dimension and the eighth heaven are essentially the embodiments of the complete Word with its 28/32 'words'. The human form and the eighth heaven are, therefore, perfectly homogeneous.

Just as in the case of Time, this homogeneity is demonstrated by the elaborations on numerical correspondences, corroborated by relevant

[5] The eighth heaven could not be the highest in the cosmology of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The ninth heaven is mentioned in a few places (fol. 60b, 222a and description of the 2nd *ibtidāʾ* cited at the beginning of the present chapter). Also, some passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* allude to something 'above' the eighth heaven. Other passages suggest that the Throne and the Footstool are not located on the same heaven; if the Footstool is identified with the eighth, then the Throne should be on a higher heaven. But these ideas are not clearly stated in the text and do not play any significant role in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s cosmology. What is important to our purpose here is the highest limit of the universe of *forms*, which is, without doubt, the eighth heaven containing the constellations. Any heaven located beyond the eighth cannot contain any visible form.

scriptural quotations.[6] Since Adam is the locus of manifestation of the complete divine alphabet, his bodily form summarises the 28/32 basic forms of ontological letters: 28+32=60 and, according to a well-known *ḥadīth*, the height of Adam 'in the heaven' is 60 cubits.[7] The heavenly sphere also contains 360=6×60 degrees, or six times 28 and six times 32, which makes 12 constellations. Every degree of the 360 degrees of the heavenly sphere corresponds to one of the 360 bones, articulations, nerves, parts of flesh, fat and skin which, according to another *ḥadīth*, constitute the body of Adam:[8]

> Why has God divided the heavenly spheres (*aflāk*) in 32 and 28 parts, in accordance with the number of His 28 and 32 'words'? Because, according to a *ḥadīth*, the human being (*insān*) has 360 bones, every one of which has a degree [of the heavenly sphere] as a counterpart. [The human body] is thus [structured exactly] as a [heavenly] sphere, [in accordance with the measure of] six times 60. Every 60 [from this measure are composed of] 28 and 32. [The human body is divided into] 360 [parts of] fat, 360 [parts of] blood vessels, 360 [parts of] flesh and 360 [parts of] skin. Every bone has thus a part of fat, a blood vessel, a part of flesh and of skin as a counterpart, and [every one of these parts of the human body] faces a degree from the 360 degrees of the sphere of constellations (*falak al-burūj*). All heavenly spheres are divided in accordance with the 360 parts of bones, flesh, skin, fat and blood vessels [of the human body] (451b).
>
> The 360 degrees . . . are the shape, the form and the garment of Adam. The parts of his body are divided [in accordance with the constellations and the phases of the moon]: '*By the heaven of the constellations*' [Q. 85:1], '*And the moon – We have determined it by stations*' [Q. 36:1]. [These verses] refer to the 28 and 32 [degrees, repeated] until they attain [the number of] 360 (351b–352a).
>
> '*By the heaven of the constellations*' [Q. 85:1], which contains 12 constellations. Every constellation [occupies] 30 degrees, so that together they cover 360 degrees, or six times 60 degrees. Every 60 degrees are [composed of] 28 and 32 degrees: 'his height is 60 cubits in the heaven'. The heavens, just as the time of a week, are created in accordance with the face of Adam (97b).

---

[6] Many parallels to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s exposition on this topic can be found in the Ismaili texts published by A. E. Bertels, in *P'iat' filosofskikh traktatov na temu 'Afāk va anfus'* (Moscow, 1970).

[7] Inventory I, no. 19.

[8] See fol. 8b, 366b–367a. Inventory I, no. 57.

Such correspondence between the proportions of the human physical form and the structure of the heavenly sphere means that the eighth heaven reflects the complete divine Word 'written' into the the cosmic Book of Adam's bodily form:

> '*I swear by the fallings of the stars, and that is indeed a mighty oath, did you but know it. It is surely a noble Qur'ān in a hidden Book* … ' [Q. 56:75–78]: the 'fallings' (*mawāqi'*) of the 'stars' of the seven planets cover 360 degrees, where is [contained] the noble Book of the shape of Adam (*kitāb-i karīm-i shakl-i Adam*): '*The book of the pious is in Illiyun*' [Q. 83:18] (125a).

Since the eighth heaven encompasses and governs the rest of the universe, its division implies necessarily a similar division of all the lower levels of the universe. The standard represented by the bodily form and the facial features of the human form is thus conveyed and deeply engraved in the structure of the universe. The seven planetary heavens correspond to the seven basic features of the human face, which become eight with the line of Balance.[9] The movement of the planets and the 28 stations of the moon also reproduce the essential proportions of Adam's body and of the divine Word.

> From the centre of the face of the Adam's earth and [from] the line of balance of the face of Adam, pass [to the contemplation] of the seven heavenly spheres … and the seven planets (*sayyāra*) [revolving in] them, 14 [together]. The phases of the moon [divide] the sphere of constellations [into] 28 [parts]. [The sphere of constellations contains] 12 constellations, and [every] 60 minutes [of each degree are divided into] 28 and 32: 'his height is 60 cubits in the heaven'. The animals, plants and all other things [of the sublunar world] are divided according to the same line of balance that [governs] the division into degrees in stars and heavenly spheres. All the degrees and the fractions of degree are created by the line of balance of Adam. The form of the perfection (*ṣūrat-i kamāl*), which contains all heavenly bodies, is divided in accordance with [the bodily form of] Adam (135b–136a).

[9] As discussed in Chapter 4, seven basic, 'motherly' features of the human face are related to the series of 28 original 'words' (7×4=28), while eight 'fatherly' features represent the complete Word and are related to the series of 32 'words' (8×4=32).

Despite this homogeneity, there is an important difference between the cosmic Human and the universe. It is true that both these entities reflect the complete Word with its 28/32 aspects or 'words', and both contain the complete 'alphabet' of the creation. In addition, because they have exactly the same structure as the human body, the heavenly spheres are endowed with intelligence. But even if the original 'words' and letters of the creation are potentially contained both in the human being and in the universe, only the human being has the capacity to actualise these words in his speech. The cosmic Human, represented by the primordial couple Adam/Eve, can *express* the Word potentially contained in his/her bodily form and in the universe. Some passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* (for example, fol. 279a), suggest a relationship between this capacity of speech and the knowledge of the names taught by God to Adam (Q. 2:31). These names are identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the 28/32 original 'words'. Because he received this teaching, Adam is not only a passive embodiment, or 'science' of the Word, he also has the knowledge of the innermost meaning of his own form and of any other form contained in the universe, and is able to express this knowledge actively. We will come back to this issue in the part on prophetology. From this point of view, Adam is the 'speaking Word', while the universe is the 'silent Word'. 'The 28 divine 'words' and 32 divine 'words' manifested themselves from the divine Throne, which is Adam. These 32 divine 'words' did not manifest themselves from any other thing because, in relation to Adam, all [other things] are silent (*ṣāmit*). [Only] he is the speaking Word [of God] (*kalām-i nāṭiq*)' (437a).

> All heavenly spheres are divided in accordance with the 360 parts of bones, flesh, skin, fat and blood vessels [of the human body]. The heavenly spheres are thus divided in accordance with the original nature of the possessors of intellect (*bi-khilqat-i dhawī al-ʿuqūl*), in the sense that they [the spheres] convey the same knowledge as Adam, but they do not produce in actuality (*bi-l-fiʿl*) the speech of the 28 and 32 [ontological] 'words' of Adam, which [is contained in them] in potentiality (*bi-l-quwwa*). They are like a man endowed with understanding (*mard-i mudrik*), but whose tongue has been cut off; he cannot produce the divine word [in actuality], but in potentiality (*bi-l-quwwa*) [this word] is produced in him (451b–452a).

We have already observed that the *Jāwidān-nāma* supposes often a flexible, interchangeable relationship between some central concepts of its doctrine. The series of 28 and 32 can be either 'complementary' or 'inclusive'; the time taken in its ontological dimension is the receptacle of the creation, while the physical time is governed by the movement of the heavens and heavenly bodies; Adam as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word is the standard which introduces measure and proportions into the time, but he was also created on the last day of creation and contained within the temporal receptacle of '40 days'. We find the same flexibility in the relationships between Adam and the universe. On the one hand, the cosmic Adam, the divine Throne, is located at the highest 'limit' position of the universe. He is identified with the eighth heaven encompassing the whole universe, and he is the standard according to which the universe is shaped and structured as the counterpart of the original Word. On the other hand, however, Adam is located at the lowest level of the universe, in the world of earth from which his body is made. He is produced by the rotation of heavenly spheres and planets. His fate is governed by the heavens and the effusions he receives from the heavenly bodies, constellations, stars and planets. In this perspective, Adam is considered not as equivalent, but as part of the universe, he is contained within the universe as any other object and being.

In the following chapters, we will meet other examples of this flexible relationship. Adam symbolises the archetype, the whole cycle of prophecy, all prophets being contained potentially in his loins, and at the same time he is the first particular prophet. In his heavenly ascension, Muḥammad meets Adam in the first heaven as a particular prophet, and at the last heaven in the form of the Lote-tree of the Boundary in his cosmic dimension. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the fall from Paradise (Chapter 12), when Adam and Eve lose the knowledge contained in their own bodily forms, is another factor of separation between the absolute, cosmic condition of the human being and his evolution within time and space. The point upon which these two apparently contradictory approaches or dimensions converge is the idea that the lowest position is also the central one, and the earth, the grossest of the four elements, is also the noblest. In the following paragraphs we will explore the relationship between these two dimensions of the human being with regard to the general

structure of the universe. This will also bring us to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s astrological and alchemical doctrines.

The following quotation describes the emergence of the bodily form of Adam in relation to cosmic cycles, structured in accordance with the division of the eighth heaven with its constellations. From this perspective, the body of Adam is produced by the rotation of planets, heavenly and elementary spheres:

> The 12 constellations of the eighth heavenly sphere are situated in front of the [ninth] sphere without constellations (*falak-i aṭlas*), [introducing there] the division in 360 degrees. All that is situated in front of the degrees of the sphere of constellations, above or under it, is divided into 360 parts. Water, earth, air and fire are also divided in 360 degrees, [and so on] until Adam, his original nature (*khilqa*) produced by their [i.e., of the heavenly spheres' and bodies'], rotation and movement (*sayr wa safar*), and his body (*wujūd*), is divided according to the same principle. [This is why] the Messenger [i.e., the Prophet Muḥammad] said [that the human body has] 360 articulations, corresponding to the [same number of] the parts of flesh, skin and fat. The lines of the human face are divided in the same way, as well as the hours of the day and the time (*zamān*), in conformity with the [divine] writing (80a).[10]

Not only do the movements of spheres and heavenly bodies produce the human form, they also influence the fate of any human being and that of his descendants. We find here the same terminology as that which was applied to the relationship between time and the six spatial dimensions: 'The heavens are created in accordance with [the model of] his [i.e., Adam's body], because they educate (*murabbī*) [or govern, patronise] him' (97b); 'All heavenly spheres, planets and stars revolve around him [Adam] in ritual circumambulation (*ṭawf*). The sphere of constellations (*falak al-burūj*) was divided into 360 degrees, because it is his [Adam's] executive (*kār-kun*)' (8b).

> Look in the *Maṣābīh* for the *ḥadīth* according to which human beings (*insān*) have 360 bones, or six times 60. Every [series of] 60 is [composed] of 32 and 28, just as the degrees of the sphere of

[10] Allusion to the 28 and 32 ontological 'letters', 28+32=60, which are, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the basis of the division of the heavenly spheres, of time and of the human body.

> constellations which are also 360, because they are related to the education (*tarbiyya*) of Adam and his descendants (294a).
>
> It is said in a *ḥadīth* that the body of Adam was created with 360 bones, or six time 60, every [series of] 60 is [composed] of 32 and 28. The fingers of Adam's hands and feet are created according to the same proportions.[11] The sphere of constellations is [divided into] 360 degrees because it is the educator [or governor, patron, *murabbī*] of the body (*wujūd*) of Adam; [this is why] it contains six times 60 degrees (288a).

The influence of the heavens is transmitted by their effusions (*fayḍ* pl. *fuyūḍ*). As we have seen, the cosmic human form, symbolised by the divine Throne, and identified with the eighth heaven receives the first effusion of the divine Word and transmits it to the rest of creation. Effusions coming from the heavenly spheres, constellations and planets affect human beings as well as any other objects and beings. The character of the effusions varies depending on the disposition of planets in the spheres. Every degree and every fraction of the degree of the heavens is the source of a particular effusion:

> The complete effusion (*fayḍ-i tāmm*) comes from the eighth heavenly sphere, which has the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam. The form of everything that has a line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwā'*), like plants, animals, minerals, and fruits is similar to the form of Adam. When [one of] the seven moving stars [*kawkab-i sayyār*, i.e., planets] attains one of the 360 degrees, [the number of which is proportional to the] 28 and 32, and one of the minutes of this [degree composed of] 28 and 32 [minutes], and [one of the] seconds [of this minute], it produces a different effusion [which affects in its specific way] minerals, plants, human beings (*insān*), animals … and all existing beings and objects (*mawjūdāt*) (104b–105a).

These heavenly effusions are associated with the divine attributes of Rigour and Grace, personified as angels who fill the heavens and accompany every atom of the universe, fulfilling the divine command and decree:

> If someone asks '*whosoever possesses knowledge of the Book*' (*man ʿindahu ʿilm al-kitāb*) [Q. 13:43] what is the meaning of the [verse]: '*No! I swear by the fallings of the stars*' [Q. 56:75], one of

[11] Allusion to the 28 phalanges of two hands and 28 phalanges of two feet.

> the meanings is that [this verse] refers to the sphere of constellations (*falak al-burūj*). The seven planets [lit. 'stars', *kawkab* pl. *kawākib*], [moving] in 360 degrees, minutes, seconds, thirds and so on until the 10th [fractions of a degree of the sphere of constellations] cross these mansions (*manzil*) and occupy a mansion in these 360 degrees.[12] In every minute, second and third [of every degree], an effusion (*fayḍ*), in the form of Rigour or Grace (*dar libās-i qahr wa lutf*), comes from the presence of Unity into the world of creation and corruption (*ʿālam-i kawn wa fasād*), although His Rigour is identical to Grace. Every heaven, every degree, every plant and mineral, [every] drop of rain falling on the earth … is accompanied by an angel.[13] It is in this sense that the heavens are full of angels: '*And we stretched towards heaven, but we found it filled [with terrible guards and meteors]*' [Q. 72:8]. They [the angels] travel and dwell within the 360 degrees [of the heaven], and this will continue as long as last His [God's] order (*amr*) and command (*farmān*). The seven planets are related to the appearance of the prophets in heptads (*kashf-i anbiyā bi-haft wa bi-haft*).[14] Also, the hours of every seven days and of every seven nights [of every week] are related to every planet from among these seven planets (99a–b).

The expression of the Grace or Rigour should probably be linked to the auspicious or ominous influence of heavenly effusions: 'Every planet, reaching in its course one of the constellations, produces an influence (*taʾthīr*), a mischief (*nuqṣān*) or bad fortune (*badḥālī*)' (132a). Good and bad fortune is also produced by the mansions of the moon:

> Another way of division is the division of the 12 constellations of the sphere of constellations by the mansions of the moon: '*And the moon – We have determined it by stations*' [Q. 36:39]. [The sphere of constellations] is thus divided into 28 parts, in accordance with the number of the 28 [ontological] 'words' of [the revelation received by] the Messenger [Muḥammad]. From these 28, 14 are always hidden under the sphere of earth (*kurra-yi khāk*), while [the other] 14 are always visible from the surface of

[12] The 'mansions' (*manzil*, pl. *manāzil*) are probably assimilated in this fragment to the 'fallings' (*mawqiʿ*, pl. *mawāqiʿ*) of the Qurʾānic verse 56:75, and might also refer to the mansions of the moon.

[13] Angels are apparently assimilated to the degrees and the fractions of degrees of the heavenly spheres, which transmit the effusions of Rigour and Grace.

[14] The notion of seven prophets appearing in cycles could be another mark of a possible Ismaili influence, which is discussed in the Conclusion.

> the earth. Similarly, there are 14 visible lines of hair on the face of Adam, and 14 hidden [lines]. Since the sphere of constellations is divided into 28 parts by the mansions of the moon, in every mansion it [the moon] produces good (*sharafī*) or bad (*nuqṣānī*) fortune (410a).

The goal of the movement of the heavenly spheres and bodies and of their effusions is the production of Adam who represents the form and the knowledge of God:

> The heavens and the heavenly bodies, together with the inhabitants of the heavens, which are the angels-cherubim (*malāʾika karrūbiyān*), turn from pre-eternity around the point of earth (*nuqṭa-yi khāk*)[15] in ritual prayer and circumambulation (*tawāf*). They will continue [this movement] eternally, because this is in their original nature (*khilqa*). They face the point of earth, which is the origin (*aṣl*) of Adam … From pre-eternity to post-eternity, their effusion (*fayḍ*) reaches the point of earth successively, without interruption (*mutawātir wa mutaʿāqib*), in order to produce [Adam, for] 'God created Adam in His form' (258b).

The following passage is particularly interesting because it suggests the generation of the human form as a confluence of some very specific conditions, by the joint action of the heavenly effusions and the receptive aptitude of the earth:

> It can happen that the effusion of the heavenly sphere (*fayḍ-i falak*), that of the planets (*sayyārāt*) and the receptive aptitude of the earth (*qābiliyyat-i arḍ*), reach together such a point (*ḥaythiyya*) and such a degree that they combine and produce together the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam. Their movement [will then] be inversed (*wa barʿaks sayr kunand*). Earth's aptitude to receive the effusion (*qābiliyyat-i fayḍ*) will be modified, so that no [metaphysical] truth (*ḥaqīqa*) [corresponding] to a body in human form (*ṣūrat-i insānī*) will reach the surface of the earth, except those [truths] which already came and acquired the human shape (*shakl-i insān*), that of Adam. These will attain the world of subsistence (*ʿālam-i baqāʾ*) and dwell eternally in Paradise of delights. The death will never find them, ruin and old age will never reach them. The effusions will never more join

[15] This expression, emphasising the central, focal position of earth in the universe, appears at the centre of the circular sketch from the *Jāwidān-nāma* on the cover of this book.

> together in a point where they are able to produce a visible locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) like Adam … (105b).[16]

As there is a perfect parallelism between the constitution of the human body and the structure of the universe, human beings are able to receive the full range of the heavenly effusions. This idea is the basis of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s astrological passages:

> The [bodily] form (*ṣūra*) of Adam is close to God. The seven planets (*kawkab-i sayyār*) travel within the form of Adam (*sayr dar ṣūrat-i Adam karand*). All heavenly spheres under and above the sphere of constellations are divided in accordance [with the sphere of constellations which is equivalent to the form of Adam]. They have therefore all the form of Adam. The four natural elements within the form of Adam are divided similarly into 28 and 32 parts … The division of the heavenly spheres and [in particular] of the sphere of constellations [is made in accordance with the division of Adam's body] because their ominous or auspicious influence (*badḥālī wa nīkḥālī*) affects (*muʾaththir*) Adam and his descendants (8b–9a).

Since the heavenly spheres are structured in accordance with the division of the original Word into 28/32 'words', and the 360 degrees of the sphere are six times 28 and six times 32, every degree is in front of an ontological 'word', and possesses special characteristics which are activated when a planet passes through this degree. It emits then an effusion, with properties depending on the properties of the given degree and on those of the planet which activates its influence:

> The seven moving stars (*kawkab-i sayyāra*) [i.e., planets] move in the 360 degrees of the heavenly sphere. Every degree is a locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of an [ontological] 'word' (*kalima*) from the [28/32 'words'] of the divine Word (*kalām-i ilāhī*), the [complete] locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of which is Adam. Every degree and every minute [of the heavenly sphere] conveys [to the planets] a specific condition (*ḥāl*), dignity (*sharaf*), affluence (*bāl*) or decline (*hubūṭ*), so that [the properties of the planets' trajectories] are divided in accordance [with the division of the heavenly sphere]. In this manner, the planets actualise the condition (*ḥāl*) corresponding to the part of the seven heavenly spheres which they reach (129b–130a).

---

[16] This passage is cited, in shortened and modified form, in the *Maḥram-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī. See Huart, *Textes persans,* p. 32 of the Persian text.

The heavenly sphere covers all domains of human life. This follows naturally from the perfect correspondence between the human body and the heavenly sphere. The influences affecting particular aspects of the human life come from the corresponding astrological houses (*khāna*). The following passages describe the astrological houses in some detail:

> Adam was created [in accordance with the proportion]: 'his length is 60 cubits.'[17] ... which consist of 28 and 32, extended [as the multiples of 60] to the 360 degrees. From the point of view of this proportion, Adam is equivalent to the heavens. Adam, peace be upon him, is the surface of the earth (*adīm-i arḍ*). The earth (*khāk*) and the four natural elements reflect, in [every] particular place, a [particular heavenly] image (*ṣūra*). Thus, at the moment of birth (*mawjūd*) [of a human being], one constellation is related to the personality (*nafs*), the second to the possessions (*māl*), the third to something else, as well as the fourth and the fifth, and until the eighth which is the house of death (*khāna-yi murg*), the ninth which is the house of knowledge (*ʿilm*) and the travels (*safar*), the 10th [related to] authority (*salṭana*), the 11th [related to] expectations (*umīd*) and the 12th [related to] enemies (*ʿadū*) ... If a child [is born] with the ascendant in Aries (*ṭāliʿ-yi ḥamal*), [this constellation] will be related to his or her personality. The second [house] of his or her [horoscope], which is the house of possessions, will be in Taurus (*thaur*). And if a child is born with the ascendant in Taurus, the second house of his or her [horoscope, related to] possessions will be in Gemini (*jawzāʾ*). Thus, every constellation from among the 12 constellations [of the Zodiac can potentially convey] the meanings [related to] the personality of the ascendant, to the house (*bayt*) of possessions, to the house (*khāna*) of the lifetime (*ʿumr*) and honours (*jāh*), to the house of knowledge, to the house of authority, or to the house of enemies and expectations. [This demonstrates the principle of] Unity (*tawḥīd*): all [constellations] are fundamentally one (127a–b).

The 'auspicious' and 'ominous' heavenly influences are defined in the *Jāwidān-nāma* relatively to spiritual growth. The good fortune helps and rewards spiritual progress towards the knowledge of the divine Word encoded in the human bodily form, while the ominous stars hinder this progress. The stars also create impenetrable barriers to

[17] Inventory I, no. 19.

protect the heavens and the supreme knowledge of the human form contained in them from the demons:

> An auspicious star (*kawkab-i saʿd*) is the cause (*mūjib*) of the effusion (*fayḍ*) which, when it affects someone, provides [to this person] education (*tarbiyya*), leading to the station where he or she [needs] no [further] education.[18] An ominous star (*kawkab-i naḥs*) is the cause of the [obstacles] preventing (*manʾ*) [access to] such a station. Powerful and moving, they truly burn any thief (*sāriq*) … '*And we stretched towards heaven, but we found it filled [with terrible guards and meteors]*' [Q. 72:8], because [the heavens] are divided into 360 degrees, [in accordance with the number of 28 and 32 names of the divine instruction when] '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31]. This is why it is said: '*They listen not to the High Council, for they are pelted from every side, rejected*' [Q. 37:8], because [the demons] are rejected [from the heavens] (53b).

The following passage seems to suggest the heavenly influence on the posthumous fate of humans. The central symbols here are the eschatological Trumpet (*al-ṣūr*) of Isrāfīl, and the openings in the tombs through which the dead can receive the influx from heavens:

> '*For the Trumpet (al-ṣūr) shall be blown, and whosoever is in the heavens [and whosoever is in the earth] shall swoon*' [Q. 39:68] … The [word] 'trumpet' (*al-ṣūr*) alludes [here] to the plural of 'form' (*ṣūra* [pl. *suwar*]),[19] and to the vehicle of healing (*dhū [al-] shifāʾ*),[20] which conveys the blowing of the divine breath (*nafkh-i ilāhī*) to the dead and brings them to life. Another aspect [symbolised by the Trumpet] is [related to the saying]: 'The Trumpet is a horn in which Isrāfīl will blow.' Isrāfīl, like the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*), is [identical to the] 32 [ontological] 'words' [of the complete Word], and the horn belongs to Taurus (*gāw*) and Capricorn (*jadī*), masters of the two constellations [which cover together] 60 degrees, or 28 and 32

[18] The last part of this sentence is not clear. Literally, it reads as 'it does not educate him/her' (*tarbiyat-i khū nīkare = tarbiyat-i ū namīkonad*). According to a note added between the lines: 'this is a reference to the Perfect Human' (*murād insān-i kāmil ast*).

[19] *Ṣūr* and *ṣuwar* are homographs in Arabic.

[20] The word *shifāʾ* is used in the Qurʾān in the sense of spiritual healing brought by the prophetic revelation, a token of divine Mercy. Cf., for example, Q. 17:82: '*And We send down, of the Qurʾān, that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers.*'

> [degrees]. There is no tomb (*qabr*), no human being and no [other] body that will not be [provided with a] path of access [to these heavenly degrees]. 'His [Adam's] length is 60 cubits [in the heaven].' In the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i kashf*), [it can be seen that] every [heavenly degree is like an?] opening (*sūrākh*) in front of a tomb.[21] … The quiddity (*māhiyya*) of the heavenly bodies and the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam are one and the same (338a).

After affecting humans, the effusions and influences of the heavenly bodies are further transmitted to the lower levels of the universe. This is possible because of the homogeneous structure of the universe: anything existing within the universe is shaped in accordance with the same standard of the original Word. The only difference between the human body and the external form of any other particular object is that the former contains the whole set of 28/32 original letters and is thus in perfect harmony with the heavenly spheres, while the latter contains only a fragment of the 'ontological alphabet' and its receptive and expressive capacities with regard to the heavenly influences and the ontological 'words' are therefore limited. The relationship between the heavenly effusions attaining the remotest parts of the universe and ontological 'words' will become more clear when we discuss, a few pages below, the process of 'nomination', the attribution of ontological names to particular objects. Another important statement which regulates the relationship between the human body as the form of the complete Word and the forms of particular objects within the universe is the idea that every object is a part of the cosmic body of Adam. The following passage describes the diffusion of heavenly influences through humans to the lower levels of existence:

> [The heavens are divided into 28 and 32 degrees] in accordance with the innermost reality of the human being (*ḥaqīqat-i insān*). [Both heavenly degrees and human bodily form] possess (*khudāwand*) the [complete set of the] 32 [ontological] 'words'. [By virtue of this similarity], every misfortune (*nakba*), trouble

[21] Another very similar fragment adds a detail concerning the link between tombs and heavenly degrees: 'There is no tomb that does not receive the effusion (*fayḍ*) and the blow (*nafkha*) from an orifice [of one of the fractions of the heavenly degrees]' (367b).

> (*zaḥma*) and passion (*iḥtirāq*)[22] that affects [the heavens and heavenly bodies] affects also humans. [From the latter this influence] is conveyed to the plants, animals and minerals, because all plants, [animals] and minerals are identical to them [i.e., to the ontological 'words']. This proves that the ruin and prosperity (*kharābī wa ābādānī*) reaches plants, minerals, humans and animals from the heavenly degrees and stars, [divided in accordance with the number of] 28 and 32 [ontological 'words']. All heavenly things (*falakiyyāt*) are divided [according to the measure of the] 28 and 32, in parts of 60 [units], as well as the things [composed of] four natural elements (*chahār ṭabā'ī*); and the original nature (*khilqa*) of humans [follows this same division] (235a).

If astrology is about the relationships between the human form and the heavenly spheres, alchemy refers to the same kind of relationship between the human form and the spheres of the four natural elements. The elementary structure refers particularly to the human form and the universe as supports of the divine ontological writing. As we have seen, in the context of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this writing is essentially the locus of manifestation of the invisible truths emanated from the supreme divine Reality, that is to say, the 'science' which makes these truths accessible and knowable in the world of sensual perception. Like the ink and material on which the Qur'ān is written down, the human bodily form is constituted by four elements. But while the Qur'ān contains a specific revelation given to one particular prophet, Adam is the heavenly Book written with the universal divine writing, the Book which is the source of any prophetic message:

> Both the [heavenly] writing and the writing of the Qur'ān are referred to as the Book of God. The visible writing of the Qur'ān [that is, the ink] contains the four natural elements: earth, air, water and fire. It cannot exist without them … And this is so because the divine writing, which is Adam, contains these four elements (248a–b).

As we have seen in Chapter 4, the inner cohesion of the universe is maintained by the power of love. The all-encompassing love makes the

[22] This term refers also to 'the disappearance or immersion of a planet on account of its nearness to the sun'. F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (New Delhi and Madras, 2008), p. 20.

universe, with its heavenly and elementary spheres, planets, auspicious and ominous stars, and all other objects and beings that it contains, work as a single body similar to the human body with its organs and members:

> [The ritual purification is made with water. The believer washes] first the hands, then the face and the feet, which are the Face of God and Hand of God. [Similar to the members of the human body], the 'members' (*ajzā'*) of water and earth are like lover and beloved (*'āshiq wa ma'shūq*), inseparable from each other. The same [holds true] for earth, air, water and fire: how could they be united if they were not in love with each other? If there were no correspondence between stars and heavens, if the educator and the educated (*murabbī wa murabbā*), the one who comprehends and the comprehended (*mudrak wa mudrik*), were not one and the same thing (*shay'-yi wāḥid*), being educator and educated [at the same time], how could the heavens, the constellations, auspicious and ominous stars have any mutual relationships, if they were not all in love with all [others], and identical to all [others]? (101a–b).

The sphere of earth, the principal element in the constitution of the human body, is located at the lowest level of the universe. Earth is, indeed, the grossest of the four elements. But, because of the concentric structure of the universe, the lowest location is also the *central* one. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this location confirms the superiority of earth above all other elements. Indeed, in the context of *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of form as the locus of manifestation and the 'science' through which the knowledge of invisible truths can be attained, characteristics which look negative at first glance, turn into positive qualities. Because it is the grossest of all elements, earth is the only element able to maintain a given form. Because it is the most opaque, and does not allow any light to pass through, earth produces shadow and darkness, that of ink and the writing, closely related, as we have seen earlier, to the science of the Word: 'The grossest and darkest bodies (*ajrām wa ajsām-i kathīftar wa ẓulmānītar*) become the shape (*shakl*), figure (*paykar*) and science of the divine Word (*'ilmiyyat-i kalima-yi khudā'ī*)' (259a). Many passages underline that earth is therefore the element of the science of the divine Word *par excellence*, the only element able to express the science: 'The earth (*khāk*) has the aptitude to receive (*qābiliyyat*) the science of the [divine] words

(*ʿilmiyyat-i kalimāt*) … the [ontological] word [corresponds to the element] that is heavier (*thaqīltar*) [than other elements] … ' (364a–b).

The following fragments emphasise the exceptional position of earth among the natural elements. Earth is the element of form and science:

> Earth is the place where humans dwell (*maqarr-i insān*). God made it so that part of earth (*juzw-i zamīn*) and human body (*wujūd-i insān*) [both] receive the distinctive marks (*ʿalāma*, pl. *ʿalāmāt*) of the 32 [ontological] 'words'. [Satan] said: '*and him Thou createdst of clay*' [Q. 7:12], because water, air and fire do not possess the aptitude (*istiʿdād*) to receive the form [bearing] these [marks] (167b–168a).
>
> Among the four elements [lit. 'pillars', *arkān*], earth is part of the human body (*badan-i insān*). [Every] figure and form (*ṣūrat wa paykar*) is made of [earth]. [Earth] has the aptitude to receive (*qābiliyyat*) the human form, [and the human body] is part of the earth. [It is only earth that] has the aptitude to receive the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 [ontological] 'words', unlike water, fire and air (211a–b).

Like a precious treasure, earth is locked in the centre of the heavenly and elementary spheres. Though it is the grossest element, it is also the most subtle with regard to its property to manifest all the forms of the creation. This is why the earth is at the centre of the universe, and all heavens and planets turn around the earth in a ceaseless ritual of circumambulation and worship:

> Consider the forms of objects and beings (*ṣuwar-i makhlūqāt*) from the point of view of their original nature and disposition (*khilqat wa jibillat*). You can see that the point of earth (*nuqṭa-yi khāk*) is surrounded by water, water is surrounded by air, air is surrounded by the heavenly sphere (*falak*), and the heavenly sphere is surrounded by another sphere, and so on. It is the custom of kings and treasurers to keep the most precious gem of their treasury in a chest put inside another chest, and that chest in the third, and so on without limit, because of the nobility, splendour and perfection of this gem. Earth is this precious gem. Though it is the grossest (*kathīftar*) [among the four elements], it is the most subtle with respect to [its capacity to produce] the external manifestation [of forms] (*ẓuhūr*) and its receptive aptitude (*qābiliyyat*) … God [created] earth with the purpose to [produce] the form of [His] vicegerent (*khalīfa*), Adam: 'God created Adam in His form.' By their essence (*dhāt*) and their

> nature (*ṭab'*), and by virtue of their creation (*khilqa*), from pre- to post-eternity, all the objects and beings (*mawjudāt wa makhlūqāt*) of heavenly bodies face towards the world of the point of the earth (*'ālam-i nuqṭa-yi khāk*), and [they permanently] turn in ritual circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) around the point of earth, without being distracted from this circumambulation even for the time of a wink of an eye. And they never will [be distracted]. [They are] the angels who dwell in the heavens, the spirits of cherubim, of prophets and saints (*anbiyā' wa awliyā'*) in the heavens (258a–b).

The earth is the source of darkness, just as the heavens are the source of light.[23] This darkness is the basis of the science of the Word and of divine ontological Writing recorded on the face of Adam:

> It is the earth and parts of the earth that are the loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*, pl. *maẓāhir*) of the divine [ontological] 'words' and of the science (*'ilm*) of the divine 'words', [they possess] the aptitude to receive the writing of the divine words … This writing appears on the face of Adam, and is expressed by his tongue, in accordance with '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31] … The grandeur of the world of the earth is [in the fact] that every part among its parts covers (*pūshānanda*) the light of the moving heavenly bodies (*ajrām-i sayyārāt*), that of the heavens, sun, moon and stars. No light coming from the heavens can penetrate inside the world of the earth. The earth produces darkness just as the heavens [produce the light, because they] are the world of light (92a).

According to a *ḥadīth* frequently cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the body of Adam was created from the dust coming from different parts of the earth.[24] Since the earth is also the place where Adam appeared, it has the capacity to generate human form as well as the form of any other object or being. There is an essential identity between the human body and earth:

> If you imagine that everything is one Adam, or one Eve, or a single curl of hair of Adam or Eve, or one member of Eve or Adam, this is true. The perfection and power of the world of earth are such that it is able [to produce] the body of any existing

[23] For the relationship of Light/Darkness, interpreted as Knowledge/Science, see Chapter 2.

[24] Inventory I, no. 13.

> animal. If you say that all [that exists] is one leaf of tree, or one grain of pomegranate, or any gem from among gems, all that is true (36a–b).

Since earth represents the science of the Word, it is only natural that the direction of spiritual orientation during the prayer is towards the Kaʿba, made of clay:

> You turn your face in the direction of the house of clay (*khāna-yi gil*), not in the direction of fire, water or air. Because it is earth that has the aptitude to receive the science of the 28 [ontological] 'words' of the divine Word. Therefore, the face must be turned in the direction of earth, not in the direction of fire, water, or air (211b–212a).

The heavenly effusions that we discussed earlier reach the body of Adam made of earth through the spheres of fire, air and water. Adam is the focal point of the universe, the 'point of earth':

> Adam is created from earth, as well as from air, water and fire. The earth [which enters in] his [constitution] is a point (*nuqṭa*) in the middle of water, and water in the middle of air, and air in the middle of fire, and fire in the middle of the heavenly sphere, and the heavenly sphere in the middle of air, and the air in the middle of stars and planets. All countless things [contained at all levels of the universe] face towards the world of earth, the [centre] of their ritual circumambulation. They send their effusions (*fayḍ*) to the centre of earth and seek the similarity with the world of Adam and of earth. [Adam] is the reason for their movement. In this sense all [things existing in the universe] are the parts of Adam's body [made] of earth, bound to his body, reaching his body by their effusions, performing the ritual circumambulation around the centre of his earth. All [things] are created in his form (*shakl*) (351a).

Earth communicates to other elements the capacity to express the divine words:

> God gave to earth the aptitude to receive the form (*shakl wa ṣūra*), which He made the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the distinctive signs (*aʿlām*) of the divine Word (*kalimatʾullāh*). In accordance with the model of earth (*bi-tabʿiyyat-i khāk*), He brought the bodies of air, fire and water in likeness (*dar mithāl*) to the distinctive signs of the divine Word (193a).

It is because fire was structured in accordance with the model of earth that it was able to speak to Moses from the Burning Bush: 'The fire that Moses saw had been divided in accordance with the [division] of earth (*bi-tabʿiyyat-i khāk*). This is how it [was able to] speak' (213a).

While earth is, without doubt, the central element in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s alchemy, other elements also have a specific role in the text. As stated in the passages quoted above, though essentially made of earth, the body of Adam contains all the four elements. Just as earth, each element has its particular role and symbolic meaning.

We have already met the element water in Chapter 1, where it symbolised the undifferentiated condition of the Word and its germinal potential. Water is the element which was at the origin of the creation. More specifically, through the identification with sperm, water is the origin of life. The sperm is further likened to the ontological 'ink' with which the creation is written: 'It is said in the Torah that [God] created a pearl (*jawhar*), and when He looked at it with the look of His Glory (*ʿizza*), it became water. From [this water] were created the heavens and earths. Water is the origin (*mabdāʾ*) of the creation. The clot of blood [of the embryo] is produced by sperm, which is water' (101a).[25]

> [Just as] the substance (*mādda*) [by the means of which] the visible lines [of writing are produced] is dark water (*āb-i tīra*) [i.e., ink], the substance [by the means of which] He engraves (*naqsh*) [His ontological writing] is water, which becomes sperm: '*and of water fashioned every living thing*' [Q. 21:30]. This is the same water upon which [is established] the Throne. It is by the knowledge (*shināKhtan*) [of the Throne] that life manifests itself in any [being] because, among all creatures, [only] he [i.e., the Throne, symbol of Adam], as the locus of manifestation of God (*maẓhar-i khudā*), possesses the complete science (*ʿilm*) and the complete [set] of 'words' (*alfāẓ wa kalimāt*) (201b).[26]

[25] *ʿAlaqat*, clot of blood. Cf. Q. 22:5, 23:14, 40:67, 75:38.

[26] Another symbol of undifferentiated condition is the smoke (*dukhān*), which is, just like the sperm, associated with ink and writing. The smoke is described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the substance from which were produced the seven heavens. Cf. Chapter 1, fragment fol. 74a.

Water is the support of the divine Throne, which in turn is the support of the divine Balance. The Throne, as we have already seen, symbolises Adam and the element earth:

> If someone asks … why God created the Throne and water on Friday, outside the six days [of the creation] … the answer is that [the Throne] is the support (*maqarr*) of the Balance of the divine Essence (*istiwāʾ-yi dhāt-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*), and water is the support of the Throne. It is this water that is part of Adam's body (*badan*) (94b).

Previously, we have already noted the close association of water and Throne/Adam: they are not part of the 'heavens and earth and all that is between', but located within a special measure of time, represented by Friday. This exceptional position of water and earth is due to the fact that all material forms of the universe are produced by these two elements without the participation of air and fire, which are not able to maintain a given form and have no relation to the category of form at all: '[The Prophet Muḥammad said:] "I was a prophet when Adam was between water and clay":[27] … air and fire are not mentioned, because they have no aptitude to receive form' (183b–184a).

> The ritual ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) is done with water or earth. One of the meanings [of this regulation] is that in the form (*ṣūrat wa naqsh wa paykar*) taken by Adam's body (*wujūd*), the parts of earth and water are predominant, not those of fire and air. And it is this form that is the copy of the science of the 32 [ontological 'words' of the divine Word] (171b–172a).
>
> Earth is the most excellent part (*juzw-i aʿẓam*). It is followed by water, because it is with water that earth can be kneaded: 'I kneaded the clay of Adam with my two hands [during] 40 days',[28] '*and His Throne was upon the waters*' [Q. 11:7], not 'upon the fire' (*ʿalā al-nār*) or 'upon the air' (*ʿalā al-rīḥ*) (311b–312a).

Indeed, according to the well-known *ḥadīth* that we have already discussed in Chapter 5, the body of Adam was kneaded with water. Water is therefore as essential to the body of Adam as earth, which is the element of form and structure. Earth, air and fire, which take part in the constitution of the human body, were kneaded with water:

---

[27] Inventory I, no. 29.

[28] Inventory I, no. 27.

'Earth, air and fire were kneaded with water, while "*His Throne was upon the waters*" [Q. 11:7]' (129a). It is by the mediation of water that the form and structure inherent to earth and, with them the aptitude to receive and to express the science of the divine Word, are conveyed to air and fire.

Let us also remind ourselves here that water has the property to reflect and to show, like a mirror, the form of Adam. This specific property creates an additional link between Friday as the day of creation of Adam and water. We have already cited the relevant passage above, in Chapter 5, fragment fol. 88a–b.

Fire is an ambiguous element in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. In its positive aspect it represents the Light, which is the manifestation of the original Word.[29] This light contains all possible knowledge of the divine Essence and attributes, and is the source of prophetic revelation: 'It is the unique light (*nūr*) of theophany that shines in all loci of manifestation (*maẓāhir*), and comes in the appearance (*maẓhar*) of prophets (*anbiyā'*) and saints (*awliyā'*), in order to bring tidings of the divine Essence and attributes, of the Resurrection, origin and return (*dhāt wa ṣifāt-i khudā wa qiyāma wa mabdā' wa ma'ād*)' (168a).

Through the symbol of smoke representing the undifferentiated science of the Word, fire is also associated with the 'science' and its principal element, earth. This fire enters, together with other three elements, into the constitution of the human body. It also reveals the face of Adam, which is the sum of the science of the Word: 'Those who worship fire (*ātash* and *nār*) and sun … it is in their [light] that the children of Adam can contemplate the face of Adam and read the writing of [the human] face' (244a).

The topic of similarity between fire and human body as sum of the science of the original Word is also developed with reference to the symbolism of the Tree, which brings together several Qur'ānic images: the Lote-tree of the Boundary which we have already discussed in several places above, the Burning Bush of Moses, and the parable of the good word likened to the good tree. 'Moses heard the speech (*khiṭāb*) of God [coming] from fire and tree, and the good word is a

[29] Cf. Chapter 1.

tree.[30] The Lote-tree of the Boundary that Muḥammad reached during the night of his heavenly ascension indicates Adam, and the fire [of the Burning Bush] is the fire of Adam's body (*ātash-i wujūd-i Adam*)' (72a).

But fire has also a negative aspect, which makes it the exact opposite of earth. This aspect is much more present in the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, and we have already had several opportunities to mention it. Fire is the most subtle of the four elements, and the less able to maintain any given form. Thus, if earth, the grossest element, is the element of the 'science' expressed through form, fire is the element of ignorance, associated with the rebellious attitude of Satan:

> Satan can take human form (*ṣūrat-i insān*) because his part of fire is subordinated to earth, which is the science of the 32 [ontological] 'words', and [can therefore] enter into the constitution [of a body of] earth. Satan said: '*Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay*' [Q. 7:12]. This means: 'I am luminous (*nūrānī*), while he is dark (*ẓulma*), and I do not possess the aptitude to receive form (*shakl wa paykar*), while he does.' But it is precisely this aptitude (*qābiliyya*) that is the source of perfection (*ʿayn-i kamāl*) (149b).
>
> Water, air and fire do not have the aptitude to become the science of the 32 [ontological] 'words'. Satan said that this person [i.e., Adam] was created of earth and not of fire. But he [i.e., Satan] was not created as locus of manifestation of the 32 [ontological] 'words'. Necessarily, whosoever is not the locus of manifestation of the original nature of the science (*maẓhar-i khilqat-i ʿilm*) of the 32 [ontological 'words'] belongs to the world of Satan and to his original nature. Among the four natural elements, there is none more remote [from the aptitude to express the science of the Word] than fire (390b).

As stated in this passage, not only fire is the element of ignorance, but also ignorance leads to the fire that is the original element of Satan, that is, to Hellfire. Fire has the property to delete the lines of the divine writing on the human face. We will see further development of these ideas in Part Three.

---

[30] Allusion to Q. 14:24: '*A good word is as a good tree – its roots are firm, and its branches are in heaven.*'

The fourth element, air, is generally associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the Breath of God, which conveys spirit and soul into created objects and beings, thus bringing them into existence. We have already met this idea in Chapter 2, passage in fol. 21b. Let us return to this short passage because it contains some points important for the topic we are discussing presently:

> '*And breathed My spirit in him*' [Q. 15:29]: in the same manner, the [ontological] names reach the exterior and the interior of all things by the means of attribution of names (*bi-ḥasb-i ismiyyat*). They realise the manifestation (*tajallī*) [of the divine truth] inside all things (*dar bāṭin-i ashyā'*), and [therefore] all things are their loci of manifestation (*maẓāhir*) (21b).

Another example of the same conception is given in the following passage, where God seems to speak in the first person:

> This breath (*nafkha*) will be My breath, which will remain eternally (*tā abad*) in the world, so that the 32 [ontological] 'words' become known, and the secret of [the verse]: '*God's original upon which He originated mankind*' [Q. 30:30] revealed. I am in any locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) that emerges among the loci of manifestation of the existing [objects and beings] (*mawjūdāt*). [They] and all the rest, they are My breaths in the loci of manifestation (390a).

These passages link air/breath to the revelation of the 28/32 'words' of the divine Word through the created things, each of which is a divine Breath within a given locus of manifestation. The first citation specifies that this Breath carries the ontological names which are, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, principles of the existence of things. The second citation alludes to the same idea. From these two passages it can be concluded that, in the alchemy of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, air/breath is the medium through which the ontological names, composed of some number from the total set of 28/32 original 'words' or phonemes, attain the sensible forms which are their loci of manifestation. The form of any particular object or being is therefore a visible expression of the original letters which compose its name. These letters, and the metaphysical truths represented by the corresponding phonemes or 'words', can be known through the physical shape of an object. Any

given object or being is therefore the 'science' of the ontological name which was blown into it and brought it into existence.[31]

It should be stressed again, however, that the ontological name of any particular object or being contained within the universe includes only a limited, incomplete group of original phonemes from the total number of 28/32. This total number cannot be achieved by a particular form, but only by a global entity such as a heavenly sphere. The only and unique physical form containing the full ontological alphabet, the Supreme Name of God, is the form of the human body: 'Similar to the human being (*insān*), who is the locus of manifestation of all the 32 [ontological] 'words', [any other object or being] is the locus of manifestation of some [of these 'words'] … ' (384a).

The human body – and more specifically, its archetype, the bodies of the primordial couple Adam/Eve – are the source of the names which reach particular objects and beings. Starting from the body of Adam/Eve, the particles of the divine Word reach everything in the universe, thus realising divine omnipresence. This means that every possible metaphysical truth revealed through the form of any particular object in the universe is also – and originally – revealed through the human form. The human body contains a universal science which provides access to the knowledge of any particular form:

> Divine omnipresence (*iḥāṭa-yi khudā bar hama ashyā'*) is realised by the means of his [Adam's] presence in all things. When the 32 [ontological] 'words' reached the things, with the [ontological] names attributed to them (*barā-yi ismiyyat*), everything became the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) [of the corresponding ontological name]. Adam comprehends the full [set] of [ontological] names in their entirety (*jāmiʿ-yi jamīʿ-yi asmā'*), and the complete science of the [Supreme?] name (*ʿilm-i tāmm-i ism*) … [Other] objects [and beings], such as animals, plants, and others, possess [only] a part of the original nature (*khilqa*) of Adam. This is why it is possible to reach the

[31] This link between the element air, identified with the divine Breath, and the manifestation of the ontological 'words' or names is similar to Ibn al-ʿArabī's conception of 'the Breath of the All-Merciful' (*nafas al-raḥmān*). On the latter, see Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy,* pp. 53–54, and references there. Faḍl Allāh was most probably familiar with Ibn al-ʿArabī's works. The expression *nafas al-raḥmān* occurs in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* but without explicit reference to Ibn al-ʿArabī. See note 33 below.

> innermost secret (*sirr*) [of all objects and beings] by the original nature of Adam and by the line of balance of his original nature (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ-yi khilqat-i ū*). Since Adam is the [complete] divine writing, and [the ontological writing] of all [objects and beings] is [thus] contained (*darj*) in him, [the line of balance of Adam makes possible] the reading of the lines [of the ontological writing in the external form of all objects and beings]: '*No creature is there crawling on the earth, no bird flying with its wings, but they are nations like unto yourselves. We have neglected nothing in the Book*' [Q. 6:38] (351b).

This brings us to the second aspect of the relationships between the micro- and macrocosm that we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, that is, to the relationships between the human bodily form as the personification of the complete Word and the forms of particular objects and beings, each of which is the locus of manifestation only of several 'words' or phonemes of the original Word. The attribution of ontological names to objects, which we discussed earlier, is one of the central concepts of this kind of relationships.

At this point, it is interesting to note an example of symbolic and semantic association based on the references to scriptural materials that the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests between the concept of breath and the human body. This association is constructed on the notion of Mercy related to the Arabic root *rḥm*.[32] The link between the 28/32 original 'words' and the divine attribute of Mercy has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. The fragments cited there suggest that Mercy or the Merciful is the source of all the names, and the emanation of the names from this source is identified with the heavenly effusion which was discussed earlier in relation to astrology. Other fragments mention the *ḥadīth* related to the 'breath of the Merciful' (*nafas al-raḥmān*) in connection with the emanation of the original words.[33] This suggests that the names blown into things and bringing them into existence are the 'breath of the Merciful'; this suggestion is further supported by the

[32] The connection between wind/air and divine Mercy is Qurʾānic. Cf. A. H. Johns, 'Air and Wind', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* vol. 1, pp. 51–55.

[33] It is possible that the expression *nafas al-raḥmān* is a trace of Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence which is, however, not acknowledged in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The text refers instead to the relevant *ḥadīth* materials, such as *lā tasubbū al-rīḥa fa-annahā min nafasi al-raḥmāni* (fol. 301b). See the Conclusion for a more detailed discussion of this issue.

well-known *ḥadīth* according to which Adam, the source of all names, was created in the form of the Merciful. And 'The 32 divine 'words' are the form of the All-Merciful (*ṣūrat-i raḥmān 32 kalima-yi ilāhīst*) which, by the attribution of the [ontological] names (*bi-ismiyyat*), attained all things. They are the pre-existent attributes (*ṣifāt-i qadīm*) of God' (272a–b). The emanation of the names from the complete ontological alphabet, which constitutes the bodily form of Adam, and their attribution to the particular objects and beings, is therefore described as the 'breath of the Merciful' emanating from the form of the Merciful and blowing existence into every created object or being:

> The manifestation (*tajallī*) of every 'word' [from among the 28/32 ontological 'words'] is produced in things either by the attribute of Beauty (*jamāl*), or by that of Glory (*jalāl*). Thus, they [the 'words'] reach everything by means of attribution of the names, like an effusion and like truths, for '*My mercy embraces all things*' [Q. 7:156], '*We have not sent thee, save as a mercy onto all beings*' [Q. 21:107] (478b).

This analogy based on the concept of Mercy is developed still further. In Arabic, the words 'mercy' (*raḥm*) and 'womb, matrix' (*raḥim*) are homographs derived from the same root *rḥm*. A well-known *ḥadīth* has God saying: 'I am God and I am the All-Merciful (*raḥmān*). I created the womb and I gave it a name derived from My own name.'[34] We have seen in Chapter 4 that the womb is further identified with Eve, who is also referred to in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the Qurʾānic expression 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*). This is not a metaphor: for our author, Eve is literally the Mother of the Book, first because her own body and face bears the fundamental lines of the divine ontological writing, and secondly because it is she who gives birth to humans, and any human is the original and universal Book of God, containing the complete set of letters of the divine ontological writing.

The human form, and more specifically, the female body and facial features, are thus simultaneously the source of divine Mercy and the matrix wherein the names are generated and shaped: these two aspects refer in fact to the same reality. Several fragments suggest the connection between Mercy, womb and attribution of the names.[35]

---

[34] Inventory I, no. 12.

[35] Cf., for example, fol. 312b–313a.

In Chapter 3, we discussed the symbol of the divine Throne/Footstool, one of the representations of the cosmic couple Adam/Eve, as the source of the Balance, ensuring the essential correspondence between the invisible archetypes, 'truths' or 'meanings', and the forms, which are their loci of manifestation. In the same chapter, we have seen the role this symbol played in the relationships between the form of the human body, Time and the Universe. With regard to the particular objects and beings, the line of Balance, starting from the proportions of the human body, reaches any particular thing simultaneously with its ontological name and guarantees the perfect correspondence between this name and the visible shape of the thing: 'The line of balance of the face of Adam, extended to all things, reached all things together with the 32 [ontological] 'words', by means of the attribution of the [ontological] names (*az rū-yi ismiyyat*)' (328a–b).

In other words, the line of the Balance ensures, at this level, that the shape of any particular object is the adequate locus of manifestation of its ontological name. This brings us again to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of 'science' and writing, which we have discussed in several places previously. Due to the correspondence introduced by the line of Balance, the sensible shape of any object expresses its ontological name, indicating the fragment of metaphysical truth associated with it, in the same way as ordinary writing expresses the words of the language which lead to their meanings:

> O seeker of the innermost secret of the truth of the divine science (*sirr-i ḥaqīqat-i ʿilm-i ilāhī*), [know] that the 32 divine 'words' and 28 divine 'words' reach all things by means of attribution of the [ontological] names (*az rū-yi ismiyyat*), and [therefore] all things are their science (*ʿilm*) and their loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*) … because any work of creation contains an indication to its creator, and to the Word of the Creator (*har maṣnūʿ dalālat kard bi-jahat bar ṣāniʿ wa bar kalima-yi ṣāniʿ*) (297a).

Another central concept of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s 'linguistics' of the creation closely related to the definition of the form of any particular object as 'science', writing and locus of manifestation of its name, is the principle of identity of the name and the named. We have already come across this notion when discussing the properties of the divine language (Chapter 1), and the differentiation and emergence of form (Chapter 2).

Applied to the forms of particular objects, the identity of the name and of the named means that the sensible form of any object *is* the manifestation of its ontological name. In other words, the identity of the name and the named postulates a link between the object and its ontological name, a relationship which is stronger than simple correspondence: form cannot exist without its name. This is only a natural consequence of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s 'linguistic' conception of the creation, where the sensible objects are only shadows of the invisible truths actualised through the combinations of original letters.[36] But many passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* repeat again and again that no object can exist without its name. This is, without doubt, to prevent any confusion between the ontological names and the names attributed to the objects in human languages. The ontological name refers to the universal language of the creation, resulting from the differentiation of the original Word into 28/32 'words' or phonemes, each of which is an immediate emanation of an aspect of the divine Essence. Unlike the names of the objects in human languages, which are purely conventional and have no essential link with the named object, the ontological name is inherent to the object and constitutes its innermost reality.[37] It is the primordial Word that brings the universe and every single object and being contained in it into existence. The Word and 28/32 original 'words' resulting from it are the only principle of existence, the only entities that exist as such. The existence of any other thing is dependent on these original 'words' and their combinations, which reach things through the attribution of their individual names. Nothing can come into existence without ontological names; no object can be maintained in existence if its ontological name was withdrawn from it. This close connection between the name and existence further clarifies the already mentioned rapprochement between, on the one hand, the breath, which blows life and existence into created objects and beings, and on the other hand, the attribution of the names. The following passage illustrates the existential dimension of the ontological name:

---

[36] Cf. Chapters 1 and 2.

[37] The relationship between the universal ontological language and human languages is examined in Part Two.

> If you wanted to separate the [ontological] 'word' from things, which are the loci of manifestation of the divine 'words', this would be impossible, either in actuality (*bi-i-fi'l*), or in imagination or intellect (*na bi-wahm wa na bi-taṣawwur wa na bi-taʿaqqul*) … The divine Word is the pre-existent (*qadīm*) attribute of God, rooted in the divine Essence (*qāʾim bi-dhāt-i ilāhī*). It is present in everything. God said: '*He encompasses everything*' [Q. 41:54]. If, by supposition (*bi-l-farḍ*), the divine Word were extracted from all existing creatures (*jamīʿ-yi mawjūdāt*), [the existence] of which is founded (*qāʾim*) on [this Word], there would remain no existence in the things (*ashyāʾ-rā wujūd namānad*) … If, [for example], the [ontological] 'word' were separated from [the stone], there would remain nothing of this stone, [nothing] by the means of which it could be referred to (*hīch chīzī bāqī az-ān sang namī-mānad ki iṭlāq-i shayʾ bar-ū konī*) … To conclude, nothing [really] exists except the Word (*ghayr az kalima chīzī dīgar nīst*) (463b–464a).

The ontological name constitutes the quiddity of all things. It cannot be expressed by any conventional name, and manifests itself as a sound specific to any particular object or substance:

> If someone asks what is this thing that flows in a stream, the answer is: 'it is water'. The questioner says then: 'I do not ask what is the *name* of this thing that flows in the stream, so do not say to me it is water.' And if he is told that it is a transparent, glittering, life-giving substance (*jawhar*), fresh and clear, [the questioner] will say: 'These are its qualities (*ṣifa*), but what is this thing that is the support of these qualities?' [His interlocutor] cannot give an answer. Such is the situation of the people who discuss the matters of wisdom without having reached the wisdom of the prophets (*ḥikmat-i anbiyāʾ*), peace be upon them. They say: 'This is quiddity (*māhiyya*), and the quiddity of things cannot be known.'… [The true] answer is that the name is identical to the named (*ism ʿayn-i musammāst*). The answer 'water' is correct, and it is true that it is transparent, fresh, cool and life-giving. But … when water meets a stone, they produce a 'word' (*kalima*) from the [number] of the 32 [ontological] 'words'. [By the means of these 'words'], they [i.e., water and stone] tell themselves what they are, and what is their essence (*dhāt*) … All birds in the air and leaves on the trees, and anything [else], when they collide with each other, produce the voice of the 32 divine 'words' (*awāz-i 32 kalima-yi ilāhī*), and they say: 'I am this 'word'. If this 'word' were extracted [from the

> thing] and annihilated, there would remain no existence (*wujūd*) [in the thing] … [This 'word' proper to any particular thing] is a divine attribute (*ṣifat-i ilāhī*) manifested (*tajallī*) [in this thing]. How could it be extracted from it? This is absolutely impossible. It is impossible that they [the divine 'words'] were extracted from the things and there still remained something from these things … To [be able to] discern these 'words' in everything is what makes the true monotheist (*muwaḥḥid*) (443b–444a).

The identity between the name and the form of the named object is made possible by the fact that the same standard of differentiation realised in the human bodily form is applied to the rest of creation: 'The division of all things and bodies (*ashyāʾ wa ajrām*) is determined by the original nature (*khilqa*) of the face of Adam. In virtue of the [principle] of unity (*tawḥīd*), the division of time and of the hours (*taqsīm-i zamān wa sāʿāt*) is [made] in accordance with the division of [the body] of Adam' (84a). From the ninth heavenly sphere encompassing the whole universe down to the tiniest atom, everything is structured in accordance with the same 28/32 basic elements of form, or 'letters', originally synthesised in the human form: 'All things are divided in accordance with [the numbers] 28 and 32, so that they all became the science of the 'words' of the divine [Word] (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi ilāhī*)' (417b). The following passage is interesting from the point of view of terminology:

> The seven heavens and seven planets that rotate in 360 degrees, and the 28 mansions of the moon possess the same form and composition (*īn shakl wa īn ṣūra wa īn waḍʿ*) as Adam. Various things that are educated (*marbūb*) by them are [divided] by the same line of balance as [the heavens], and obtain thus a similar form and shape. All [that is contained] within the heavenly spheres is also [contained] in Adam, who is His true Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ-i ḥaqīqī*) (53a).

All diversity of particular forms is produced by the combinations of these 28/32 basic forms, or primary letters, which are the same throughout the entire universe. This makes any existing form potentially 'readable' by whoever has the knowledge of the primary letters. While the symbol of the Throne describes the human form essentially as the source of the Balance, the symbol of the Well-preserved Tablet mentioned in the two passages cited above is

probably the central symbol in the *Jāwidān-nāma* referring to the human body, originally represented by Adam, as the template or matrix, which, while containing the complete set of the original letters, also ensures that the form of any particular object or being is a fragment of the ontological writing:

> From [the contemplation] of this Well-preserved Tablet and divine line of balance, pass to [the contemplation of the line of balance] in the lines of [all] things, [like] plants, animals, cereals, as well as stars. Seek the divine writing in all things, because they are all contained in the Well-preserved Tablet of Adam, who is the locus of manifestation of the 32 [ontological] 'words' [of the divine Word]: '*We have neglected nothing in the Book*' [Q. 6:38] (407b).

Along with the Well-preserved Tablet, other Qurʾānic symbols such as 'explicit Imām' in which all things are counted (Q. 36:12), the 'Book from which nothing is omitted' (Q. 6:38), or the 'Mother of the Book' seem to express similar meanings:

> All existing [objects and beings] (*mawjūdāt*) were created in accordance with the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam: '*Everything We have numbered in a clear* Imām' [Q. 36:12].[38] [The 'clear Imām'] is the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*), and Adam. All things are created in accordance with his form, and can be read by the means of the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) of the face of Adam. '*Whithersoever you turn, there is the Face of God*' [Q. 2:115]: Adam is the Face of God, and all things are the Face of God because they [all] face towards Adam, and they are [all] created in accordance with his original nature (*khilqa*) (128a–b).

The human form is the intermediary between the science of the divine Word and all general and particular forms contained within the universe. The latter are shaped in accordance with the standard introduced by the human form with its line of Balance: 'All [entities] of the superior (*ʿulwī*) and inferior (*siflī*) [worlds] are educated (*murabbā*) by the body (*wujūd*) of Adam' (4b); 'The human form (*hayʾa*) is a body (*jism*), it is corporeal (*jismānī*). In its dimension of 'science' (*az rū-yi ʿilmiyyat*), it points to the [32 ontological 'words'],

[38] Arberry translates 'in a clear register'. I have retained the original *Imām* without translation because, in the context of the *Jāwidān-nāma,* this verse could be linked to the Shiʿi concept of Imām.

while in its corporeal dimension (*az rū-yi jismiyyat*), all things [are made] in accordance with [this form]' (377b).

What has been said concerning the representation of the human body as the divine Throne and as the Well-preserved Tablet can be summarised as follows. The human body contains the complete set of basic elements, which compose the shape of any possible object or being in the created world. The human body is the matrix and source starting from which the ontological names reach the objects, and the universal standard in accordance with which the 'science' of these names is written into their forms. There is therefore an essential kinship or congruence between the human body and the form or body of any existing object or being. This idea is expressed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the statement that any thing is actually or potentially part of the human body, represented by the body of Adam: 'Adam is a single body (*badan*). Any writing, object or being (*maktūbāt wa makhlūqāt*) that you are able to imagine (*taṣawwur*) is a part of the members (*aʿḍāʾ wa jawāriḥ*) of his body … all things are the single body of Adam; they are [all] identical to him' (237a).

> The Word (*kalima*) of the divine Presence (*ḥaḍrat-i ilāhī*) reaches every atom of the universe. Everything is a locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 [ontological] 'words'. However, it is the human being (*insān*) who is the real locus of manifestation [of the complete divine Word]. Also, the science (*ʿilm*) [of the Word], represented by the visible lines of the shape and form (*shakl wa ṣūra*) [of the bodies], refers to the human shape (*hayʾat-i bashariyya*), from which [this science] reaches all worlds and atoms. Indeed, the matter of all bodies is the same, and from this point of view all things are, in their innermost reality (*bi-ḥaqīqa*), one and the same body (*jism*); and [all the ontological 'words'] are one and the same spirit (*rūḥ*). One human soul (*nafs-i insān*) replaces therefore all things. [There is only] one Word (*kalima*), and the human being is its locus of manifestation (190b–191a).

This idea is further developed in the following fragment. The parts of the universe are articulated together as the members of the human body and bound to the cosmic body of Adam by effusions:[39]

[39] Cf. the fragment fol. 351a above.

> All things are the body (*wujūd*) of Adam, while Adam is the single body of all things. He [is made] of the four natural elements (*chahār ṭabāʾiʿ*), and the speech (*nuṭq*) contained in the four elements manifests itself from his [Adam's] body. All stars and heavenly spheres are linked (*muttaṣil*) by their effusions (*fayḍ*) to his body, and among all these various essences (*dhawāt*), the Essence of God (*dhāt-i khudā*) remains concealed to the non-initiated eye (*chashm-i nāmaḥram*). When the innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of all things, [namely the fact] that they are [all part] of Adam's body, is known, the essence of the [divine] Truth (*ḥaqq*) becomes manifest, and polytheism (*shirk*) is removed (60b).

The congruence between the human body and the bodies of all other objects and beings is also a co-substantiality, since the human body, like any other existing body, is made of earth, the principal element of form. We have seen above that earth has the power to produce any form existing on its surface. The human body is equivalent to the whole surface of the earth and, therefore, potentially contains any other particular form produced on the earth:

> Things exterior to Adam are nevertheless parts of his body (*wujūd*). Earth is a part of Adam and possesses the aptitude (*qābiliyya*) to [produce] the whole [body] of Adam. Outside the earth, everything is turned in the direction of Adam. [Every animal species] possesses the same aptitude [as earth], and every [particular] thing is a science (*ʿilm*) from among the 32 ['sciences' corresponding to the 32 ontological 'letters'] of Adam's face (349a).
>
> Earth is what remains from the body of Adam (*baqiyyat-i wujūd-i Adam*). Earth and the four elements (*chahār ʿunṣur*) have the aptitude (*qābiliyya*) to constitute the body of a snake (*mār*), an ant (*mūr*), a lion (*shīr*), or any other animal. The animal powers (*quwwa*) and qualities (*ṣifa*) are also visible in the human being (*insān*). But, since [the human being] became the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) or the complete speech and all names (*tamāmī-yi nuṭq wa asmāʾ*), and received the form of God (*ṣūrat-i khudāʾī*), [the human being] was ennobled and became vicegerent (*khalīfa*) (25b).

There is also another aspect of the congruence between the form of the human body and the forms of the particular objects. We have seen that, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the human body is essentially the locus of manifestation of the Word. In addition, human beings are endowed

with speech, which means that they possess the knowledge of the Word and are able to express it actively. In several fragments, Adam is described as the 'Speaking Word', while the universe is the 'Silent Word'. Since every existing object and being is part of the human body and, as such, a locus of manifestation of a fragment of the Word – more exactly, of its own ontological name – every object and being shares, to a certain extent and at least potentially, the faculty of speech which characterises the human body. Another formulation of this same idea is the statement that, since the human form, as the locus of manifestation of the complete alphabet of the creation and of the Supreme Name of God, synthesises all possible ontological names, any particular object or being, as a locus of manifestation of one of the names issued from the Well-preserved Tablet of the human form, is the manifestation of a fragment of the human form. From this perspective, every existing thing is a fragment of the human body; everything is therefore potentially endowed with speech, and this potentiality becomes actualised when these fragments are brought together to re-compose a complete human body. The following selection of passages is rather long, but I found them all expressing different approaches to the issue under discussion here:

> Everything is endowed with speech (*nāṭiq*) and will [possess this quality] in the future, because all objects are the remains of the members of Adam's [body]. '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*' [Q. 41:21]: [this verse] refers to [the fact] that all things will be speaking [by virtue of] his [Adam's] unity (*bi-waḥdāniyyat-i ū*) and [within his] single body … Look at the bodily form (*ṣūra*) of Adam, and at the structure (*naẓm*) of the universe. All that you can observe [is an expression of the] unity (*tawḥīd*), and Adam is the locus of manifestation of the speech (*maẓhar-i nuṭq*). Therefore, the speech of Adam is potentially (*bi-l-quwwa*) in everything, and each thing is brought into existence [by] the speech of Adam. '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech',* because the speech is the distinctive feature of Adam (*nuṭq makhṣūṣ bi-Adam ast*) (25b).
>
> Everything has [an ontological] name, which is that 'word' contained in it in potentiality (*bi-l-quwwa*). [This name] manifests itself externally in accordance with the innermost reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of [any individual] thing … Read [these names] in the visible Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ-i ẓāhir*) [of

> the human bodily form]. There is the science (*ʿilm*) of everything manifested in the visible world (*ẓāhir*) (243a).
>
> All things are the single body of Adam. Starting from the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) of Adam, discover the line of balance of everything, and read the divine Word (*kalima-yi khudāʾī*), of which Adam is [the most complete] locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*). By the means of attribution of [the ontological] names (*az rū-yi ismiyyat*), the 32 'words' reached everything, and manifested themselves (*tajallī*) in everything. Everything, in potentiality and in actuality (*bi-l-fiʿl wa bi-l-quwwa*), is the locus of manifestation of [these 'words'], [the most complete form of which] is Adam. This is why [God] said: '*I am setting in the earth a viceroy*' [Q. 2:30]. A viceroy is a locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*), [created] 'in the form of the All-Merciful' … Everything is in reality he (*hama ashyāʾ bi-ḥaqīqat ūst*). It is in this sense that he [Adam] is the mirror of God and of everything (*āyina wa mirʾāt-i khudā wa hama ashyāʾ*). He [Adam] is the Lote-tree of the Boundary (*sidrat al-muntahā*) and the 'inhabited house' (*bayt al-maʿmūr*), [i.e., the heavenly counterpart of the Kaʿba] (274b).

In the following passage, the idea that everything is potentially endowed with speech as a part of Adam's body is linked to astrological and alchemical motifs. Since the body of Adam is equal to the whole surface of the earth, not only all objects and beings existing on the surface of the earth, but also effusions from the heavenly spheres, stars and planets focused on the earth are collected and integrated into the body of Adam through this surface and through the four elements:

> Every effusion (*fayḍ*) coming from the heavens and heavenly bodies (*asmān wa ajrām-i samawāt*) is dispersed (*nuthār*) on the earth and becomes an element (*ʿunṣur*) of Adam's [body]. Night and day, they [the heavens and heavenly bodies] turn around the elements of [the] Adam's [body] in a ritual of circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) and perform the gestures of the ritual prayer (*dar sujūd wa dar rukūʿ and*). They are parts of his body (*badan*), and he is [what they represent as a] whole in reality: 'God created Adam in the form of All-Merciful'[40] (25b).

The speech is contained in everything, whether it is actually audible or not. This speech is the expression of the ontological name of every

[40] Inventory I, no. 11.

particular thing, the same name which brought it into existence. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this is the meaning of the Qurʾānic verse saying that everything praises God in its own manner:

> Look at all things, [and see] that His speech (*kalām*) comprehends everything, because it is the [ontological] name of everything. From the exterior and the interior of the things (*az ẓāhir wa bāṭin-i ashyāʾ*), secretly or aloud (*sirran aw jahran*), emanates the speech, consisting of the [ontological] names [of the things], and nothing else. [This speech] may be univocal (*muḥkam*) or ambiguous (*mutashābih*) [as are the Qurʾānic verses] (184a).
>
> [The 32 ontological 'words'] are rooted in the Essence of the Real (*qāʾim bi-dhāt-i ḥaqqand*); they have no beginning and no end in time (*azalī wa abadī and*) and they are the pre-existent attributes of the Real. They are not created. By the means of the names (*az rū-yi ismiyyat*) they attain everything in the two worlds. No entity (*mukawwināt*) in the two worlds is void of them. When the tongue moves in the mouth, it produces [a sound] from among these 32 [ontological] 'words'. If you strike a stone to [another] stone, the 'word' and the voices (*ṣawt wa āwāz*) produced [by the stone] cannot be outside these 28 and 32 divine 'words'. This is why God said: '*Does He not encompass everything?*' [Q. 41:54], '*Nothing is, that does not proclaim His praise*' [Q. 17:44]. The Prophet said that the tiniest stone praises God, and he could hear [these praises]. If these two stones are not stricken against each other, they remain silent, but this speech (*nuṭq*) is nevertheless contained in them potentially (*bi-l-quwwa*) … (410b–411a).

Whoever possesses the knowledge of the laws of correspondence between the external forms of things and their invisible ontological names can discern the fragments of the Word contained in them. Such a person, initiated in the knowledge of the line of Balance of the human form, can read the universal ontological writing in the forms of things just as ordinary people can read conventional human writing:

> Adam and his shape (*shakl*)… is the divine [ontological] writing; he is the Tablet (*lawḥ*) and the foundation (*aṣl*) [of the] lines of the divine writing. Whosoever goes to Paradise has his [Adam's] shape (*ṣūra*) and is able to read the lines of divine [writing]. Everybody and everything receives [the ability to speak] from Adam, who is the foundation of all [of them]. Since, by means of the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) all things are the

> science of word and speech (*ʿilm-i kalima wa kalām*), they are all the divine writing and the science of the divine Word. They all face each other, and they are all speaking and hearing in the language of spiritual states (*bi-zabān-i ḥāl*).[41] They all converse by means of inspiration (*waḥy*) and signs (*ishāra*). For example, [an ordinary] reader can read the writing which is before him, if the convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*) of this writing is known to him. [It is as if] this writing speaks [to the reader]. Similarly, whosoever [knows] the 'convention' of divine writing (*iṣṭilāḥ-i kitābat-i ilāhī*) can see how all things are the science of His Word (*kalima*), and how they speak by the means of signs and inspiration '*from behind a curtain*' [Q. 33:53] (175a–b).

The 'words' contained in things can be perceived in dreams. Indeed, in the world of dreams, any object, plant or animal can speak. One interesting development of this idea in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is the statement that the capacity to see objects and beings speaking in dreams is determined by the bodily form of the dreamer. The physical form is the locus of manifestation of the ontological name of every given entity, which is the combination of a certain number of original phonemes or 'words'. The *Jāwidān-nāma* states that no entity can perceive more phonemes than are contained in its name. Therefore, only the human being, whose body is the locus of manifestation of the complete ontological alphabet, has the capacity to contemplate any other form in dream, and be able to perceive its speech. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this kind of perception which can be experienced in dreams is also that of the prophetic experience. Moses was spoken to by the fire and by a tree. Anyone who is initiated in the innermost meaning of the human form and can 'read' the ontological writing in sensible forms of the empirical world, can also discern the phonemes and words in the images of dreams. Thus, the knowledge of the human bodily form includes also the power of dream interpretation. This power is usually exemplified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the figure of Joseph:

> The human being (*insān*) has the science of the 32 [ontological 'words' of the complete Word written] on his or her face.

[41] For the use of the same expression in a similar context in ʿAzīz-i Nasafī's *Kitāb-i tanzīl,* see L. Ridgeon, *ʿAzīz Nasafī* (Richmond, Surrey, 1998), p. 24. According to Ridgeon, this expression is a Persian translation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *lisān al-ḥāl.*

> Conversely, other things are [the science] of only some ['words'] from among these 32 … The human being has on his or her face the [complete] form (*ṣūra*), which enables him or her to see [this form] in dreams and to reach [the knowledge of the innermost meaning] of all other various forms. [Such was the case of Joseph when] he said: '*I saw eleven stars*' [Q. 12:4], and [that of the prisoner who narrated his dream to Joseph]: '*I dreamed that I was carrying on my head bread*' [Q. 12:36]. An initiate (*khudāshunās*), [such as Joseph, is able to discern] the future and the past, and the change [in the condition] of anything [by perceiving things as] the loci of manifestation of the [ontological] 'words' (384a).

The words contained in all things will be clearly audible at the end of time, when the names will be withdrawn from the things and manifested directly, without the mediation of the form:[42]

> '*And they will say to their skins, "Why bore you witness against us?" They shall say, "God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*'" [Q. 41:21]. Therefore, the speech (*nuṭq*) is not an exclusively human property. Everything will be speaking on the Day of Resurrection, which means that the divine Word will come forth from everything: '*All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God*' [Q. 62:1], '*Nothing is, that does not proclaim His praise, but you do not understand their extolling.*' [Q. 17:44]. The extolling of all things will be understood when the speech will come forth from everything (463b–464a).

The congruence and commensurability between the human form and any other form in the universe is founded on the line of Balance, originating from the human body and ensuring the homogeneity of the creation and its capacity to express the science of the Word: 'All the heavens, earth and everything [else] has the receptive aptitude (*qābiliyya*) of the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam … because they are [all] created according to the [division introduced] by the line of balance, in accordance with the science of his word and speech (*bi-ʿilmiyyat-i kalima wa kalām-i ū*)' (339a).

> Starting from the original nature (*khilqa*) of Mother (*umm*) and from the face of Adam, the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwā'*) [spreads] upon all things and the heavens, because they all [constitute] the single body of Adam. This is why [Eve and Adam

[42] This idea will be discussed in more detail in Part Three.

> are respectively] the Footstool (*kursī*) and the Throne (*ʿarsh*) of God (273b).

Anything that has a line of balance – meaning every existing thing – is congruent to the human form, which is the source of the Balance: 'The form (*ṣūra*) of everything is [structured] in accordance with the line of balance of the form of Adam, like plants, animals, minerals and fruits (*nabātāt wa ḥaywānāt wa jamādāt wa maʿādin wa fawākih*)' (104b–105a). The line of balance in things reminds us that all existing objects of beings have been part of Adam's body and will be eventually re-unified within it: 'All things are in the Tablet of the face of Adam. See that the line of balance of everything is a trace (*athar*) of [the line of balance] of the face of Adam' (311a).

The next fragment highlights particularly the similarity and commensurability revealed by the line of balance, between the human form and the forms of animals, plants and minerals. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the symmetry of the bodies, exemplified by the crest of the cock and the hoopoe, or the two halves of a grain of wheat, represents the line of balance. The line of balance is the 'Straight Path' of God put in every existing form, as a token of its bond with the human body and the science of the divine Word contained in it; it is the 'forelock' mentioned in the Qurʾān by which God grasps every creature:

> Starting with the line of balance of Adam and Eve, observe the divine power in the form of the line of balance of birds, animals, minerals and all [other] creatures (*makhlūqāt*) … Look, for example, at the line of balance of a hoopoe. Its crest is divided into two parts. It has two eyes, two ears, two nostrils and a mouth, similar to the lines of the human face. Read these seven and eight lines. Every line contains four [subsidiary] lines, so that they are 28 and 32 lines. Look then at the crest (*ʿurf*) of a cock – '*And the dwellers on the Battlements [al-aʿrāf] shall call to certain men they know by their sign*' [Q. 7:46] – and [look] at all [other] animals, and see the path of God (*ṣirāṭ Allāh*) and the divine original nature (*khilqat Allāh*): '*There is no creature that crawls, but He takes it by the forelock. Surely my Lord is on a straight path*' [Q. 11:56]. Since Adam is the divine synthesis (*majmūʿa-yi ilāhī*), he is the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*) of God. By its original nature (*khilqa*), the line of balance of his face manifests the lines of the 32 and 28 [ontological] 'words', because he is the

> locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 'words'. [Starting with this line of balance], pass [to the observation of the] line of every leaf and grain: "*It is God who splits*[43] *the grain and the date-stone*" [Q. 6:95], and recognise the divine science (*ʿilm*) of His Word, as [you recognise it] on the face of Adam. Contemplate in a grain of wheat the same line [of balance] as that [represented by] the parting of the hair on the face of Adam, [which passes between] two eyebrows and [two pairs] of eyelashes (296b–297a).

This symmetry is the manifestation of divine Equity (*qisṭ*) and Justice (*ʿadl*), which is given to all forms of the creation without exception. But the most perfect manifestation of Equity and Justice is the human form:

> The pre-existent Essence (*dhāt-i qadīm*) created various [species] of animals in order to demonstrate that the same Essence can have various forms [of expression]. However, the equity (*qisṭ*) and justice (*ʿadl*) of this [Essence] were distributed [to all the various forms of its manifestation], so that there is no difference [between them from the point of view of] equity and justice: '*There is no creature that crawls, but He takes it by the forelock. Surely my Lord is on a straight path*' [Q. 11:56]. But the whole measure [of equity and justice] is manifested in humans (*insān*) and nowhere else. This is why [the human form is] '*the fairest stature*' [Q. 95:4] (390a).

Even if every object or being, be it mineral, plant or animal, has the same symmetry and balance as the human body, only the human being can attain the knowledge of the complete divine writing. The Qurʾānic quotation in the following passage suggests also that the humans who did not attain this knowledge remain at the level of animals:

> [Draw] the line [of balance] of any animal. [Just as a human being] it has two ears, two nostrils, two eyes, and a mouth. [Multiplication of these seven members by the number of four elements produces] 28 lines, or 32 lines of the divine [ontological] writing [if] the line of balance [is counted]. [You can] read [these lines]. But the animal does not recognise the divine writing, while a human being (*insān*) does: '*They are but as the cattle; nay, they are further astray from the way*' [Q. 25:44]. The fact

[43] *Fāliq*, from the root *flq*, which combines the idea of splitting with that of manifestation, as a germ appearing from a grain, or the sun appearing from behind the clouds.

> that human beings possess the complete science (*ʿilm-i tāmm*) [of the divine Word] distinguishes them from animals (283a).

Also, the line of balance is not manifested with the same degree of clarity at all levels of existence. It appears in minerals, and then develops progressively through plants and animal forms. But none of these forms of existence possesses all elements of the balance: the perfect balance can be attained only in the human form, which contains the complete set of 28/32 original Letters:

> The human form (*shakl-i insān*), and most particularly the face, possesses 32 sciences (*ʿilm*) … which are the distinctive signs (*iʿlām*) of the 32 [ontological] 'words'. Every science [is expressed by] a particular form (*hay'at*) [i.e., feature of the human face] … The forms (*ṣūra*) of all things [existing] in the universe are composed of these [32 particular elementary forms of which the human face is the sum]. [Some of these forms] are [already] visible in the minerals, but the division in two symmetrical halves [by the line of balance] (*munāṣifa*), which appears in the original nature (*khilqa*) of the animals, attains its perfection in humans. The division in two halves is also visible in all plants. From this point of view, every leaf is similar to the human form. Since the human form is the divine [ontological] writing with its 32 'words', you can find every atom of any existing object or being in the human form and face (365a–b).

This brings us to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of evolution and involution of forms that we will address in the rest of this chapter. We have already seen that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the forms of all existing objects and beings are determined by their ontological names, and are fragments of the science of the divine Word. Every name is the combination of the original phonemes and carries a fragment of the divine truth. The corresponding bodily form reflects the name and is composed of the number of original letters proportional to the number of phonemes in the name. The bodily form shows therefore the epistemological value of every given form, its place on the scale of capacity to express the science of the Word. The more basic elements of form, or primary letters, are contained in the given form, the more perfect is the corresponding fragment of the science. The most perfect form is the form of the human body which contains the entire ontological alphabet. To attain the knowledge of the human form

means to realise the supreme knowledge of God available to the created being, the knowledge that leads to salvation.

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the forms of existing things and objects can evolve or involve on this scale of knowledge. Since the external form is determined by this ontological knowledge, as its 'science' or locus of manifestation, the progress in knowledge leads to the acquisition of a more perfect external form, while the loss of knowledge conversely results in degradation into a lower body. This sounds very much like a theory of transmigration, formulated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* essentially in terms of the transformation of forms within the food chain: one given bodily form can be transformed into another by becoming food of the latter:[44]

> Among the entities [lit. 'members', *juzw*] created in accordance with the original nature (*khilqa*) of Adam, some have an invariable form (*ṣūra*), like stars and heavenly spheres with [their] fractions. Others, such as a stone of date, grain of wheat or [any] plant, are created from the four natural elements, [like] the members of Adam's [body]. Everything brought into existence by [a combination of the] four natural elements is created, like Adam, in accordance with the original nature of Adam and his line of balance. If [one of such things] becomes the food of an animal, or if an animal is eaten by another animal, it takes the shape (*shakl*) of the animal [which ate it], and loses the balanced shape of its own external appearance (*shakl-i istiwāʾ-yi ẓāhir-i khūd*), but the essence of its own line of balance cannot be destroyed (*maḥw*). For example, the leaves mentioned [in the verse]: '*Not a leaf falls, but He knows it. Not a grain in the earth's shadows, [not a thing, fresh or withered, but it is in a Book Manifest.]*' [Q. 6:59], which fall and decay, leaving thus externally the station of the divine balance and writing (*maqām-i istiwāʾ wa kitābat-i khudāʾī*), nevertheless keep this writing with them in potentiality (*bi-l-quwwa*). This is why, wherever they come [into existence, the things] cannot remain behind (*takhalluf*) the line of balance of Adam. Firstly, because the locus of manifestation of everything is [shaped] according to the line of balance. Secondly, because the balance is His pre-existent attribute (*ṣifat-i qadīm*) … The purpose [of contemplating how the things] abandon

[44] Some traces of a different theory of transmigration can also be found in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, but are apparently more developed in later Ḥurūfī works, as discussed in the Conclusion.

> [their] first form (*ṣūra*) and acquire another form different from their [initial] form is to clearly demonstrate to the seekers that the quiddity (*māhiyya*) of these two [forms] is the same. The two [forms] are one and the same thing. Externally, they appear as two [different forms], while the [ontological] 'word' and speech (*kalima wa kalām*), which lies in their foundation, is one and the same: '*God blots out, and He establishes whatsoever He will; and with Him is the essence of the Book*' [Q. 13:39] (117a–b).

As have been noted above, the potential of speech inherent to any particular object and being is realised when fragments of the Word contained in things are brought together and eventually re-composed into a complete human form. A plant or an animal eaten by another animal becomes integrated into the bodily form of the latter. Potentially, any existing entity can become food for a human being, either directly or after undergoing a series of preliminary transformations. It is then integrated into a human body and into its tissues and substances, including sperm, which gives it a chance to be born in a human body. The goal of the transformations in the food chain is to realise such a re-composition, when the fragments of the Word contained in all objects and beings are actualised as part of the human body and speech. The achievement of this goal means enlightenment and salvation, that is, according to the terminology of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, return to the condition where the direct perception of the divine Word is possible, and all objects are immediately seen from the ontological perspective, as loci of manifestation of the divine words. This condition is the condition of Paradise.

Additionally, several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* express the idea that, since the human form contains the complete science of the divine Word, a human being can intentionally transmit this science to any object or being, and bring it to the perfection of his or her own body by eating them. That is why the necessity to feed is an advantage proper to the human condition unlike angels who do not eat and therefore do not possess the power of transformation proper to the food chain:

> If someone formulates [the following] question: 'Satan robbed Adam when he said "*[Your Lord has only prohibited you from this tree] lest you become angels, or lest you become immortals.*" [Q. 7:20]. But Adam knew that the angels bowed down to him, and Satan knew that the station of Adam was beyond the station of the angels, in accordance with [the verse]: "*And when We said*

> *to the angels, 'Bow yourselves to Adam'; so they bowed themselves, save Iblis*" [Q. 2:34]. And [Adam] taught angels [the names of all things]. So why did [Satan] deceive [Adam] by saying "*[lest] you become angels?*"' The answer is that [Satan] knew that [Adam] is superior [to angels], in virtue of '*tell them their names*' [Q. 2:33], and in virtue of '*And when We said to the angels, "Bow yourselves to Adam"*' [Q. 2:34]. But he supposed that the [station of] angels, free from [the necessity to eat and to drink], is better than the station [requiring] eating and drinking (*maqām-i akl wa shurb*). This is why he attempted [to deceive Adam with this argument]. However, to God, the station [requiring] eating and drinking is superior to the opposite [condition] for the following reason. When things acquire the forms (*ṣūra*) of minerals, plants and fruits, they become food for Adam. [After being eaten], they become his sperm (*nuṭfa*) and reappear from the bodily form of Adam, of which [it is said]: 'God created Adam in the form of the All-Merciful.' This is how are born the prophets and Muḥammad, peace be upon him. This station [requiring] eating and drinking, related to the prophets, is beyond [the station that implies the] abandonment of eating and drinking. This is why, in the promised Paradise, the spiritual beings (*rūḥāniyān*) eat and drink, and all their food, such as fruits, is endowed with speech: '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*' [Q. 41:21] (110a–b).
>
> All aliments and beverages (*aghdhiya wa ashriba*), which receive their education (*parwarish*) from the heavens and stars (*samawāt wa ajrām-i kawākib*), evolve until they become food for humans (*ṭuʿmat-i insān*). They re-emerge then from the human original nature (*khilqa*), [provided with its] beauty (*ḥusn wa jamāl*) … Every movement of any [object or being] is guided by the desire to acquire the qualities proper to the human form (*muttaṣif shawand bi-ṣūrat-i insān*), which is the Throne of the Presence of the divine Unity (*ʿarsh-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*) (305b).

When angels opposed the creation of man saying that he will '*shed blood*' (Q. 2:30), they did not know that when a human being kills an animal and eats it, or consumes a fruit, vegetable or mineral, it is in fact an expression of love and a great favour which brings these forms of existence on a higher level: 'When a human loves something, he or she wants to eat it, in order to make [this object or being] identical to his or her self' (242b).

> When God [spoke] to angels: '"*I am setting in the earth a viceroy.*" *They said, "What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood, while we proclaim Thy praise*

> *and call Thee Holy?" He said, "Assuredly I know that you know not.'"* [Q. 2:30]. The angels did not know that there is perfection in shedding blood, and this perfection gives to humans advantage over the angels. [Adam] shed blood and [killed] animals … in order to bring their animal forms (*ṣūra*) to his human form (*ṣūrat-i bashariyyat-i khwishtan*). Angels do not have this aptitude… No angel is able to eat plants and minerals in order to remove their vegetal or mineral form and bring them into the form and garment (*ṣūrat wa kiswat*) of the person before the father of which all angels were obliged to bow down (350a).
>
> '*Wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood?*' [Q. 2:30], that is to say, someone who will spoil Thy creation by killing and corrupting it? They [angels] did not know that the intention of shedding blood is to bring [the killed beings] to the divine form (*ṣūrat-i khudāʾī*), which is that of Adam. It is illicit to kill someone who has already reached the form of Adam. As to the animals, their blood is shed in order to make them re-emerge from the divine form. '*Assuredly I know that you know not!*' [Q. 2:30] (263b).

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this is the inner meaning of the practice of ritual slaughter in the Muslim tradition. In order to be permissible as food, the animal must be killed facing the *qibla*.[45] Since in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the *qibla* symbolises the face of Adam, the slaughtering of an animal facing the *qibla* means that it is immolated on its way of evolution towards Adam's face, which is the perfect manifestation of the complete ontological alphabet:

> Any living creature lawful to eat used to be killed by the prophets in the name of God the All-Great, [after its face was turned] either in the direction of the Kaʿba or that of the Temple of Jerusalem. The angels opposed [the creation of] Adam who shed blood and ate,[46] [though Adam did this in order] to bring [the killed and eaten animals] into the human form (*ṣūrat-i insānī*). But whosoever goes to Paradise goes there in human form and shape (257a).

If minerals, plants and animals can evolve towards the human form, the opposite is also possible: the human beings who do not attain the full knowledge of their own bodily form are reduced to lower forms of

---

[45] E. Francesca, 'Slaughter', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* vol. 5, pp. 54–56.

[46] Allusion to Q. 2:30.

existence. In Chapter 12, we will see that this gap between human knowledge and form was initially introduced by Satan, who 'stripped' Adam and Eve of the knowledge of their own bodily forms and thus caused their expulsion from Paradise.

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Cosmic Human represented by the original couple Adam/Eve, Time and the Universe are three counterparts of the complete divine Word. The Cosmic Human is the form of the Word, Time is its receptacle, and the Universe contains all forms issued from the Word in the process of differentiation. Each of these three essentially identical entities is the starting point of a great cycle. From the original couple begins the transmission of the physical shape of the human body and of the knowledge of the divine Word contained in this form within the historical humanity living in physical time and space. This knowledge is transmitted in the line of prophets, the ultimate goal of which is the revelation of the complete Word. The actualisation of the Word at the end of the prophetic cycle means the restoration of the Cosmic Human as the sum of the historical humankind, during the gathering of the last Hour. Since the measure of Time and Universe is determined by the Word, the restoration of the complete Word means also the accomplishment of the cycle of Time and the disappearance of all visible forms of the universe, because the ontological 'words', which sustained the existence of forms, will return to their original condition within the primordial Word. The cycles of Time and Universe seem thus determined by the prophetic cycle, which gradually unfolds the knowledge of the Word and eventually brings not only humankind, but all of creation to its original condition within the divine Word. In Part Two, we will address the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theories related to the unfolding of the Word and its return to the Origin in the concerted parallel cycles of Prophecy, Time and Universe.

Part II

Prophetology: The Descent of the Word and its Return to the Origin

The *Jāwidān-nāma* repeatedly emphasises the idea that God created the world in order to be known.[1] The most important means by which the divine knowledge is conveyed to the creation is the divine ontological language. The idea that the unfolding and manifestation of the Word through the forms of created objects and beings provides a path leading to the knowledge of the divine Reality is central to the *Jāwidān-nāma.* We have already seen that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of Qurʾān 2:31: '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*', God gave the knowledge of the Word to Adam, and simultaneously wrote this knowledge into the shape of Adam's body, thus making the human form the locus of manifestation of the complete Word. As we have seen when discussing the theory of evolution/involution in Chapter 6, the human bodily form represents the limit of the knowledge accessible to any given form of existence. Humans are therefore the only beings able to realise the fullness of the divine knowledge attainable within the limits of the creation.

We have also seen in previous chapters that Adam, or the Cosmic Man, is the central concept of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s cosmogony. He represents the standard, which introduces proportion and measure into the creation, structuring Time and the Universe in accordance

[1] This idea is formulated in a well-known tradition where God speaks in first person: 'I was a hidden treasure and I wished to be known, so I created the creatures in order to be known' (*kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa-aḥbabtu ʿan uʿrafa fa khalaqtu al-khalq likay uʿrafa*). For the references, see Murata, *The Tao of Islam*, p. 61 ff., and A. Eschraghi, ' "I Was A Hidden Treasure". Some Notes on a Commentary Ascribed to Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī', in A. Akasoy and W. Raven, ed., *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages: Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation, in Honour of Hans Daiber* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), pp. 91–99, in particular p. 92.

with the 'line of Balance' of the original Word. In this sense, that is to say, in his quality of standard and mediator who conveys the divine ontological 'words' to the creation, Adam is essentially the archetypal Prophet. The historical prophetic cycle represents, therefore, the progressive revelation of the knowledge of the Word in time and in the physical universe already structured in accordance with the Word through the mediation of the cosmic Adam. With regard to the prophetic cycle, Adam is, at the same time, the personification of the whole cycle and the prototype of any individual historical prophet.

After Adam, the knowledge of the Word is transmitted in the line of prophets. It will be recalled that this knowledge is not discursive, but ontological. Like Adam, Time and the Universe, the cycle of prophecy is structured in accordance with the 28/32 original 'words'. Its unfolding is, therefore, closely related to the temporal and cosmic cycles. Since Adam, Time and the Universe are configurations of the complete Word, the realisation of the complete knowledge of the Word through successive prophetic missions means simultaneous completion of these three entities. In other words, the end of the prophetic cycle necessarily coincides with the end of Time and the Universe, and with the re-appearance of the cosmic Adam.

The interaction of divine knowledge with the world of creation includes two closely interrelated phases. The first phase is that of the 'descent' (*tanzīl*) of the Word into the creation and its progressive revelation in the prophetic missions. The Word assumes at this stage the active role, the prophets being essentially the instruments that convey the revelation to humankind. The memory of the Word is fixed not only in the holy books revealed to the prophets, but also in the structure of the religious laws and rituals introduced by them. In this regard, the *Jāwidān-nāma* focuses principally on the precepts of the Muslim religious law and the elements of Muslim rituals, the most eminent place among which is given to prayer.

The Word and its 28/32 'words', as well as some central concepts of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, such as the 'line of Balance', are also symbolised by the objects, constructions or specific capacities and deeds usually associated with particular prophets.

The second phase, that of the 'ascent', is 'return to the origin' (*ta'wīl*), which reverses the roles between the Word and the creation. At this stage, by the means of ontological hermeneutics, the prophets

and saints *actively* bring the Word from its loci of manifestation in the visible world back to its original state within the unfathomable divine Reality.[2]

The passage from *tanzīl* to *taʾwīl* also addresses the paradox of the manifestation of the divine language by means of human language and writing. During the process of *tanzīl*, this paradox remains, in a sense, latent, the divine Word being revealed to the prophets in their own languages without any conscious effort of 'translation' on their part. But *taʾwīl* supposes the realisation of a conscious passage from the level of the human language, determined in fact by the empirical reality of the physical world and by arbitrary social agreements, to the universal ontological language of the Word based on metaphysical truths.

Every prophetic mission combines in some proportion both phases of *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl*, and the division between the two remains therefore conditional. But, as the general tendency, the former process dominates in the first half of the prophetic cycle, and the latter in the second. The first half of the prophetic cycle includes, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the prophets of the Old Testament. The most salient figure among them is that of Moses. The second half begins with Jesus, who inaugurates the sub-cycle of the *ummī*s, or 'motherly' prophets, whose mission consists, particularly, in the revelation of the foundations of the Word, related in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, as we have seen in the previous chapters, with the bodily shape and facial features of Eve/Mother. The missions of Jesus and Muḥammad, the second 'motherly' prophet, complete the revelation of the foundations of the Word without which the last stage of the prophetic cycle, that of the *taʾwīl* proper, could not be realised.

The 'motherly' prophets are situated between the *tanzīl* and the *taʾwīl*. Their missions bear, therefore, the distinctive marks of these two opposite flows of the divine Word. The prophetic role of Jesus is limited to his historical mission, but he is himself the personification of the divine Word, which will be fully revealed in his second coming. At this point, the *Jāwidān-nāma* makes extensive usage of Christian

[2] At least one short fragment (fol. 103a–b) seems to suggest that, just as *tanzīl* is the revelation of the progressively increasing number of the primordial 'words', *taʾwīl* moves in the opposite direction, leading from multiplicity towards the original Unity, from the 32 revealed 'words' towards the one Word.

apocalyptic symbolism: Jesus will open the seven seals of the Book of Life; through his sacrifice he will deliver humankind from the diversity of languages, making available the universal language of the creation.[3] Muḥammad, in his historical mission, is the 'Seal of the Prophets'. He closes the 'descent' of the Word.[4] But his heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*) symbolises the whole period of *taʾwīl*, the return to the origin of the Word, which will follow his historical mission.

This last period of *taʾwīl* is only vaguely outlined in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. As we mentioned in the Introduction, Faḍl Allāh probably claimed that his own enlightenment, consisting basically of the revelation of the innermost meaning of the separate letters, opened the period of *taʾwīl*; and in this sense the *Jāwidān-nāma* could be conceived of as sacred book of *taʾwīl*.[5]

The most straightforward way to give an account of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s prophetology would be to follow the chronological list of the prophets mentioned in this work and to describe the most characteristic features of every prophetic figure. However, such a presentation could be confusing. Each prophet is, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, a powerful symbol expressing a complex combination of ideas. These combinations can overlap, and in this case we will find different aspects of the same idea in the fragments related to different prophets. In addition, there is no clear correlation between the chronological order of the prophets and the phases of *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl* mentioned above. For these reasons, I have adopted another approach: in the

[3] The *Jāwidān-nāma* extensively uses the symbolism of the Revelation of John. It is possible that Faḍl Allāh became acquainted with this symbolism not through the canonical Book of Revelation, but the apocryphal text known as the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, and referred to as *Kitāb-i Fiṭrūs* or *Kitāb-i Shamʿūn* in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. For more details, see Chapter 10 and the inventory of biblical citations.

[4] Various interpretations of the Qurʾānic expression 'Seal of the Prophets' are analysed in Y. Friedmann, *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Aḥmadī Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background* (Los Angeles and London, 1989), in particular pp. 49–82.

[5] For a reflection on the relationships between *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl* in Islamic religious thought, and the possibility of a 'book of *taʾwīl*' symmetric to the book of prophetic revelation, though situated on a different line of sacredness, see O. Mir-Kasimov, 'The Word of Descent and the Word of Ascent: Canonical and Extra-Canonical Texts in the Spectrum of the Sacred in Islam', in D. De Smet and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Controverses sur les écritures canoniques de l'islam* (Paris, 2014), pp. 329–372.

following chapters, I will focus on the central ideas of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s prophetology, and bring together the passages concerning individual prophets relevant to each particular concept.

7

Adam and Eve: The Prototype of Prophetic Experience and the Personification of the Prophetic Cycle

In the anthropology of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the human figure is essentially the focal point, the complete Book in which the 'science', or ontological writing, of the divine Word concentrates before spreading onto the rest of the creation. It is through the cosmic human form that the measure and the proportions of the Word are transmitted to Time and to the Universe, making them and all their contents the loci of manifestation, or the writing, of the Word and of its components, the 28/32 ontological 'words'. This intermediary position of the human figure in the transmission of the Word between God and the creation is the archetype of the prophetic function. From the outset, the transmission of the Word has an external and an internal, or exoteric and esoteric, aspects. The former is related to the external form of things, in the sense that any existing object or being is derived from the complete divine ontological alphabet represented by the human bodily form.[1] The internal, or esoteric aspect, is the dimension of the ontological 'words' which constitute the ultimate meaning and ontological principle of the external forms.[2]

However, the role of the cosmic human form, personified by Adam, in the transmission of the divine Word remains passive, in so far as it is realised as a necessary stage in the process of unfolding of the creation, without any active participation of Adam. This passive aspect, exemplified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the *ḥadīth*s according to which 'God created Adam in His form' and 'in the form of the All-Merciful',[3]

[1] Cf. Chapter 3.

[2] Cf. Chapters 1 and 2.

[3] Inventory I, no. 11.

is related to the fact that God created the external bodily form of Adam as the perfect locus of manifestation of the complete Word. By the will of God, Adam is established as the model by means of which the whole of creation is structured in accordance to the proportions of the original divine Word.

The active aspect of Adam's mediation is related to a separate event: God taught to Adam the 28/32 original 'words' and their correspondence to the visible form of his body, which is the locus of manifestation of these 'words'. This is the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of Qurʾān 2:31. Adam was thus initiated into the innermost meaning of his own bodily form, created to represent the science of the divine Word. He was also enabled to transmit this knowledge to angels and to his own descendants. The distinction between the passive and active, exterior and interior aspects in the prophetic dimension of Adam seems to be expressed in the following passage. On the one hand, Adam is the 'locus of manifestation' (*maẓhar*) of God; on the other, he is the master and dispenser of the ontological names:

> The earth (*zamīn*), which is the remains of the clay of Adam (*baqiyya-yi khāk-i Adam*), is in the centre [of the universe]. It is the special property (*khāṣṣa*) of Adam, who is the line of the divine [writing]. Starting from the earth, which is the station of Adam (*maqām-i Adam*) … and from the line of the divine writing [in the form and on the face of Adam, this ontological writing] spread to all [existing] things … From the original nature (*khilqa*) of his face and shape (*paykar*), [this writing] spread into the original nature of all things, for he is [the complete] writing and the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*) of God. Just as the form (*ṣūra*) of everything is [derived] from his [Adam's] form, the divine writing (*kitābat-i khudāʾī*), which constitutes the inner [truth] of Adam, and [corresponds] to the divine Word (*kalima-yi khudāʾī*), [is the intemediary through which this Word] spreads inside (*bi-bāṭin*) of Adam and of everything. Therefore, you can see that [both] the exterior and the interior being (*wujūd-i ẓāhir wa bāṭin*) is this [i.e., the ontological writing of the divine Word], and that, from the perspective of the divine writing (*bi-ḥukm-i kitābat-i khudāʾī*), [all objects and beings] are one and the same being … [God] said, with regard to Adam: '*I am setting in the earth a viceroy*' [Q. 2:30], because 'God the Most High created Adam in His form', and 'in the form of the All-Merciful'. Since [Adam] was the

> locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) [of God, created] in accordance with the form of the All-Merciful, he was the locus of manifestation of God (*maẓhar-i khudā*) and the house of God (*khāna-yi khudā*). He is the possessor (*khudāwand*) [of the names, in accordance with the verse]: '*And He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], and the father of humankind (*abū-l-bashar*) (385a–b).

According to the interpretation of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the names that God taught to Adam are the 32 original 'words', the differentiated aspects of the Word, the forms (or 'letters') which constitute together the bodily form of Adam. From this perspective, the science of the names is the science of the human bodily form, identical to the science of the divine Word. This knowledge is the basis of any prophetic message, and the revelation of the names by Adam to the angels (Q. 2:33) is the prototype of any prophetic revelation. The angels, who play the role of mediators transmitting the revelation to the prophets of the historical humankind, only imitate the original prophetic function of Adam, conveying divine 'words' from the Well-preserved Tablet, which is another symbol of Adam, to his descendants. For this reason, the angels necessarily appear to the prophets in a human form, which represents the complete divine Word: it is as if Adam appeared in person before every prophet in order to teach him the science of the Word written in his bodily form:

> '*And had We made him an angel, yet assuredly We would have made him a man*' [Q. 6:9] … It is well-known that [the archangel] Gabriel appeared [to Muḥammad clothed] in a garment (*kiswa*) of the world of earth, air, water and fire [i.e., in a visible human form], in order to appear as a copy of the science of the Word (*mithāl-i ʿilm-i kalima*). [This is how] he delivered the explanation (*bayān*) of the Word and of the Speech of the divine Essence (*kalima wa kalām-i dhāt-i ilāhī*). He received [this] science from the master of the earth, water, air and fire, who is Adam, as it is referred to [in the verse]: '*Adam, tell them their names*.' [Q. 2:33]. This [human] form is [not] essential [to Gabriel]; it is rather an acquired form (*ṣūrat-i kasb*) in which God clothed him [so that he could deliver his message] (369b).

Because Adam received the science of the Word directly from God, he is superior to the angels who received this science through the intermediary of Adam. It is interesting in this connection that the

Jāwidān-nāma insists that every prophet, in addition to the revelation received through the intermediary of angels, received also a part of knowledge directly from the divine source, without any intermediary:

> Just as an angel is intermediary (*wāsiṭa*) in the transmission of the inspiration (*waḥy*) and science (*ʿilm*) between God and the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*), Adam is intermediary in the teaching (*taʿlīm*) of the names and science between God and the angels … Adam obtained [the knowledge of] the names and the foundations of the names (*aṣl-i asmāʾ*), and thus became the teacher of the angels (*muʿallim-i malāʾika*) … The angels took the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam in order to acquire the [knowledge of the] sciences and names (362a).
>
> All creatures (*mawjūdāt*) are created in accordance with the science of the divine 'words' (*ʿilm-i kalimāt-i khudāʾī*) … but the complete science (*ʿilm-i tāmm*) is contained only in Adam and on the face of Adam. [This science is that] of the names that God taught Adam, giving him the aptitude to receive (*qābiliyya*) these names. Adam taught [this science to the angels], bringing them into the form (*malāʾika-rā bi-ṣūrat bar-āward*) in which they were able to reach the secret of the complete original nature and science (*tā bi-sirr-i khilqat wa ʿilm-i tāmm bi-rasand*) (362b–363a).[4]
>
> If someone says that, according to [the verse], '*and unto Moses God spoke directly*' [Q. 4:164], God Himself spoke to Moses; and, according to [the verse], '*And He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], He spoke to Adam without the intermediary of an angel; and, during the heavenly ascension, He spoke [directly] to the Messenger [Muḥammad, asking him], 'What is the subject of the dispute in the Supreme Assembly?',[5] and in accordance with [the verse], '*We had taught him knowledge proceeding from Us*' [Q. 18:65],[6] He spoke Himself [directly] to some other Messengers mentioned in the Qurʾān: the answer is that '*taught him by one terrible in power*' [Q. 53:5], '*Surely God is the All-Provider, the Possessor of Strength*' [Q. 51:58], 'no might and no power except those of God, the Supreme, the Great'. The superiority (*maziyya*) of the mediated speech (*kalām bi-wāsiṭa*),

[4] That is, the form of Adam, which is the locus of manifestation of the complete Word.

[5] Inventory I, no. 50.

[6] This phrase describes the mysterious 'servant of God' in whose company Moses travelled.

> which is the Qurʾān, over the *ḥadīth qudsī,* [which is God's direct speech in a human language] without intermediary (*bī-wāsiṭa*), is in the foundations of the speech (*aṣl-i kalām*), [represented by the] letters of the alphabet, [for disjointed letters and their combinations are part of the Qurʾānic revelation].[7] It is [to this foundations of the speech] that Gabriel referred when he said [to Muḥammad]: 'How do you know what I know not?'[8] The superiority of Adam over the angels is [in his capacity] to receive the science (*ʿilm*) from God [directly], without the intermediary of an angel (*bī wāsiṭa-yi malak*). [The verse], '*And He taught Adam the names, all of them',* refers to the [revelation to Adam] of the foundations of the [divine] speech (*aṣl-i kalām*). This is how Adam taught angels the 'names', which are the foundation of the speech (51b).

The angels who had accepted the superiority of Adam and had received from him the science of the divine Word brought later this science to the prophets: 'In accordance with [the verse]: "*Adam, tell them their names*" [Q. 2:33], [Adam] is the prophet of all prophets (*nabī hama anbiyāʾ*), and the prophet of all angels (*nabī hama malāʾika*) … The angels who bowed down before Adam [became] instructors of the prophets (*muʿallim-i anbiyāʾ*)' (37a).

It is noteworthy that, in some passages, the *Jāwidān-nāma* mentions the names that the angels knew before the creation of Adam. Indeed, in the Qurʾān, the angels conversed with God expressing their opinion concerning the divine intention to create Adam:

> [From the conversation between God and the angels described in Q. 2:30, which took place prior to the creation of Adam], it can be concluded that they [the angels] knew the names [used in this conversation]. God taught them these names, since they said: '*We know not save what Thou hast taught us*' [Q. 2:32] … But God '*taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], that is to say, the 32 single [primordial] 'words' (*kalima-yi mufrada*),[9] which are the foundation of the names (*aṣl-i asmāʾ*), because all names are composed of them. [Unlike the angels], Adam, upon him be peace, had the knowledge of both single

[7] That is, the *ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa,* the mysterious letters at the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras.

[8] Inventory I, no. 69.

[9] In this passage, the 32 primordial 'words' are identified with the names of the phonemes: *alif, lām, mīm* …

> (*mufrad*) and compound (*murakkab*) [levels of the language]. Therefore, the [single] names [that Adam taught the angels] were not the same [compound] names that the angels previously used to address God and applied to the things (445b–446a).

Was the prophetic mission of Adam addressed only to the angels? Some passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggest that Adam initiated also the prototypes of all the future prophets into the knowledge of the human body as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word. Such seems to be the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of God's primordial Covenant with the children of Adam, and this makes Adam not only the 'prophet of all angels', but also the 'prophet of all prophets' as mentioned in passage fol. 37a quoted above. When drawn from the loins of Adam, the prototypes of humankind saw their Lord in the form of Adam, that is, as the locus of manifestation of the 28/32 aspects of the complete divine Word:

> '*[And when thy Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their loins, their seed, and made them testify touching themselves], "Am I not your Lord?"*' [Q. 7:172]. Necessarily, they answered '*Yes, we testify*' [Q. 7:172], because they saw that Adam had been created in accordance with the number of 32 divine 'words' (280b).

The descendants of Adam were thus able to understand that the form of the human body leads to the knowledge of the 28/32 original 'words' of the divine Word, the highest knowledge available to a created being. It is because they received this knowledge that they were able to recognise their Lord and answered 'Yes!' to the divine question, 'Am I not your Lord?' The following passage explicitly compares this episode (Q. 7:172) to the episode where the angels received from Adam the knowledge of the names (Q. 2:33):

> '*And when thy Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their loins, their seed, and made them testify touching themselves, "Am I not your Lord?" They said, "Yes, we testify"*' [Q. 7:172]. [God] did not ask the children of Adam 'Am I not your Lord?' before He brought them into the presence [of their Lord] and 'made them testify touching themselves'. When they were made to witness their own original nature (*khilqa*), and discovered the omnipresence (*iḥāṭa*) of the divine Word, and [saw] themselves as the counterpart of the 32 'words' of the divine [Word], they said 'Yes,

> [we testify].' Demons (*shayāṭīn*) cannot access the [knowledge of the] original nature of heavens and earth and that of their own selves. [Observing] the original nature, they [the demons] are unable to discern how it [was created]. God the Most High said [with reference to them]: '*I made them not witnesses of the creation of the heavens and earth, neither of the creation of themselves*' [Q. 18:51] … this means that the demons and [those] of the descendants [of Adam who followed them] can attain neither [the knowledge] of the original nature of the heavens nor that of the creation of their own selves. They cannot grasp the meaning of [the maxim]: 'He who knows himself knows his Lord.'[10] Whosoever attains [knowledge of the] secret of the 360 parts of bones, flesh, fat, arteries and skin [of the human body],[11] each [set of 360] being equal to six times 60, each 60 being equal to 28 and 32, reaches the [knowledge of the] 28 and 32 divine 'words', which are [established] as counterpart [of these 28 and 32 parts]. Such a person will be able to read the lines [of the divine ontological writing], which are the counterpart of the 32 'words' without beginning and without end, on the [human] face. Starting from the 28 divine 'words', he or she will attain the 32 divine 'words', which are the names that God taught to Adam. [Such a person will receive these names] like the angels brought nigh (*malāʾika-yi muqarrab*) received them from Adam. He or she will attain [the knowledge] of the original nature of things (*khilqat-i ashyāʾ*) and become a witness to his own self, and be able to answer 'Yes!' to the divine question '*Am I not your Lord?*' [Q. 7:172], and turn his or her face towards the location of the face of Adam (*maqām-i wajh-i Adam*), which is the divine Kaʿba (418b–419a).

The knowledge of the ontological 'names', or 'words', constitutes the core of any prophetic message. The following passage states that the descendants of Adam who were able to receive this knowledge and witness their Lord belonged to the race of prophets:

> '*And when thy Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their loins, their seed, and made them testify touching themselves, "Am I not your Lord?" They said, "Yes, we testify*"' [Q. 7:172]. Those who witnessed their own selves and their own original nature (*khilqa*), [only they are the true] descendants of Adam, from [the race] of the prophets (154b).

---

[10] Inventory I, no. 52.

[11] Inventory I, no. 57.

After having concluded the Covenant, the prototypes of Adam's descendants returned into his loins. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma,* anyone who attains the supreme knowledge reproduces in a sense the original initiatory experience of the Covenant, which is nothing other than the initiation into the innermost reality of his or her own being, and the realisation of its identity with the original nature of Adam, who is the locus of manifestation of the divine Word. Only those who attained such a realisation are the true descendants of Adam and can therefore rightfully return into his loins:[12]

> When [God] made the spirits (*arwāḥ*) of the descendants of Adam come out of the back (*pusht*) of Adam, and asked them, '*Am I not your Lord?*',[13] all together, they answered, '*Yes!*', that is, 'You are our Lord', – then they returned into the back of their father [Adam]. This means that they returned to their original centre (*markaz-i aṣlī*), in accordance with the call: '*Return unto thy Lord*' [Q. 12:50]. They returned and dwelled in the centre of their origin (*bi-markaz-i aṣl-i khwīsh qarār giriftand*) (470a).

Not only the angels, but also all the prophets to come thus received the knowledge of the divine Word from Adam. Adam is the only prototype of the prophetic function. This is perfectly in accordance with the idea, already discussed in Chapter 3, that Adam and Eve are the original and the most complete ontological writing of God, the original Book of revelation, the Well-preserved Tablet containing all the creation. Any angel bringing revelation to the prophets, and in particular Gabriel, had himself read this revelation in the book of the human form:

> Adam is created in the form (*ṣūra*) of God. He is the divine [ontological] writing and the science of the divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi khudāʾī*). He is the manifestation of the original nature (*khilqa*) and [of] the Well-preserved Tablet of God (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*): '*but it is a glorious Qurʾān, in a guarded Tablet*' [Q. 85:21–22]. He is the teacher (*muʿallim*) of the [archangel] Gabriel and of the angels, in the sense that Gabriel took the Qurʾān and the science (*ʿilm*) that he brought to the Messenger and [other] prophets from the Well-preserved Tablet, and the

---

[12] Lit. into his 'back' (*ẓahr, pusht*).

[13] A Persian paraphrase of the Qurʾānic verse 7:172: *nīstam man parwardagār-i shumā?*

> Tablet is he [Adam]. It is from [Adam] that Gabriel received the instruction (*taʿlīm*) (351a).

The Books revealed to the particular prophets thus originate from the science of the original 'words' that God had written in the book of Adam's body:

> The speech of the presence of Unity (*kalām-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*) consists of the 32 [ontological] 'words' (*kalima*) without beginning and without end (*azalī abadī*). By the virtue of [the verse], '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], Adam is the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of these ['words']. The books of all the prophets are composed of these [same 'words'] (42a).

Because all the prophets were potentially contained in the loins of Adam, Adam symbolises the cycle of prophecy as a whole. When, obeying the divine order, the angels bowed down to Adam, they also bowed down to the germs of the prophets contained in the loins of Adam. This is another argument which establishes in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the superiority of the prophets over the angels.[14]

Like all macrocosmic entities, including Time and the heavenly spheres, the cycle of prophecy is divided by the line of balance originating from Adam, who is the divine Throne and the locus of the divine Balance. Let us recall that the property of the line of balance is to ensure correspondence between the created entities and the 28/32 aspects of the divine Word. The following passages suggest that the division of the complete cycle of the prophecy containing, according to a *ḥadīth*, 124,000 prophets,[15] in groups of 28,000 and 32,000 prophets, is related to the line of balance of Adam and the four elements:

> There were 124,000 prophets, descendants of Adam. Since the body (*wujūd*) of Adam, and the bodies of the prophets who are his descendants, are composed [of four elementary natures, the prophets have been divided into four groups of] 32, 32, 32 and 28 [thousand] … '*It is God who splits the grain and the date-stone*' [Q. 6:95].[16] The division by the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) made [to appear on] the body of Adam the lines of the divine

[14] Cf. fol. 166a.

[15] Inventory I, no. 58.

[16] The splitting mentioned in this verse refers to the division by the line of balance.

> writing, [and transformed it into] the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*). From this place [i.e., from Adam, the division revealing the divine writing] spread, by means of the line of balance, on all things, especially those [constituted of] the four elementary natures, which are the remains of the original nature [or 'what remained of the creation', *baqiya-yi khilqat*] of Adam (82a).

The cycle of prophecy thus corresponds to the complete divine Word, and ensures the accomplishment of the Word in the fullness of time, from the creation to the final Retribution. The division of the cycle of the prophecy in accordance with the numbers of 28/32 original 'words' shows also that every prophet is, literally, the Word of God:

> The accomplishment of the prophecy is [determined by] three times 32,000 and one time 28,000 [prophets], in order to manifest the nobility (*sharaf*) of the 28 [primordial] 'words' (*kalima*) and the glory (*jalāla*) of the 32. Because the clay [of the bodies] of prophets, just as any other assembled [body], is made of the four elements (*chahār ʿunṣur*), the [prophets] came in four groups, – three times 32,000 and one time 28,000. This shows clearly that they are all 'words' (*kalima*) of the divine [Word], bound to the Word of the divine Unity (*kalima-yi waḥdaniyya*), to the [eschatological] return (*maʿād*) and to the world of retribution (*ʿālam-i jazāʾ*). With Adam and the Seal [i.e., Muḥammad], 124,000 prophets came … Every [prophet] brought the message of the divine Unity (*waḥdaniyya*) and omnipresence (*iḥāṭa*) to all [existent] things. Their number, that is, three times 32 [thousand] and one time 28 [thousand], refers to His pre-existent attributes (*ṣifāt-i qadīm*), which are His 32 and 28 'words' (*kalima*) (42b).

Because they are both divided in accordance with the same numbers of 28/32 words, there is also an essential correlation between the cycle of the prophecy and the sphere of the constellations: 'The [divine] Word (*kalām*) [consists of the] 28 [and 32] primordial 'words', and the 124,000 [prophets] appeared [in groups] of 32, 32, 32 and 28 [thousand] … The constellations in the eighth heavenly sphere [extend to] the 360 degrees, that is, [six times] 32 and 28' (120a–b). This correlation is exemplified by the fact that, during his heavenly ascension, Muḥammad met a prophet on every heaven he visited: 'This is why [Muḥammad, diring his heavenly ascension] saw, at each

heaven, a prophet in the form (*shakl*) of Adam. For the heavens, where the prophets dwell, are divided in accordance with their bodily form (*shakl*), and in accordance with the form (*ṣūra*) of their father who is Adam' (122b).

The numbers 28 and 32 underlie the division of the cycle of the prophecy as well as the division of the heavenly spheres and the division of time. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this means that, like the 360 degrees of the heavenly spheres and the 'complete' periods of time discussed above,[17] the cycle of prophecy reproduces the body of the cosmic Adam. The last, 'extreme' stage of the prophetic cycle contains 28,000 prophets, because it corresponds to the *extremities* of Adam's body, that is, the fingers of his hands and feet. Indeed, the fingers of two hands, like the fingers of two feet, contain 28 phalanges:

> [Muḥammad], peace be upon him, said in a *ḥadīth* that the human [body], from the top of the head to the tips of fingers, is constituted] of 360 parts of bones. And the end of creation (*akhir-i khilqa*) [is expressed by the number] 14. The fingers of the hand, which is the last created [member] of Adam, have 14 phalanges. [The same holds true] for the fingers of the foot, which is the end and the limit of the creation and of the divine [ontological] writing. The ring of Solomon represents the boundary which separates these 14 from other bones, just as the ring of the Messenger, on which were written three lines of writing. The lines and the [ontological] writing [represented by] the 28 [phalanges] of fingers [of two hands or of two feet] is the end of the creation, created as a counterpart of the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*). The Messenger, who is the Seal of the Prophets (*khatm-i anbiyā'*), [occupies] the same [place as] the 28 [phalanges] of fingers. [The revelation] of the divine science (*'ilm-i khudā*) was completed and accomplished by the [revelation] of the 28 divine 'words' (*kalima*)[18] … In a sense, the 32 symbolise the beginning of the creation of [the body of] Adam,[19] while 28 corresponds to the end of the creation of his body, to the fingers of his hands and feet. [God] sent three times 32,000 prophets … and one time 28,000, in accordance with the number of the

[17] See Chapter 5.

[18] This is an allusion to the 28 letters of the Arabic, the language of the Qur'ānic revelation.

[19] That is, the head and the face of Adam, which is the locus of manifestation of the complete set of 28/32 primordial 'words'.

> extreme members of the human body. The 28 [phalanges] of fingers [of the two hands or two feet], [situated] at the extremity, completed the creation [of the human body and its] bones, while in the beginning of the creation [of the body], there were the 32 bones of the teeth, which are the support for the emission [of the speech], achieved in accordance with the 32 [ontological] 'words'. But the extremities in the creation of Adam's [body] were completed in accordance with the 28 [primordial 'words']. '*What, does man reckon We shall not gather his bones? [Yes indeed; We are able to shape again his fingers]*' [Q. 75:3] (59a–b).

Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets, thus completes the 'castle' of prophecy, which is nothing else than the body of the cosmic Adam:

> The prophets sent by God, and shown to the Prophet [Muḥammad] during the night of the heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*), were 124,000. Similarly, the eighth heavenly sphere, which is that of constellations, [is divided into] 360 degrees, and every degree [contains] 60 minutes, [and every minute contains 60, or] 32 and 28 seconds, which [constitute together] the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam. 100,000, 20,000 and 4,000 prophets were sent, until they [formed] three times 32,000 and one time 28,000, with one lacking. This is why, when this last [prophet] came, he became the Seal [of the Prophets]. He [Muḥammad] said: 'With me, the foundations are sealed', and 'I and [other] prophets, we are like a castle with perfect foundations.'[20] He filled the place of the last brick, and so the castle of the creation of Adam and his descendants was completed, in accordance with the number of the degrees and fractions of the degrees of the heavenly spheres (128b).

Since Adam is the starting point and personification of the complete cycle of existence of humankind, it follows that all humankind, including all the prophets, must be brought together at the end of time in order to restore the original body of Adam. From this perspective, the cosmic body of Adam represents the totality of humankind in the fullness of its historical existence. The Gathering at the end of time is thus the counterpart, the temporal realisation of the primordial Covenant when the prototypes of all *future* descendants of Adam contemplated his cosmic body, realised its identity to the divine Word, and then returned into the back of Adam. At the end of time, all

[20] Inventory I, no. 23.

descendants of Adam, present and past, will actually come together in Jerusalem which, according to a *ḥadīth* often cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, is the geographical counterpart of the back and chest of the cosmic body of Adam. This gathering will re-constitute the cosmic body of Adam, which is the earth: the regions and locations of the earth will manifest anthropomorphic properties corresponding to the members of the Adam's cosmic body:

> The Tent of Meeting (*khayma-yi mīʿād*) [established by] Moses, where today is Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*) … thousands of prophets … bowed down to God and worshipped Him, turning their faces in this direction. Muḥammad the Truthful said that there will be the land of the last Gathering (*zamīn-i ḥashr*). For what reason? Because in that place is the location of the chest and back (*maqām-i ṣadr wa ẓahr*) [of Adam] … And the Covenant of '*Am I not your Lord?*' [Q. 7:172] [between God and the prototypes of the descendants of Adam extracted from his back] was concluded in this place, and therefore [it is there that they will gather at the end of time and] return to his [Adam's] back (366a).

To mark the parallel between the last Gathering and the primordial Covenant, the Covenant will appear on this day from the Black Stone in Mecca where it was preserved from pre-eternity. On the eve of the re-emergence of the cosmic Adam, the Black Stone, the location of which corresponds to the head and the face of Adam, will develop some anthropomorphic features and will be endowed with speech.[21] The Qurʾān will also take an anthropomorphic appearance, confirming thus that Adam is the living Qurʾān, the living Word of God:

[21] According to a tradition attributed to Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, God ordered one of the angels to swallow the Covenant, transformed this angel into a white pearl and sent it to Adam so that the Covenant should be reminded to Adam. Later this pearl was transformed into the Black Stone. Cf. H. Corbin, 'La configuration du temple de la Kaʿba comme secret de la vie spirituelle d'après l'œuvre de Qâzî Saʿîd Qommî (1103/1691)', in *Form als Aufgabe des Geistes, Eranos Jahrbuch 1965* (Zürich, 1966), p. 130 ff., with reference to *Biḥār al-anwār*. In the *Jāwidān-nāma,* the statement that the Black Stone contains the Covenant is attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (245a–b). The *Ahl-i ḥaqq* sources mention a tradition attributed to Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir according to which the document containing the record of the Covenant is placed inside the Black Stone. See M. Mokri, 'Le "secret indicible" et la "pierre noire" en Perse dans la tradition des kurdes et des lurs fidèles de la vérité', *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962), p. 380.

> The Messenger said that, on the Day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*), [the Black Stone] will 'have two eyes to see and a tongue to speak'.[22] … And the Covenant of '*Am I not your Lord?*' [Q. 7:172] that God concluded with humans is entrusted to this [stone]. On the Day of Resurrection, [God] will open [the stone], and the Covenant will emerge from it. At that time, it will have two eyes and a tongue, because its location corresponds to the face, head and forehead of Adam (*maqām-i wajh wa sar wa jabha-yi Adam*). Therefore, a human form will necessarily appear from it (*nāchār ṣūrat-i insān az-ū ẓāhir shawad*) (405a).

The following passage further develops the anthropomorphic symbolism of the Black Stone, including the symbolism of the seven tours of ritual circumambulation around the Black Stone as an allusion to the seven fundamental features of the human face:

> It is transmitted from the Messenger that, on the Day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*), the Black Stone (*ḥajar al-aswad*) will have two eyes and a tongue, by means of which it will speak. This is an allusion to the appearance of the form of Adam from it (*ṣūrat-i Adam az-ū ẓāhir shawad*). It is circumambulated seven times during the greater (*ḥajj*) and lesser (*ʿumra*) pilgrimages … because this Black Stone is the counterpart of the copy of the seven lines [of the divine ontological writing] which will [appear] on the faces of the inhabitants of Paradise. In the light of this interpretation, the white line in the middle of the Black Stone … [symbolises] the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*). When this line is drawn, the seven lines become eight. Multiplied by four … [eight lines] become 32, in accordance with the 32 'words' of the divine [Word].[23] These [32 primordial 'words' constitute] the Covenant of '*Am I not your Lord?*' [Q. 7:172], that God concluded with humans and entrusted it, according to the words of the Messenger, to this Black Stone. On the Day of Resurrection, it will take the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam. The Black Stone will be opened and the Covenant will emerge from it. Since it will be opened along the line of balance, the seven lines will be transformed into eight and, multiplied by four, they will produce 32 lines, in accordance with the number of the 32 'words' of the divine [Word] that [God] taught to Adam (418a–b).[24]

---

[22] Inventory I, no. 35.

[23] Four is the number of natural elements.

[24] The line of balance is added, as the eighth line, to the seven fundamental lines of the human face.

Several passages in the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggest that these anthropomorphic features to be revealed in the Black Stone at the end of time refer not to Adam but to Eve. Indeed, we have already seen that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, it is impossible to attain the knowledge of Adam without the knowledge of the meaning of Eve's physical form and facial features. Eve is the 'last created', and the return to the Origin begins with her. Eve is the key figure on the way of return to the full knowledge of the divine Word represented by Adam. More specifically, the *Jāwidān-nāma* states, with reference to the *ḥadīth* according to which 'Mecca is the mother of the cities',[25] that the Kaʿba is the mother (*umm*), the original source of the earth. We have already seen that the concept of 'mother' refers in the *Jāwidān-nāma* essentially to the fundamental elements of the divine ontological writing. The anthropomorphic figure which will emerge from the Kaʿba at the end of time is *Imām*, a term derived from the same Arabic root *ʾmm*. In the technical vocabulary of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, *Imām*, as well as *ummī*, refers in some passages to a person who has a particularly close relationship to the knowledge of the fundamental lines of the divine writing, the knowledge inherent to the nature of Eve or Mother. I will return to this etymological interpretation in Chapter 10.

The transmission of the science of the divine Word by the intermediary of Adam preserves, with regard to the humans, 'passive' and 'active' components characteristic of the general position of Adam as mediator between God and the creation. The support of the Adamic science, the form of the human body, is given, by the intermediary of Eve, to every human being at the moment of birth. All humans, be they prophets or unbelievers, possess thus in potentiality the science of the divine Word, 'written down' in their bodies and on their faces. But the knowledge of the innermost meaning of this form is not inborn to everyone; it requires an initiation. This 'active' component of Adam's heritage, originating from the divine instruction concerning the ontological names, and prefigured by the Qurʾānic episode where Adam teaches names to the angels, is transmitted in the line of prophets, and revealed only to those of Adam's children who really deserve it: to the saints (*awliyāʾ*), to those who fear God (*muttaqīn*), to monotheists (*muwaḥḥidūn*), to the righteous (*ṣāliḥūn*), and to the true

[25] Inventory I, no. 65.

believers (*muʾminūn*). These categories of people inherit not only the bodily form, but also the spirit of Adam:

> The truth (*ḥaqīqa*), which manifested itself (*tajallī*) in Adam, when '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], is also manifested in any prophet (*nabī*) who followed [Adam]. It is this [manifestation] that is referred to in the *ḥadīth* as the light that was manifested in Adam and transmitted from fathers and forefathers (*az abāʾ wa ajdād*), by imitation (*taqlīd*) and by spiritual realisation (*taḥqīq*), until it was manifested in Muḥammad, and in any [person] in who was manifested the truth of Adam (*ḥaqīqat-i Adam*) (196b).
>
> [All] descendants of Adam, be they Christians, Jews, Muslims or unbelievers (*kāfir*), inherit their bodily form (*ṣūra*) from Adam. Similar to the inheriting of the [external] form (*mīrāth-i ṣūra*), they should also inherit the inner heritage (*mīrāth-i bāṭin*). [The latter] is the science of the names (*ʿilm-i asmāʾ*) that Adam taught the angels … Without [this inner heritage] it is impossible to belong to [the line of] his [Adam's] spiritual descendants (*farzand-i maʿnā-yi ū nabāshad*). [Whosoever] does not attain [the knowledge of the inner sense] of the face and original nature (*khilqa*) of the father, cannot worship God, turning his/her face in the direction of the face of the father, and in accordance with the number of these names of the 32 [ontological] 'words'.[26] He/she is therefore an unbeliever (*kāfir*), and a descendant who is unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim father, who is Adam, peace be upon him. [Such a descendant] cannot inherit the earth (*zamīn*), or anything that is on the surface of the earth (406a–b).

A human being is the true descendant of Adam only if he or she has attained the knowledge of the real meaning of the human bodily form. We have already seen that, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, earth is the element of form; and the planet Earth is identical to the cosmic body of Adam which is the locus of manifestation of the Word, of the 28/32 original 'words' that God taught to Adam. Therefore, the descendants of Adam who did realise the supreme knowledge of the human bodily form are

[26] The *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes a link between the number of original 'words' manifested on the human face and the numbers of the *rakʿa* in the ritual prayer (the 17 *rakʿa* of the everyday prayer, added to the 11 *rakʿa* of the prayer in travel, produce the number 28; and the number 32 is obtained by addition of the 15 *rakʿa* of the Friday prayer).

described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as those who have gained the right to inherit the earth of Adam:

> '*Surely the earth is God's and He bequeaths it to whom He will among His servants*' [Q. 7:128]; '*The earth shall be the inheritance of My righteous servants*' [Q. 21:105]; '*Surely We shall inherit the earth and all that are upon it*' [Q. 19:40]; '*Alif Lam Mim. That is the Book, wherein is no doubt, a guidance to the godfearing who believe in the Unseen and perform the prayer*' [Q. 2:1–3]. In accordance with [the verse]: '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], the 32 divine 'words', including *Alif Lām Mīm* and others, were given to Adam. It was Adam who taught the divine names [to the angels]. The face and the body of Adam were created [from the earth] brought from the whole surface of the earth. The form (*ṣūra*) of Adam was given to all his descendants. The body and the face of Adam are the summary (*khulāṣa*) of the earth and of the whole surface of the earth, so that Adam is the mirror of God, [a mirror] that reflects God (*mirʾāt-i khudā wa khudānumā*). The whole surface of the earth rightfully belongs to the prophets and the saints of God (*ḥaqq-i anbiyāʾ wa awliyāʾ-yi khudā*), who are the descendants [of Adam] in their bodily forms and in their spirits (*farzandān-i ṣūrī wa maʿnawī*) … According to the religious law (*sharīʿa*) [established] by the prophets … the legacy of parents is inherited by their Muslim descendants, not by unbelievers … This is why the earth and [all that is upon] the surface of the earth, which is the [legacy] of the face of Adam, belongs rightfully to whosoever reaches [the knowledge] of the original nature (*khilqa*) of Adam and that of the 'mother of the cities' (*umm al-qurā*). Seven layers of earth (*haft ṭabaqa-yi zamīn*) were created from the 'mother of the cities', which is the location corresponding to the original nature of Adam's forehead … Therefore, the surface of the earth belongs rightfully to the Muslim (*muslimān*) followers and descendants of Adam, those who have attained the knowledge of God (*khudā-shināsī*), not to his descendants who supported and followed Satan, who did not bow down before Adam (110b–111a).

Although Adam symbolises in the *Jāwidān-nāma* essentially the general idea and the entire cycle of the prophecy, he has also some of the attributes proper to the historical prophets. In the following chapters, we will see that prayer is usually identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the original Word and its 28/32 ontological 'words'. As the

locus of manifestation of the Word, Adam is identical to prayer, and he is the universal direction of prayer. But some passages mention nevertheless the 'prayer of Adam' similar to the prayer of prophets and ordinary humans.[27] Curiously, Adam is also his own direction of prayer, 'his own *qibla*' (f. 268b) because, having been created 'in the form of God', this form is his ultimate direction of prayer too. Also, the ritual circumambulation of Adam is accomplished around the centre of his own being. This is in line with the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s general emphasis of the fact that the supreme knowledge of God is essentially the knowledge of the innermost meaning of the human bodily form. For humans, self-knowledge is therefore the royal road to the knowledge of God:

> All the angels turned their faces towards Adam and bowed down before him. The prophets, the saints and the believers (*anbiyāʾ wa awliyāʾ wa muʾminān*) turned their faces in the direction of the Father, who is Adam, and bowed down. Adam turned his face towards himself and bowed down: 'Whosoever knows his own self, knows his Lord.'[28] [Adam] turned his face towards himself because he was the vicegerent of God (*khalīfa-yi khudā*), and he received a particular grace when 'God the Most High created Adam in His form'. Since his form is the form of God, when he turned his face towards himself, he faced God (335b).

We have already seen that Adam and Eve are essentially the original and most complete Book of God. However, several passages mention also a particular Book that had been revealed to Adam (*kitāb* or *ṣuḥūf* or *ṣaḥifa-yi Adam*). This Book contained disjointed letters, identical to the ontological names that God taught to Adam, and from which originated the Books of all the prophets:[29]

As the symbol of the entire cycle of prophecy, Adam is present at every stage of this cycle, with every individual prophet. Adam is the

---

[27] For example, a fragment in fol. 131b mentions the 'prayer of Adam, that of the Messenger and of the descendants of Adam' (*ṣalāt-i Adam wa rasūl wa ādamī-zād*).

[28] Inventory I, no. 52.

[29] The idea that the letters of the Arabic alphabet are part of the names that God taught to Adam is widespread in Islam. See, for example, Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiqh al-lugha* (Cairo, 1328/1910), p. 8, and M. J. Kister, 'Ādam: a Study of Some Legends in *Tafsīr* and *Ḥadīth* Literature', *Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993), pp. 113–174, in particular pp. 117–118.

earth, and the correspondence between the members of his body and the locations on the earth determines the directions of prayer established by the historical prophets. Adam is also the sphere of constellations, and the prophets can read his message in the sky. The heavenly bodies that Joseph saw in his dream (Q. 12:4), the Tent of Moses and the Tablets he received from God, the 'most beautiful form' seen by Muḥammad and the Lote-tree of the Boundary which he attained in his heavenly ascension, are all various symbolic representations of Adam and of the science of his face and his bodily form.

But why is the prophetic cycle at all necessary? Why is a special revelation needed in order to disclose to humans the metaphysical meaning of their own bodily form? The Ḥurūfī texts seem to contain two points related to these questions. The first refers to the Qurʾānic story of the creation of Adam, and emphasises the fact that God taught Adam the 'names' *after* He created Adam's physical shape. The condition of the historical humankind thus corresponds to this 'delay' between the creation of the physical form and the revelation of its true meaning. The second is developed in the interpretations of the Qurʾānic story of the fall from Paradise, which begins with Satan's refusal to bow down to Adam, and is followed by the exclusion of Adam and Eve from Paradise after they had listened to Satan, ate from the forbidden tree and become aware of their nakedness (Q. 7:12–25). According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this story referes to the action of the element fire, that of Satan, on the element earth, that of Adam and Eve. Fire cannot maintain a given form, but it is able to *cover* the form, which is an essential property of earth and the only means of manifestation of the divine science. When their forms were covered by the fire of the original nature of Satan, Adam and Eve lost the 'raiment' of their bodily form, the knowledge revealed to them by God, and fell into ignorance which is the condition of Satan. They and their descendants can only return to Paradise when they rediscover the knowledge of their form, and it is this knowledge that is progressively revealed to them by the prophets. We will discuss the Ḥurūfī vision of the fall from Paradise and of the return in Chapter 12. In the next chapters we will examine some central topics of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s prophetology.

8

The Revelation (*Tanzīl*): From the Divine to the Human Language

In Part One, we discussed the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of primordial language originated in the unity of the divine Word, the first emanation of the divine Essence and the basis of all divine names and attributes. This ontological language is therefore the only means by which the manifestations of the divine Essence can be known.[1]

But what is the relationship between this divine language of creation embedded in the quiddity (*māhiyya*) of things, and the human languages in which the revelation of the divine truths was given to the prophets? The *Jāwidān-nāma* addresses here the central question of the theology of revelation, which occupied Muslim scholars from the earliest times: how to explain the phenomenon of the prophetic revelation and maintain the thesis of divine transcendence? If the divine Reality is absolutely different from anything a human being could possibly conceive, how can it be expressed by means of a human language, bound to the experience of the physical world? The solution of this paradox proposed by the *Jāwidān-nāma* is based on the definition of the cosmic human being as the perfect locus of manifestation of the divine Word, which is one of the most fundamental doctrinal positions of this work. The communication of metaphysical truths in human languages is possible, first, because the letters and phonemes of the human languages are equivalent to those of the primordial divine 'alphabet', and second, because there is a link between the absolute divine convention that governs the combinations of primary single phonemes into compound names of the divine ontological language, and similar morphological mechanisms of human languages. This link is, however, concealed behind the

[1] This idea is formulated explicitly, for example, in fragment fol. 214b–215a.

conventional meanings attributed to the compound lexical units of human languages on the basis of arbitrary social consensus. The metaphysical truths of divine revelation can therefore be conveyed by human languages both at the level of individual sounds and letters and at the level of compound lexical units, but the latter can only be realised if the conventional level of the language is transcended. This condition is realised in the world of Images which is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the location of any prophetic experience.

The communication between God and Adam mentioned in Qurʾān 2:31, and interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the revelation to Adam of the 28/32 original 'words', was realised by means of the divine language. Humankind with their languages and conventional meanings related to the sensible perception of the physical world did not exist at that point. The communication between God and Adam was ontological; that is to say, the Word that created the body of Adam was also the same Word that was revealed to him, and which he was consequently able to articulate and to teach to angels. The lines and members of Adam's body were made the loci of manifestation of the divine 'words', that is, lines of the divine writing. It seems useful to recapitulate here some characteristic features of this primordial language.[2]

The semantic functioning of the divine language is based on the principle of identity between the name and the named. In the state of primordial Unity before differentiation, the names, corresponding to metaphysical truths of the divine Essence, are perfectly simultaneous and identical to the named objects. There is no intermediary between them, the name and the named are one and the same thing. The divine language expresses, and simultaneously brings into existence, the eternal metaphysical truths of the divine Essence. The Word, with its primordial 'words' or phonemes, the primordial Voice, is the first, original expression of these truths. In passage 182b quoted in Chapter 1, the sounds akin to melodies are described as the original support of any prophetic revelation.

But the differentiation which precedes the creation necessarily introduces a mediation between the name and the named. This mediation steps in at two points. The first point is the emergence of

[2] Cf. Chapters 1 and 2.

compound names. An intermediary rule, not required in the case of simple phonemes, is now necessary to ensure that the compound names are constituted in accordance with the corresponding metaphysical truths. The second point is the emergence of forms. This requires another intermediary rule necessary to establish the correspondence between two different kinds of entities: the invisible ontological names and the shapes of the named objects. Both these rules are apparently referred to in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the 'divine convention'. Because it is universal and based on the omnipresent divine Will, the divine convention does not interfere with the principle of identity of the name and the named, and it is valid at all levels of the creation.[3]

The principle of original identity between the name and the named and the concept of divine convention are essential to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of the named, and especially of the visible form, as the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*), or science (*ʿilm*), of the ontological name. They guarantee that, even if the immediate identity is not realised in all cases, there exists an ontological, absolute and universal law of correspondence between the name and the named. Without this law of correspondence, the metaphysical and invisible names could not be known by means of the forms of the named objects, and the truths of the divine Word would remain forever inaccessible to humans.

In this perspective, all existing forms, be they physical objects, mental or imaginary forms, are brought into existence by the names of the divine ontological language. The name is the principle of existence contained in every existing or possible thing, the 'breath of the Merciful' which breaths existence into everything. The principle of identity between the name and the named means that the external

[3] The 'divine convention' (*iṣṭilāḥ-i ilāhī* or *iṣṭilāḥ-i khudā*) is opposed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the 'convention [proper to the world] of creation (*iṣṭilāḥ-i khalq*)'. Cf. fragment in fol. 236a below. These terms can also be found in later Ḥurūfī texts, such as the *Hidāyat-nāma,* in Huart, *Textes persans,* Persian text pp. 11–12: *wa tashbīh-i ḥurūf bi-dūd az ānast ki ḥarf wa ʿilm-i ḥarf az khaṭṭ-i siyāh ẓāhir ast khwāh bi-*iṣṭilāḥ-i khudā *wa qalam-i qudrat wa ānki bar wajh-i Adam wa banī Adam kitābat karda ast khwāh bi-*iṣṭilāḥ-i khalq *ki bar saḥāʾif wa daftarhā kitābat mīkonand.* See also the Glossary: 'Convention'.

form of an object and the name which manifests itself into this form are perfectly interchangeable.[4]

Every object has a phonetic range which is that of its ontological name. This phonetic range is an inherent property of any object. It manifests itself in the sounds produced by inanimate objects when they collide and in the voices of all animated beings. All these sounds are identical to the original phonemes of the divine ontological language. Since the number of the original phonemes is limited to 28/32, no sound produced in the created world can be external to this set of phonemes.[5]

As we have already seen, one of the consequences of the principle of identity between the name and the named is the theory of evolution/involution of forms depending on the breadth of their phonetic range, that is, on the number of phonemes contained in their ontological names. The highest possible point of this evolution is the human form, because it contains the complete divine alphabet, expression of the whole set of 28/32 phonemes of the divine Word. This means also that humans are able to reproduce all 28/32 phonemes in their speech. At the level of separate phonemes, there is no fundamental difference between human languages: 'No people from among the peoples (*hīch ṭā ʾifa az ṭawā ʾif*) does deny the foundations of the speech (*aṣl-i kalām*). There is no divergence between the peoples on this [question]; [the divergence appears] only [at the level] of compound [lexical units] (*murakkabāt*)' (228b).

But it should be noted that not all existing human languages actually use the whole set of the 28/32 phonemes. The progressive revelation of these phonemes and of corresponding metaphysical meanings is realised only by the prophets and until the complete set of 28/32 basic elements of the divine language is revealed by means of a human language at the end of the prophetic cycle. Only a human language which actively uses the whole set of 28/32 phonemes and letters can serve as means to the expression of the full Word as it was originally taught by God to Adam and written by Him in the shape of the human body and features of the human face:

---

[4] Cf. fragment fol. 301b–302a cited at the end of Chapter 4.

[5] Cf. fol. 410b–411a, 440b–441a, 443a–b.

> Anyone who has the external form (*ṣūra*) of Adam and Eve [speaks] a language [which phonetically] does not exceed the 32 [phonemes of the ontological language revealed by God to Adam, of which the bodies of Adam and Eve are the loci of manifestation]. Some [human languages] have 28 [phonemes], some 22 or 24, some, such as Mongolian, have 16. All [humans] have the external form of Adam and Eve, but they do not possess all the 32 [phonemes of the language of Adam and Eve in their languages]. If they reached the secret (*sirr*) and the truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of the 32 [primordial] phonemes [lit. 'words' (*sukhan*)] of Adam, [and appropriated them] to the same degree that they possess the external form of Adam, they would come to possess also the innermost meaning of Adam (*maʿnā-yi Adam dāshta bāshand*) (324b).

However, any phoneme of the human language embodies the principle of identity between the name and the named proper to the original ontological language and to the names that God taught to Adam. Indeed, since a phoneme is identical and simultaneous to the first sound of its name, there is no intermediary convention between the name and the named in this case; the name and the named object are one and the same. Such is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the working of the divine language, where the name of an object cannot be separated from the object itself:

> O seeker of the secret truth of the divine Word (*sirr-i ḥaqīqat-i kalām-i ilāhī*), be aware that *alif* is the name of 'a', and *bāʾ* is the name of 'b'. Thus, the named comes in the beginning of its name … in order to demonstrate the identity of the name and named, [inherent to the names that God taught Adam in accordance with the verse]: '*And He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31] (460b).[6]

As quoted in passage fol. 228b above, 'the difference between human languages exists only at the level of compounds'. More precisely, it seems that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the difference between human languages arises from the morphological rules, specific for any particular language, which govern the formation of compound words.

[6] A more detailed development along the same lines appears also in the *Hidāyat-nāma,* in Huart, *Textes persans,* Persian text, pp. 2–3.

In human languages, the morphological rules fulfil the same function as the 'divine convention' with regard to the divine ontological language: they govern the combinations of phonemes into compound lexical units. However, since there is a radical difference in nature between divine and human languages, it can be asked: is there a substantial relationship between the universal, absolute and eternal divine convention, founded on the Will and Command of the Creator, and the conventional rules of the human languages? Some evidence from the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests a positive answer to this question.

The divine convention is applied to the divine language, the essential characteristic of which is unity. It governs the combinations of the single phonemes into the compound names (of divine names and attributes, archetypes of things to be created, etc.), and also the correspondence ('balance', *istiwā'*) between the primordial phonemes and their simple forms (letters), as well as the correspondence between the compound names and the forms which are their loci of manifestation. Since the divine language originates within the divine Unity, the metaphysical meaning expressed by any phoneme of this language can be expressed by any other phoneme. The idea that all 28/32 ontological 'words' are essentially one and the same primordial Voice emanated from the divine Essence is repeated throughout the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The phonemes within the compound names of the divine language are therefore interchangeable; any phoneme can be replaced by any other, without modifying the truth expressed by the compound name. Though the divine convention establishes a correspondence between the name and the named, this correspondence is multidimensional, and infinitely diversified within the divine Unity.

Such kind of correspondence between the name and the named is beyond the reach of the human mind. Human languages operate with conventional rational meanings and maintain a fixed, relatively univocal relationship between the name and the named; the possibility of expressing the same meaning through an infinite number of words would be extremely confusing. As we have seen in Part One, this is the very reason for the differentiation and creation through which God wished to make Himself known. The differentiation is the necessary condition of human perception and understanding. Several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* highlight the fact that if humans received a word

coming directly from the divine Unity, they would not understand it. This idea is expressed, for example, in the following passage:

> All the sciences (*ʿulūm*)[7] are contained in one point (*nuqṭa*), and one point is the science of the 32 [primordial] 'words'. In this station [of Unity] there is no [notions such as] 'before' or 'after'. But if the unified Word (*kalima*) [of the divine Command *Be!* (*K*^{u}*n!*)] came close to you, who is a human … you would be unable to discern the 28 and 32 [primordial] 'words'… in this unified [Word]. In order [to be perceptible] to the attention and understanding of the listener (*sāmiʿ*), [to the] prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) and saints (*awliyāʾ*), [the originally unified Word has been manifested] in composed [lexical units], following each other in the [spoken] speech (*kalām*), and in the letters of visible [writing] (95b–96a).

It seems, however, that the differentiation, as it is described in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, not only makes possible the emergence of the compound names and forms accessible to human perception, but also progressively reduces the multidimensional divine convention into the diversity of separate morphological rules governing the formation of words in different human languages. In other words, the morphology of every human language corresponds to a single aspect, or 'cross-section' of the divine convention while, taken together, the rules governing all human languages reflect the totality of the divine convention based on the original unity. This means that the formation of compound lexical units in human languages is not definitely cut off from the divine convention, and the expression of divine truths is possible not only at the level of single phonemes, but also at the level of compound words and phrases, though at this level the metaphysical truths are hidden behind the conventional rational meanings of words of the human languages related to the world of empirical reality and sensible perception.

This idea is suggested by certain passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* that establish a link between the divine Imperative 'Be!' and the diversity of human languages, and interpret this diversity as an expression of the unity of the original divine language.

---

[7] For the specific definition of *ʿilm* in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see the Glossary: 'science'.

In Chapters 1 and 2, we have seen that the Imperative is the starting point of differentiation. All the 28/32 original 'words' or phonemes were initially contained within the phonemes *kāf* and *nūn* of the Imperative and emerged as separate units after the Imperative was uttered. The Imperative is therefore the source of the differentiated divine language. Since the divine language is the language of Oneness, and its phonemes are essentially identical to each other, the meaning of the Imperative can be expressed by any combination of phonemes from the total number of 28/32. The following passage states that this property of the divine language is reflected at the level of every human language. Indeed, that is why the Imperative, which symbolises the source of the language, is revealed to every prophet in *his own* language:

> The Messenger said concerning God: '*His command, when He desires a thing, is to say to it "Be," (K^{u}n!) and it is*' [Q. 36:82]. No doubt that God knew that He had not to convey the inner meaning (*maʿnā*) of His command *Be!* [exclusively] by the [Arabic] word (*lafẓ*) *k^{u}n!*; [He] [also] used another word, and this other word conveyed the meaning of the command *K^{u}n!* [to Jesus]. [The same also holds true] for other prophets: '*And We have sent no Messenger save with the tongue of his people, that he might make all clear to them*' [Q. 14:4], in '*the variety of your tongues and hues*' [Q. 30:22], etc … From this, it can be concluded that, just as [the Arabic word] *k^{u}n!* conveys the meaning of command, the [phonemes and letters] other than *kāf* and *nūn* can also convey the meaning of command. 'Other' refers here to the [human] understanding (*fahm*) and to the convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*) [of any particular human language]. This [expresses] the principle of unity (*waḥdaniyya*), in accordance with which any word (*kalima*) can convey the meaning of all other words. Indeed, God speaks one single Word (*khudā mutakallim ast bi-yak kalām*) (9a).[8]

Because of the fundamental identity of the 28/32 primordial 'words' in the state of divine Unity, the Imperative can be expressed by any combination of original phonemes in the divine language of the Unity. But only one combination can be used by any particular human language. This combination determines the starting point of the phonetic differentiation and subsequent formation of names in every

[8] A similar fragment is contained in fol. 75a–b.

particular language. The unity of the divine language can, therefore, only be reflected through the diversity of human languages. Even when changing from one language to another, the word for the Imperative as well as any other name includes all the 28/32 original 'words' of the divine Word.[9]

> What is the purpose of the diversity of languages (*ikhtilāf-i zabānhā*)? For example, the Master of the religious law (*ṣāḥib-i sharīʿa*) [i.e., Muḥammad, called God by different names when he said], 'He is Allāh', and 'Merciful' (*raḥmān*), and 'Compassionate' (*raḥīm*), [and so on] until [all the] 28 [primordial phonemes] were articulated. Similarly, [the word for 'horse' is] *asb* [in Persian], *faras* [in Arabic] and *āt* [in Turkish], so that [these names in different languages] encompass [all the] 32 [primordial phonemes]. The Unity (*tawḥīd*) cannot be realised by means of a single language, because it would not be easy [to understand] the difference between the things if the same entity was referred to, in the same language, [by many different names] such as *asb, āt* and *faras* (246b).[10]

The existence of the link between the divine convention and the rules that govern the formation of compound lexical units in human languages makes the expression of metaphysical truths potentially possible in any human language. Of course, since any human language can cover only a single 'cross-section' of the multidimensional divine language, such an expression is necessarily limited. We will see later that this limitation is the reason why the *ḥadīth qudsī*, where God speaks directly by means of a human language, is inferior to the Qurʾān which was brought to the Prophet through the intermediary of the archangel Gabriel.

However, while the morphological mechanisms of human languages can, to a certain extent, reflect the working of the divine language, the semantic mechanisms of these two kinds of language are radically opposite to each other. Indeed, in the case of the ontological

---

[9] Cf. passages in fol. 246a–b, 444a–b.

[10] In similar context, other examples from these three languages are cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma*: *shajar/derakht/aghaj* ('tree' in Arabic, Persian and Turkish respectively, 9b), or *māʾ/āb/sū* ('water' in the same languages, 308b–309b). Various names by which Adam (*insān, khalīfa, bashar,* fol. 444b–445a), and the members of his body (fol. 444a–b) are referred to reflect the same principle.

relationship between the name and the named, the name is the only reality (*ḥaqīqa*), the true existential meaning (*maʿnā*), while the named object with its sensible form is a locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*), a metaphor, a means to express this reality (*majāz*). This relationship is reversed in human languages, where the sensible form is perceived as the basic reality (*ḥaqīqa*), the starting point of the semantic relationship, and the name is only a formal means which allows speakers to refer to this reality (*majāz*).

In addition, in all human languages the names become associated with 'what we learned through blind imitation (*taqlīd*) from our parents and teachers',[11] that is, with conventional meanings corresponding to the objects perceived in the physical world. The link between the conventional meaning and the corresponding name in human languages does not reflect any ontological reality. It is based on an arbitrary social agreement, which varies from one language to another.[12] This arbitrary link between the name and a conventional meaning substitutes the original ontological link between the name and the named and prevent the direct perception of objects as loci of manifestation of the names.

In other words, the human languages do reflect the divine ontological language at the level of letters and sounds as well as at the level of compound lexical units. But human perception, veiled by arbitrary semantic links proper to every particular language, is unable to realise this similarity and, therefore, unable to access the metaphysical truths conveyed by the language. Several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* repeat that, in order to access the quiddity of a thing, it is necessary to abandon any rational definition of this thing and consider its name directly as a sequence of phonemes.[13]

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the experience of such direct perception without the intermediary of arbitrary semantic conventions can be understood in the example of dreams. Objects seen in dreams often convey meanings very different from the rational conventional

[11] From fragment in fol. 172b–173a cited below.

[12] For a similar conception in the *Kitāb al-maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, see K. H. M. Versteegh, *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 139–140.

[13] Cf. fragment in fol. 443b–444a cited in Chapter 3.

meanings ascribed to them in everyday life as, for example, stars representing human persons in the prophetic dream of Joseph.[14] The images of dreams have properties similar to words at the level of divine Unity: any dream image can symbolise the meaning of any other. The miracles produced by the prophets reflect the properties of the world of dreams. For example, the staff of Moses could be transformed into a snake because both staff and snake symbolise the same ontological meaning of the divine Pen (*qalam*).[15]

This ontological link between the images of dreams and articulated words is further confirmed by the fact that, in the world of dreams, humans are able to perceive speech emanating from any object, and any dream image can speak:

> When the [combinations of the Qurʾānic] single [letters] (*mufradāt*), such as *ḥmʿsq*, are read, [the resulting combinations of sounds] have no [rational] meaning (*maʿnā*) that would have been ascribed to them by the [social] agreement proper to [any language of] the created [world] (*iṣṭilāḥ-i khalq*). The [ontological] 'words' produced by things, by minerals, plants and animals, do not correspond to any [rational] meaning, unlike the composed [words of the human languages] (*murakkabāt*). But, in dreams, the loci of manifestations (*maẓhar*) [i.e., the forms of objects, plants and animals] produce the compound [words], the meaning (*maʿnā*) of which is [immediately] understood by the dreamer (236a).

In order to be able to perceive metaphysical truths by means of human language, the human perception must be severed from thinking based on conventional meanings and arbitrary social agreements and brought into the state corresponding to perception in dreams. Such an experience is close to physical death which cuts off the channels of sensible perception, and is usually described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to apocalyptic symbolism.[16] The arbitrary semantic links

---

[14] Cf. Chapters 4 and 6. Let us recall from the Introduction that initiation in dream interpretation was a critical point in Faḍl Allāh's spiritual career.

[15] Cf. fol. 107a.

[16] For a survey of theories in Islamic thought concerning perception in dreams, see F. Meier, *Die Fawāʾiḥ al-ǧamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-ǧalāl des Naǧm al-Dīn al-Kubrā* (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 96–113, and Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*.

maintained by blind imitation of the previous generations conceal the real, ontological dimension of the words. Abandoning whatever he or she has learnt through imitation, the human being returns to the language of Adam which is the language of his or her own essence, an ontological truth breathed in by God and written in the shape of the human body:

> In addition to the need to eat and sleep, which they share with animals, humans possess some words (*kalima*) [learnt] by imitation (*muqallidāna*), depending on the words they hear [from other people]. But in what concerns either subsistence in this world (*maʿāsh*) or the other world (*maʿād*), they do not possess any divine word (*kalima-yi khudāʾī*). The divine word is the word that leads to the ultimate truth of its own essence (*ḥaqīqat-i dhāt-i khwīshtan*). Only [the person] who reaches [the knowledge of] his or her own essence possesses the divine word and the divine breath (*nafkha-yi khudāʾī*). Whosoever receives the divine breath necessarily dies to his or her previous life [based on] imitation (*ḥayāt-i awwal-i muqallidī*). This breath is the breath of God, and the trumpet-blast [of the Resurrection] (*nafkha-yi ṣūr*). Adam possessed the divine word, for God the Most High said: '*I breathed My spirit in him*' [Q. 15:29]. It will also be breathed in the descendants of Adam, for it is said: '*And the Trumpet shall be blown; then behold, they are sliding down from their tombs unto their Lord*' [Q. 36:51] (164b).

This same idea is expressed in the following passage from *Hidāyat-nāma* attributed to Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī. The renunciation of the language based on arbitrary social agreement and maintained through imitation of one's parents can be realised only under the guidance of a spiritual master and leads after the death to the perception proper to Paradise:

> The compensation for [whosoever] has renounced imitation [of his or her] mother and father (*daf-i taqlīdāt-i mādar wa pādar*), and acquired the true aperceptions from the perfect spiritual master (*kasb-i idrākāt-i waqiʿī az nafs-i murshid-i kāmil*) is that, after the destruction of the physical body, which is the natural death, [he or she enters] Paradise, '*therein dwelling for ever and ever*' [Q. 4:121]; '*They shall not taste therein of death, save the first death*' [Q. 44:56].[17]

[17] Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, *Hidāyat-nāma,* in Huart, *Textes persans,* Persian text, p. 12.

In ordinary human condition, the arbitrary social convention associates rational meanings with words which were originally produced as combinations of 28/32 phonemes of the divine ontological language according to the morphological rules similar to the 'divine convention'. The rational meanings thus attributed to the words replace, in ordinary human consciousness, the ontological metaphysical meanings of these words related, as we have seen, not to the rational, but to the phonetic dimension of the language.[18] The arbitrary linguistic conventions perpetuated through blind imitation form a kind of prison which prevents humans from recognising their own real being and the divine word which is identical to it. If human beings accede to the ontological dimension of the language which sustains their own existence, they escape from the Hell of social conventions and discursive thinking and can perceive the real meanings of the words. The following passage describes this condition in Mazdaist terms, as a victory of the good spirit (Ohrmazd) over the evil one (Ahriman). This is exactly what happened to the prophets, making possible for them the revelation of the divine Word:

> The imitations (*taqlīdāt*), mixed [into the speech] of any human, are produced by the 32 [primordial] 'words'. It is he [the human being?] who produces the mixture [in] imitation, [by taking the human reality as] object of imitation (*muqallad*). It can be said that, in so far as God remains hidden (*dar mughayyibāt*), the 32 [primordial 'words' of the divine Word] can, in a sense, only be imitated. Because the speech (*khitāb*) concerning the Essence and attributes of God that he/she [the human being] understands in the world of the invisible truths (*'ālam-i ghayb*), this speech becomes mixed in him/her [with the realities of the visible world]. In the visible world (*'ālam-i ẓāhir*), he never sees himself in every existing thing. As long as he exists, he is hidden to himself, he is his own veil. He is his own prison (*zindān*). [Only] when he finds the way [to the knowledge] of his own self is he delivered from his darkness and his veil. [Only when] he finds the way [to the knowledge] of his own essence (*dhāt*) is he delivered from the Hell of eternal darkness and ignorance. This is what the prophets contemplated in the [state] of spiritual disclosure (*mukāshafa*): spirits speaking the Word of the Unity (*arwāḥ*

[18] That is, the language understood as musical melodies, not as rational discourse. Cf. Chapter 1, citation from fol. 174b–175a.

> *gūyanda-yi kalima-yi tawḥīd-i jāwīd*). [Whosoever] attained unification (*muwaḥḥid*) through [knowledge] of the secret of the Speech and of the Speaker (*sirr-i kalām wa mutakallim*) cannot be in Hell; he is [necessarily] delivered from Hell. When the word of spiritual realisation (*kalima-yi taḥqīq*), [conveying] the knowledge of its own essence and attributes, defeats the word of imitation (*kalima-yi taqlīd*), composed of the un-real (*bi nā-ḥaqq murakkab*), Ohrmazd defeats Ahriman and God defeats Satan. This is what will happen in time of the Resurrection (*qiyāma*). When the 32 'words' of realisation (*kalima-yi taḥqīq*) will appear, they will annihilate the 32 'words' of non-realisation (*kalima-yi ghayr-i taḥqīq*). And all beings (*khalāʾiq*) are these 32 words of non-realisation. Therefore, God will annihilate all the beings in order to bring to life their innermost truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*). It can be said that the 32 'words' will be annihilated and the 32 'words' will be brought to life (165a–b).

It is through death, either physical or metaphorical, that the believer enters Paradise. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Paradise is the state where the words of the divine language can be perceived in everything:

> When a human being enters Paradise which is the eternal world, he takes part in the divine eternal existence (*baqā-yi khudā*), because he reaches the eternal Word, and he perceives himself as a divine Word. The divine Word is potentially present in all existent objects, in apparent [manifestations] as well as in mind (*chi dar khārij wa-chi dar dhihn*) (371b).

The *Jāwidān-nāma* generally refers to this state where the discursive level of the language is transcended and the divine Word can be perceived directly in every existing form as the world of active Imagination (*ʿālam-i mithāl* or *ʿālam-i khayāl*).[19] It is also referred to in some passages as the 'world of spiritual disclosure' (*ʿālam-i kashf* or

[19] The *Jāwidān-nāma's* developments concerning the world of active Imagination (*ʿālam-i mithāl* or *ʿālam-i khayāl*) refer to a concept which had been elaborated in the Islamic mystical and philosophical currents well before Faḍl Allāh, by thinkers such as Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). The world of active Imagination is generally described as an intermediary world between the world of the pure invisible Spirits or Intellects and the material world of ordinary sensible experience. This is a world where the shapes of objects exist independently of any material support. For interpretations of this concept in various currents of the Islamic religious thought see H. Corbin, *Swedenborg and Esoteric Islam,* tr. L. Fox (West Chester, PA, 1995), pp. 1–33.

ʿālam-i mukāshafa), or the 'world of (metaphysical) meanings' (*ʿālam-i maʿnā*)]. This world is the location of any prophetic experience:

> It is impossible to conceive a meaning (*maʿnā*) without word (*lafẓ*). God is not a sensible (*maḥsūs*) [entity]. If the prophets did not bring to perfection the perception of the words (*taṣawwur-i lafẓ*), it would be impossible to attain [the knowledge] of God. It is impossible to grasp the Essence and the attributes of the presence of Unity (*ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*) without the auditory perception of the words [coming] from God and from the angels, in the [world (or state of)] spiritual disclosure (*mukāshafa*) (206b).

The identification of the world of Images with the world of dreams serves probably to found, implicitly, Faḍl Allāh's claim to the continuation of prophecy. If there is no essential difference between the location of the prophetic experience and the perception specific to dreams, then the link with the prophetic inspiration continues as long as the history of humankind, and does not stop with Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, as it is stated in Sunni dogmatics. Let us recall that Faḍl Allāh apparently claimed to have received his own revelation in a series of dreams. In the following chapters, we will see more examples of prophetic experience in the world of Images, as well as further details concerning the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the expression 'Seal of the Prophets' applied to Muḥammad in the Qurʾān.

At this point, it seems useful to have a closer look at the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of the image or visible form as intermediary between the divine and human writing. In Chapter 2, we have already seen that the form of any object, actually existing or only possible, material or imaginary, is essentially the writing or locus of manifestation of the 28/32 original ontological 'words' or phonemes. The manifestation of divine truths in the created world is, therefore, likened to the manifestation of words in writing. We have also discussed the fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* that seem to suggest that the full direct expression of the divine language in a human language is impossible. Only a 'cross-section' of the divine Word can be expressed by means of any human language, and the real ontological meanings of the Word will be concealed behind the conventional meanings attributed to words in human languages. But the fullness of metaphysical truths contained in the words of the divine language

can be accessed through the images which are their loci of manifestation, the images in which these words are 'written'.

The revelation of metaphysical truths can be understood when the images and external forms of the objects are perceived as writing, that is, as loci of manifestation of these truths. The writing is therefore an intermediary between the human words and the divine Word. From this perspective, the revelation is related to reading. Indeed, in the Qurʾān, God not only revealed to Adam the 'names of all things' which, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, refer to the 28/32 original phonemes written in the Book of human bodily form, but He also taught humans by means of writing, and ordered them to read:

> '*Recite: In the Name of thy Lord who created, created Man of a blood-clot. Recite: And thy Lord is the Most Generous, who taught by the Pen, taught Man that he knew not.*' [Q. 96:3–5] … By the Pen of His power, God gave to the original nature of humans the form of the 32 [primordial] 'words' of His [Word]. In this sura are mentioned divine names, [i.e., 'Most Generous'], the science of which is [represented] by the 50 letters and points of the divine speech (*kalām-i ilāhī*).[20] In this same sura is mentioned the creation of the human being, who has the aptitude to write and read the divine speech (392a–b).

Whoever is able to read ordinary human writing is also able to speak it out. Similarly, whoever can discern and read the ontological divine writing inscribed in the forms and images of the physical world can access the divine speech. In the world of Images, reading and hearing are simultaneous. Anyone who contemplates an image reads it and therefore also hears its voice:

> Humans read every written line in accordance with the convention of the writer (*bi-iṣṭilāḥ-i waḍʿ-i wāḍiʿ*), inspired by God, '*who taught by the Pen, taught Man that he knew not*' [Q. 96:4–5] … This written line, when read, coveys information concerning its writer, as [if he/she said]: 'I am such a person, and the purpose of this line of writing is such.' Similar information is contained in the divine line of writing, written on the whole creation, but [in order to obtain this information] the reader [must be able] to read the tablet of things (*lawḥ-i ashyāʾ*) (334a–b).[21]

---

[20] That is, the 28 graphical forms and 22 diacritical points of the Arabic alphabet.

[21] That is, the reader must be able to discern the divine ontological writing in the forms of all things, which are essentially the loci of manifestation of this writing.

Moreover, the following passage suggests a close relationship between the divine and human writing:

> The language of human constitution (*kalām-i waḍʿ-i insānī*), taught [to humans by God according to the verse], '*who taught by the Pen*' [Q. 96:4] is derived from the divine writing, which God wrote by His own hand. In relation to the writing of the human hand, this fundamental writing (*khaṭṭ-i aṣlī*) is speech (*kalām*), and [the human] hand is derived from (*farʿ*) [the divine] hand (191b).

The language of revelation perceived by the prophets is the language of images, a kind of universal symbolic writing that any prophet can vocalise into his own language. We quoted previously the following passage which seems to support this idea of simultaneous auditory and visual perception, hearing and reading: 'In order [to be perceptible] to the attention and understanding of the listener (*sāmiʿ*), to the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) and saints (*awliyāʾ*), [the originally unified Word has been manifested] in the composed [lexical units] following each other in [spoken] speech (*kalām*), and in the letters of the visible [writing]' (95b–96a). Along the same lines, the following passage links the divine language of inspiration to the capacity to read God's writing embodied in the human form:

> The prophets saw God and He spoke to them in the human form: how was it possible? [The explanation] is that God will speak a language of inspiration (*waḥy*), that is, that of allusions (*ishārāt*), to the person able to read His writing, that is, the human shape (*shakl-i insānī*). This reading comes in the form of the Word (*ṣūrat-i kalām*)[22] and appears in splendour to the prophets (188b).

To the extent that the human bodily form is the locus of manifestation of the complete set of 28/32 original aspects of the Word, this language is essentially *human* and perfectly identical to the human bodily form. However, this identity cannot be clearly realised by means of ordinary human perception. This is why, in the world of Images, the angels *remind* the prophets of the original meaning of their own bodily form. Therefore, revelation is a *reminder* of knowledge that is inherent to any human being, and which constitutes the core of the human condition.

[22] The human form is the form of the complete divine Word, i.e., it represents the complete ontological writing.

It is for this reason that, in order to fulfil their task, the angels appear to the prophets in *human* form. At this point, the *Jāwidān-nāma* refers to the Qurʾānic verse (6:9): '*And had We made him an angel, yet assuredly We would have made him a man.*'[23]

Since in the world of Images, the form of any object is directly perceived as a locus of manifestation of the corresponding original 'words', the external form of the angel who brings the revelation to any individual prophet and the contents of this revelation are one and the same thing:

> The human being (*insān*) has been [conceived] as the locus of manifestation of the 32 [ontological] 'words' (*kalima*). Therefore, God has manifested the marks (*ʿalāma*) of these 32 'words' in the original nature (*khilqa*) of humans. Since other objects and beings have not been endowed with [the same] aptitude of manifestation, the science (*ʿilm*) [of the divine Word] has not been fully manifested in them. This is why, [when] an angel comes and brings the word [of revelation], this word is [essentially] a human word (*ān sukhan sukhan-i insānī*), and [it is brought] in the locus of manifestation [corresponding to the] human [form] (*dar maẓhar-i insānī*), in which the distinctive marks (*ʿalāma*) [of this word] are manifested. Necessarily, in order to fulfil his mission, the angel must appear in this [human] form (*ṣūra*) and possess that what the humans possess, that is, word and shape (*kalima wa shakl*). Why did the angel come to Muḥammad in the human form (*bi-ṣūrat-i insān*)? Because he brought something that is proper to humans, and the human [form] is the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of this thing, that is, of the Word. Among all creatures, the Word [or 'speech', *kalām*] is proper to humans and to the human form, [since the latter] has been created in accordance with the number of 'sciences' (*ʿadad-i ʿilmiyyat*) [of the 28/32 primordial 'words' constituting the Word] (162a).

To the extent that it contains the divine Word, the original emanation of the divine Essence, in its entirety, the human form is the form of the divinity. This is why the divine inspiration given to the prophets takes naturally a human form. An angel bringing inspiration to the prophets and revealing its meaning is nothing else

[23] Cf., par example, fol. 369b–370a.

but this form: the human form and prophetic revelation are one and the same thing:

> All the angels bowed down [before Adam], because 'God the Most High created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful', '*Say: "Call upon God, or call upon the Merciful; whichsoever you call upon, to Him belong the Names Most Beautiful."*' [Q. 17:110]. Adam is in the form of the Merciful. When [the archangel] Gabriel came to Muḥammad, he was in the form of Adam. This means that Gabriel was in the form of the Merciful. This is how Muḥammad knew that Gabriel came from God: it is because [Muḥammad] saw that he was in the form of the Merciful, and this form is the form of the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 'words' of the divine [Word] and the form of Adam. [Gabriel] explained to Muḥammad the Word and the Speech (*kalima wa kalām*) [of God], [by means] of this form of Adam that he [Gabriel] donned. If he did not don the form of Adam, he could not have produced this explanation … 'I saw my Lord in the form of beardless youth', 'I saw my Lord in the most beautiful form.'[24] This perception (*idrāk*) came in the form of Adam and explained [the innermost meaning of] the form of Adam and [of] his original nature (*khilqa*). Since [Adam] is the locus of manifestation and the science (*maẓhar wa ʿilm*) of the 32 divine ['words'], the angel came in the form of Adam, which is the form of the Merciful. This is what is meant by 'angel' and 'divine inspiration' (*waḥy*); they refer to the divine signs (*ishāra*) [contained] in the original nature of the human face, the signs [by means of which God] speaks. These [signs incorporated into the human nature and form] is what the angel explained [to Muḥammad]. And it is said: '*And who is there that has a fairer religion than he who submits his face to God?*' [Q. 4:125] … [The angel] is a confidant (*amīn*) of God. By means of divine inspiration (*bi-waḥy*), he donned the human form (*ṣūrat-i bashariyya*), which is the form of God (*ṣūrat-i khudāʾī*), and spoke to Muḥammad (191a–b).

However, since in the world of Images, the same reality can be expressed by several images, the real meaning of the human form as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word can also take non-anthropomorphic appearance in the visions of prophets, such as that

[24] Inventory I, no. 30.

of a precious stone or a tree. This is how Moses heard the divine speech coming from the Burning Bush.[25]

The revelation received in the world of images had to be formulated afterwards in the specific human language spoken by the people of any particular prophet. This entails several limitations. As stated in passage fol. 324b cited above, not all human languages actually use the complete set of 28/32 phonemes corresponding to the ontological 'words'. The *Jāwidān-nāma* conveys the idea of a progressive revelation in human languages with increasing number of phonemes. At the end of the prophetic cycle, the revelation is expressed in a language containing all the 32 phonemes, identified, in different fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, either with Persian or with the 'language of Adam'. The full and perfectly adequate revelation of all the aspects of the Word is possible only in a language containing the 32 phonemes.

Another and more severe limitation of human languages in comparison to the divine language can be observed at the level of compound lexical units. We have already seen that the words of any human language are only a 'cross-section' of the ontological 'words'. In comparison to this cross-section, the language of images addressed to the prophets in the world of Images is, in a sense, the direct language of God, the same that conveyed the divine teaching of the names to Adam. From this point of view, the mediation of the angels is only nominal, because it is realised by means of the human form:

> God speaks to the community of every prophet [as He spoke to] His vicegerent (*khalīfa*), [that is to say,] in the language of Adam: '*And He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31]. His speech is direct (*bi-ḥaqīqa*), not metaphorical (*bi-majāz*). It is not possible that the community of a prophet be addressed in a metaphorical way. The shape (*shakl*) of Adam [expresses this direct language], and God speaks the direct language spoken by Adam. This is why, during the night of the heavenly ascension, Muḥammad, peace be upon him, saw God in the most beautiful form, which is the form of Adam (28a).

In addition, at the level of any ordinary human language, the conventional meanings attributed to the words by social agreement

[25] Cf. the fragment fol. 364b cited above, at the end of Chapter 4.

and transmitted from one generation to the next by imitation inevitably mix with the divine message. Only simple units of the language, that is, phonemes, are free from the conventional meanings based on imitation:

> God spoke to [all] prophets, known and unknown, to every person He addressed, in their languages, or in a language that they heard from their mothers, fathers, teachers or any other person. In other words, God spoke to them in a language in which they were imitating (*muqallid*) someone else, that is, [using] composed [lexical units] (*bi-murakkabāt*). [This holds true for all the prophets] with the exception of Muḥammad, to whom [God] spoke in a language in which [Muḥammad] was not imitating anybody else, that is, [in a language] of disjointed [phonemes] (*mufradāt*). At the level of the composed [lexical units], he [Muḥammad] was [affected by conventional use of language] like any other [prophet]. But he was superior to them [because his revelation contained also] disjointed units, which are the foundation of the speech (*aṣl-i kalām*).[26] [Muḥammad] was therefore the prophet of the foundations (*nabī-yi uṣūl*), while they [other prophets] were [the prophets] of the branches (*furūʿ*) (172b–173a).

From this point of view, the revelation received by the intermediary of angels (as the Qurʾān) is more complete and more 'direct' than the *ḥadīth qudsī* which represents the direct speech of God, but is expressed by means of compound lexical units.[27]

> If someone asks why Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, was the Seal of the Prophets (*khatm-i anbiyāʾ*) and the best of the prophets, and why the heavenly book he brought, that is to say, the Qurʾān, is higher in rank and excellence than the *ḥadīth qudsī,* which is the direct [unmediated] speech [of God] (*kalām-i bi-lā-wāsiṭa*) … the answer is: the mediated speech (*kalām-i bi-wāsiṭa*) of the Qurʾān is higher in rank [than] the direct [speech] of the *ḥadīth qudsī* because both the foundation of the Book (*aṣl-i kitāb*) [28] and the [direct speech of God, like that of the] *ḥadīth qudsī*, are

[26] Allusion to the 'disjointed letters' (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*), which are part of the Qurʾānic revelation, appearing at the beginning of certain suras.

[27] On the relationship between the Qurʾānic text and the *ḥadīth qudsī,* see W. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* (The Hague and Paris, 1977).

[28] The expression 'foundation of the Book' refers here to the Qurʾānic disjointed letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*).

> included in the mediated speech [of the Qurʾān]. It is in this sense that Muḥammad was sent to all created beings, and [it is in this sense] that he was the Seal of the Prophets (353b–354a).[29]

Such seem to be the doctrinal positions of the *Jāwidān-nāma* concerning the relationships between the divine and human languages, and developed as a solution to the paradox of prophetic revelation. These positions are essential for understanding various aspects of the prophetology that will be discussed in the following chapters.

[29] Cf. similar fragments fol. 353a–b, 354a, 359a–b, 361b.

9

From the Human Word to the Divine Word: Stages of the Return to the Origin (*Taʾwīl*)

The theoretical developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* concerning the morphological levels of the divine and human languages and their mutual relationships are used not only to explain how the divine Word can be expressed through images of the visible world and by means of human languages – that is, how the Revelation can be realised – but also to demonstrate especially that the original divine Word can be accessed by ontological hermeneutics starting from the visible images and ordinary words of the human languages. This process of return from sensible expressions to the origin of the divine Word (*taʾwīl*), is probably the central doctrinal point of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[1] We have seen in the Introduction how Faḍl Allāh's initiation into the knowledge of the *taʾwīl* progressed from the stage of dream interpretation to the ultimate stage where the innermost meaning of the simple elements of language – letters and phonemes – was disclosed to him, endowing him with the universal power of *taʾwīl.*

The examples of these stages of progressive initiation into the knowledge of *taʾwīl* can be found among the prophetic figures mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Joseph probably exemplifies the first stage of *taʾwīl*, which is applied to the compound units, that is to say, the interpretation of 'dreams and events' (*taʾwīl al-aḥādīth*, Q. 12:101). The mission of Moses includes several symbols of break and fragmentation, among which the broken tablets of the Law occupy the central place. This fragmentation produces the 28/32 simple elements of form and sound, the key and the basis of the ultimate *taʾwīl.* Finally, Solomon exemplifies the knowledge and the power of the universal ontological language, the 'language of the birds', the final

[1] See the Glossary: 'return to the origin'.

point of the *taʾwīl*. In this chapter, we will bring together the textual evidence relevant to these different aspects of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of *taʾwīl*.

Joseph: The *Taʾwīl* of Compound Units

We have seen that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, when the revelation given to the prophets in the world of Images is brought into the physical world, the arbitrary social agreements proper to human languages interfere with the direct semantic link between the metaphysical divine truths and their expression in the language of any particular prophet. The metaphysical truths cannot be accessed through the conventional meanings arbitrarily attributed to words in human languages and referring to the experience of the physical world. In order to understand the prophetic message expressed in ordinary human language, it is necessary to transcend the network of conventional semantic links between words and corresponding rational concepts, so that the original, metaphysical meaning of words, identical to their phonetic or musical dimension, can be clearly perceived. In other words, the prophetic message must be transferred from the field of social agreement to the field of the 'divine convention', which determines the original perception of this message by a prophet in the world of Images. It seems that this transfer, concerning essentially the compound units of meaning, namely the words and their corresponding images, constitutes the first, initial degree of *taʾwīl* in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Because it uses the same semantic link which conveys the prophetic revelation, and travels along this link in the 'ascending' direction opposite to the 'descent' of the revelation – from the named object to its metaphysical name – this kind of *taʾwīl* was within the reach of every prophet. After the end of the 'descending' phase of the revelation, the knowledge of the original meaning of the prophetic message is perpetuated by the way of dreams. The link between the prophetic revelation and the power of dream interpretation is exemplified by the Qurʾānic story of Joseph:

> Since [the Prophet] said: 'There remains nothing of prophecy but good tidings',[2] this gate [of good tidings] could not be closed

[2] Inventory I, no. 47.

> [after the end of prophecy]. And since [Joseph] said: '*[No food shall come to you for your sustenance, but ere it comes to you I shall tell you its interpretation (bi-taʾwīlihi).] That I shall tell you is of what God has taught me. I have forsaken the creed of a people who believe not in God*' [Q. 12:37], and so on, an expert in this science [of *taʾwīl*] must be present in the world. When prophets bring tidings from the world of dreams (*ʿālam-i khwāb wa ruʾyāʾ*), [their] followers need an interpretation (93a).

The following passage suggests a link between Joseph's power of dream interpretation and the interpretation of the ambiguous verses of the Qurʾān:

> Joseph, peace be upon him, said: '*I saw eleven stars, and the sun and the moon; I saw them bowing down before me.*' [Q. 12:4]. When Jacob, the mother of Joseph and his brothers bowed down to him, Joseph, peace be upon him, said: '*See, father, he said, this is the interpretation (taʾwīl) of my vision of long ago*' [Q. 12:100]. [In his dream], they appeared in the form of the moon and the sun. According to the [revelation] of the Messenger: '*And none knows its interpretation (taʾwīl), save only God and those firmly rooted in knowledge*'[3] [Q. 3:7] (285a–b).

With reference to the episodes of Joseph's story, several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* highlight the fact that the images seen in the prophetic dreams can indicate an event that will happen at some point in the future. This is possible because, in the world of Images, the prophets can contemplate that which only exists in potentiality, before it is translated into actuality. In this connection, it will be recalled that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, time is essentially the bridge between, on the one hand, the domain of the invisible and the potential and, on the other, the domain of the visible and the actual:[4]

> '*I saw eleven stars, and the sun and the moon; I saw them bowing down before me.*' [Q. 12:4] … It is because [this happened] in the world of dreams (*ʿālam-i khwāb*), [that Joseph said]: '*Thou hast taught me the interpretation (taʾwīl) of tales.*' [Q. 12:101], because 'There remains nothing of prophecy but good tidings', and 'The true vision is one out of 46 parts of prophecy.'[5] … The prophets

[3] There is no doubt that the *Jāwidān-nāma* adheres to this reading of the verse 3:7, particularly popular in the Shiʿi circles.

[4] See Chapter 5.

[5] Inventory I, no. 47.

> and the Messenger contemplated in actuality (*bi-l-fiʿl*) [the symbolic images] contained in potentiality (*bi-l-quwwa*) [in the heavenly degrees and bodies], like the forms of the Lote-tree (*sidra*), trees, rivers, fruits, *houri*s, the youth [of Paradise] and the [four] sources[6] … If God did not include [these images in the heavenly spheres] in potentiality, they would not happen in actuality. [God] revealed to the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) in actuality what existed only in potentiality, and so the hidden secret had been disclosed to them … [This is how, the vision of Joseph], '*I saw eleven stars, and the sun and the moon; I saw them bowing down before me*' [Q. 12:4], referred to his father, his brothers and his mother … '*That is the bounty (faḍl) of God; He gives it unto whomsoever He will*' [Q. 57:21]. [This bounty] is [the aptitude] to interpret dreams (*taʾwīl-i khwāb*) (122a–124a).[7]

This prophetic foreknowledge, exemplified by Joseph's aptitude at foretelling the future events on the basis of dream interpretation is compared to the angels' vision of the form of Adam before the actual creation of Adam:

> In the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i mukāshafa*), God showed the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam to the angels before Adam [actually] appeared before them and taught them the names, and they bowed down to him … Similarly, Joseph saw 11 stars, the moon and the sun, bow down to him before [the event symbolised by this dream actually] happened. When it happened, [Joseph said]: '*This is the interpretation (taʾwīl) of my vision of long ago*' [Q. 12:100] (362a).

But Joseph was not just an ordinary dream interpreter; he was also a prophet. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the prophetic rank of Joseph was probably due to his knowledge of the innermost meaning of the most perfect of all images, that of the human body. The dream described in Qurʾān 12:4, where Joseph saw the heavenly bodies bow down to him, refers to this knowledge:

> Joseph saw in dream '*eleven stars, and the sun and the moon; I saw them bowing down before me*' [Q. 12:4]. When Jacob bowed down, why did [Joseph] say: '*This is the interpretation (taʾwīl) of*

[6] These are images of the Qurʾānic description of Paradise, Muḥammad's heavenly ascension and the dream of Joseph featuring heavenly bodies.

[7] A possible hidden allusion to Faḍl Allāh himself, well-known for his expertise in dream interpretation.

> *my vision of long ago*' [Q. 12:100]? Because the sun and the moon have the form of Adam, and the stars revolve within the 360 degrees.[8] Why did [Jacob] interpret (*taʾwīl*) the prostration of the moon and the stars as: '*[So will thy Lord choose thee], and teach thee the interpretation of tales*' [Q. 12:6]? Because [the heavenly bodies] are contained in the 360 degrees [of the heavenly sphere] ... where they move. They have the shape (*shakl*) of Adam; they prostrate themselves before the world of the earth (*ʿālam-i khāk*) and circumambulate it (127b).

Since the human form is the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word, the original Book of God, the *taʾwīl* of this form leads to the knowledge of the divine Word in its entirety. As we have seen in Chapter 4, this knowledge was realised by Joseph and Zulaykhā in the perfection of their love.

Moses: Fragmentation and *Taʾwīl*

The power of dream interpretation (*taʾwīl al-aḥādīth*) exemplified by Joseph represents the transition from ordinary human perception to the state where the words of the divine language can be directly perceived in the images from the physical world, and expressed by the means of a human language, without the veil of the conventional concepts. At this level, the *taʾwīl* is applied essentially to *compound* units, images and words of human languages.

The particularity of this kind of *taʾwīl* is the interference between the conventional concepts and the ontological meanings associated to the same images or words. As noted earlier in this chapter, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, in human languages, the conventional meanings based on arbitrary social agreements and transmitted by imitation tend to take the place of the original ontological meanings of words.

But the fundamental, simple elements of any language, its letters and phonemes, are not bound to any conventional rational meaning, since they are identical to the phonemes and letters of the primordial divine language. In their cosmological dimension, the phonemes are the simple elements of metaphysical meaning, or truth, emanated from

[8] This passage alludes to the structural similarity between the 360 degrees of the heavenly sphere and the 360 parts in the constitution of Adam.

the divine Essence, while the letters are the fundamental elements of form, the loci of manifestation of these meanings.

The knowledge of the metaphysical meaning of the fundamental elements of language and of its writing evidently entails the knowledge of the metaphysical meaning of the complex units composed of these elements. This is why the *taʾwīl* based on the phonemes and letters is one step beyond the dream interpretation which operates with composite words and images. The starting point of this level of *taʾwīl* is the break, the fragmentation, which destroys the compounds and conventional rational meanings associated with them, and thereby reveals the indestructible foundations of the language and of the universe.

The act of breaking and fragmenting as the necessary condition of *taʾwīl* is highlighted in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of some episodes of the story of Moses. The first of these episodes is Moses' dialogue with God in the Sinai, described with reference to Qurʾān 7:143, when Moses asks to see God, and is told that this is impossible. God then orders Moses to look at the mountain, which is pulverised when He casts a glance at it. The interpretation given to this episode in the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests that the pulverisation of the mountain was, in a sense, an indication to Moses how he could see God, since the direct vision of God is impossible. At this point, the *Jāwidān-nāma* seems to closely quote Exodus 33:20: 'No one may see Me and live' (350b). But the pulverisation of the mountain features the differentiation of the original divine Word, from which the 28/32 fundamental simple 'words' or phonemes appear. These differentiated elements make the perception of the Word possible for a human mind. This is the reason for which, as seen in fragment fol. 350b–351a cited in Chapter 2, the pulverisation of the mountain makes the divine Word visible to Moses.

As the original emanation of the divine Essence, the Word contains all the knowledge of God available to a created being. To behold the Word is an experience as close as possible to the vision of God.

In the following passage, the 'mountain' is interpreted as 'human head and face'. The pulverisation of the mountain, therefore, results in the appearance of the 28/32 ontological 'words' written on the human face. To perceive this divine writing means, in a sense, to see God:

> '*And when Moses came to Our appointed time and his Lord spoke with him*' [Q. 7:143]. When Moses heard the divine speech (*kalām-i ilāhī*), he asked to see [God]: '*O my Lord, show me, that I may behold Thee!*' [Q. 7:143]. The object [of his vision] should be: 'Show me your Essence or your Face!'[9] In the Torah [Moses said]: 'Show me your Face!'[10] God replied: '*Thou shalt not see Me … but behold the mountain – if it stays fast in its place, then thou shalt see Me*' [Q. 7:143]. 'Mountain' refers here to the face and head … '*And when his Lord revealed Him to the mountain He made it crumble to dust; and Moses fell down swooning*' [Q. 7:143]: When God revealed Himself to the mountain, the mountain of the face, head and forehead was broken into pieces, in accordance with the 28 sciences of the divine Word and the 32 sciences of the divine Word (*ʿilm-i kalima-yi ilāhī*), '*and Moses fell down swooning*' (413b–414a).

A very similar interpretation is given to the biblical episode of the broken tablets of the Law.[11] In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, these tablets represent the human body and face, which are the 'Well-preserved Tablet' mentioned in the Qurʾān, the original and the most complete writing of God. Several passages state that the breaking of the tablets by Moses is a sign of perfection. Moses did so not out of anger but intentionally, in order to reveal the 28/32 elements of the divine writing corresponding to the ontological 'words' that God taught Adam after having shaped his body as their locus of manifestation. The breaking of the tablets reveals the letters of the divine writing and makes it possible to read the human form, the original Book of God. In other words, the breaking of the tablets provides the key for the universal *taʾwīl*:[12] 'The bodily form of Adam is the science of the 32 divine 'words' and the Tablet (*lawḥ*) of God: "*Nay, but it is a glorious Qurʾān, in a guarded Tablet*" [Q. 85:22] … And [God] sent the tablets to Moses. Every location (*mawḍiʿ*) of the 'words' is a 'tablet'' (336b).

---

[9] *Arinī dhātaka aw wajhaka.*

[10] *Arinī wajhaka.* Cf. Exodus (33:18–20): Moses asks to see the divine 'glory', but is answered: 'Thou canst not see my *face*: for there shall no man see me, and live.'

[11] Inventory II, no. 2.

[12] For a further discussion of the episode of the broken tablets in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Etude de textes ḥurūfī anciens' (Ph.D. thesis), and 'Some Specific Features of the Ḥurūfī Interpretation of the Qur'anic and Biblical Episodes Related to Moses', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 10/1 (2008), pp. 21–49.

> These tablets (*alwāḥ*) that God had given to Moses, and Moses broke them. In a sense, [this refers] to the division of the human face: as far as it is not 'split' and 'broken' by the line of balance, it does not exhibit the distictive marks (*ʿalāma*) of the 32 divine 'words'. Therefore, this kind of break is the extreme limit of perfection, not a defect (*kasr-i ān az ghāyat-i kamāl bāshad na az nuqṣān*) (275a).

The following passage establishes a link between the broken tablets of Moses and the mission of Jesus. As will be seen in Chapter 10, in the *Jāwidān-nāma* Jesus is a prophetic figure very similar to Adam. Both Jesus and Adam were brought into existence by the divine Word which had spontaneously taken a human form, thus confirming that this form is the natural locus of manifestation of the Word. Since the human form is ontologically the differentiated embodiment of the Word, the complete divine writing, there is similarity between the mission of Jesus, the living manifestation of the divine writing, and the breaking of the tablets which manifests the same writing:

> It is [said] in the Torah that Moses broke the tablet that God had written with His own hand. This break [refers] to the face of Adam, which is the Tablet of God. As far as it is not 'split' and [broken] into pieces by the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*), it does not exhibit the 32 lines of the divine [ontological writing], established as counterpart of these 32 'words' [i.e., phonemes] produced by the tongue of Adam, [the same ontological 'words'] that God taught Adam, and [concerning which] Jesus said: 'I am this Word' (*ān sukhan būdam*).[13] The breaking of the tablets by Moses is a sign of perfection, which reveals the mark (*nishān*) of the 32 [primordial] 'words' on the tablets. Jesus was incarnated (*gūshtmand shud*) for the same reason (326a).[14]

The *Jāwidān-nāma* freely uses Qurʾānic and biblical symbolism in order to support its theories. The following citation gives us an example of such creative approach to the scriptural sources. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the fact that Moses seized his brother by his head after putting down the tablets (Q. 7:150) confirms that the same writing is contained on the tablets and on the human

[13] Inventory II, no. 4.

[14] The same idea is expressed in fol. 327b–328a and 414a–415a.

head and face. The word 'to crush' used in Qurʾān 27:18 with reference to ants alludes also to the broken tablets of Moses: ' "*And he cast down the tablets, and laid hold of his brother's head …* " [Q. 7:150]: [This verse] firmly proves the interpretation [that the tablets symbolise the human face.][15] … "*Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Solomon and his hosts crush you …* " [Q. 27:18]: 'crush' refers here to the breaking of the tablets' (368a–b).

Solomon: The 'Language of the Birds'

The Prophet Solomon represents in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the power of the divine ontological language achieved at the final stage of *taʾwīl*. Solomon has the knowledge of the Supreme Name of God, meaning that he attained the ultimate knowledge of the 28/32 original 'words', the 'foundations of speech', simple elements which constitute the basis of the entire universe. This knowledge therefore gives to Solomon unlimited power over all levels of the creation:

> The Supreme Name (*ism-i aʿẓam*), by the means of which Solomon subdued all demons, genii and humans (*dīw wa jinn wa ins*), was the Supreme Name of God. There is no doubt that this Supreme Name is composed of the foundations of speech (*aṣl-i kalām*) [i.e., of the 28/32 primordial 'words']. It is said that whosoever knows the Supreme Name of God and the properties of letters (*khawāṣṣ-i ḥurūf*) has the power over everything. This is true, because [the existence of] any [particular] thing is founded on the [ontological] letters. And all [letters] are subdued to the knowledge (*ʿilm*) of such a person. Conversely, it is impossible to control the things without [the ontological] letters and the corresponding knowledge (228a–b).

The symbol of the Throne expresses the similar idea of dominion and power, associated with the idea of Balance. The following passage establishes a link between the Throne of God as a symbol of divine absolute power and the source of the universal balance, Adam, generally identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the Throne, as well as

[15] This fragment suggests that Moses abandoned the tablets and took hold of his brother's head because the latter was, like the former, a copy of the divine ontological writing.

the throne of the Queen of Sheba (known under the name of Bilqīs in Arabic literature)[16] that was moved on the order of Solomon:

> [The word] 'balance' (*istiwāʾ*) [can be used] in the sense of 'taking control of something' (*istīlā*), since God is the Master of everything on the Throne.[17] What is the purpose [of the verses where] God says that the angels '*bear the Throne*' [Q. 40:7], and '*upon that day eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord*' [Q. 69:17]? The angels [will bear the throne of the Queen of Sheba, asked for by Solomon]: '*Which one of you will bring me her throne?*' [Q. 27:38]. The Throne put on the backs of the [ordinary] angels and of the eight angels nearest to God (*firishta wa malāʾika-yi muqarrabūn*) refers to the [divine] balance: '*[The All-Merciful] sat Himself [in balance] (istawā) upon the Throne*' [Q. 20:5], and 'God created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful' (380b).

The knowledge of the Supreme Name of God, which constitutes the innermost ontological meaning of the human bodily form, gives Solomon the power over the divine Throne, identical to the bodily form of Adam, which is the written form of the Supreme Name. One of the manifestations of Solomon's power over the Throne is the fact that one of the spirits under his command is able to *move* the Queen of Sheba's throne. The *Jāwidān-nāma* refers to Qurʾān 27:40, where the spirit which brings to Solomon the throne of the Queen of Sheba is significantly described as 'possessing the knowledge of the Book' (or of the Writing: *alladhī ʿindahu ʿilm min al-kitāb*). As we have seen in Chapter 2, the universal science of ontological writing or, in other words, the fact that everything in the universe is part of the divine ontological writing, is revealed by the line of balance. The original locus of manifestation of this science is the human face, which is the Throne of God. Such is the link between Throne, Balance and Power provided by the knowledge of the ontological language and writing. In this context, the letter that Solomon sent to the Queen of Sheba with a hoopoe is interpreted as an allusion to the lines of divine writing in the

---

[16] E. Ullendorff, 'Bilkīs', in *EI2,* vol. 1, pp. 1219–1220.

[17] This interpretetation, usually associated with Jahmite or Muʿtazilite positions, is in contrast to explicit references to Ibn Ḥanbal in other fragments, and represents an example of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s intellectual eclecticism, which will be discussed in the Conclusion.

human bodily form and to the power of the Supreme Name of God. The ability to read this writing gives access to the universal ontological language of God, the direct emanation of His creative power:

> '*It [the letter] is from Solomon, and it is "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Rise not up against me, but come to me in surrender"*' [Q. 27:30–31]. [By] the power (*quwwa*) that [emanated] from this Name, Bilqīs, who had the bodily form of Adam, surrendered to Solomon. [She] saw that [Solomon] had the lines of the divine [writing] on his face. '*Said he who possessed knowledge of the Book [or of the Writing], "I will bring it [the throne of the Queen of Sheba] to thee*" ' [Q. 27:40]: it is impossible to bring the Throne without the knowledge of the Writing (228b).

Several passages in the *Jāwidān-nāma* express the idea that the letter entrusted by Solomon to the hoopoe was in fact contained in the bodily form of the bird:

> Solomon said to the hoopoe: 'Take my letter and throw it on the throne of Bilqīs!'[18] This means: 'They will receive my letter from the hoopoe, from [the ontological writing written on] its face and its original nature (*khilqa*).' The hoopoe is the master (*kudāwand*) of the letter of Solomon, and it is from [the hoopoe] that Bilqīs receives [the writing of Solomon] (193b).

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the comb of the hoopoe, as the comb of a cock and some other birds symbolises, indeed, the line of balance. The essential function of the line of balance is to reveal the divine writing in the bodily forms of objects and beings. Therefore, when Solomon sends the hoopoe to the Queen of Sheba, he sends her the key to the ontological divine writing, the most complete copy of which is the human form. The following passage alludes in addition to the idea, already discussed previously, in particular with reference to the love between Joseph and Zulaykhā that, from the point of view of ontological writing, the male and female bodily shapes mutually complement each other. In this perspective, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, like Joseph and Zulaykhā, reproduce the fullness of the divine writing represented by the original couple of Adam and Eve. Since, in the Qurʾānic story of Solomon, the key to the knowledge of

[18] Paraphrase of Q. 27:28.

the complete divine Book of the human form is symbolised by the hoopoe, this knowledge is described as 'the language of the birds':[19]

> Concerning the original nature of the cock (*khilqat-i khurūs*): [in the verse] '*And the dwellers on the Battlements (al-aʿrāf)*' [Q. 7:46,48], *aʿrāf* is the plural of *ʿurf*, and *ʿurf* means 'crest of the cock', [located] on the line of balance … [The crest of the cock is] like the crest of the hoopoe. [The hoopoe] became the messenger of Solomon because it possesses this quality [of balance, revealing the ontological] writing … in its original nature. [Indeed] a hoopoe has two ears and two eyes and two nostrils. When divided by the line of balance, which [passes over] its mouth, [the features of its head] reveal eight lines [of ontological writing]. Multiplied by four [natural elements, they reveal 32 ontological 'words'] … Necessarily, in the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i kashf*), it is [the hoopoe] who takes the letter of Solomon, who has the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam, to Bilqīs, who has the form of Eve: '*It [the letter] is from Solomon, and it is "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate."*' [Q. 27:30–31] … [The 28/32 ontological 'words' revealed] by the original nature of the hoopoe constituted this letter that the hoopoe brought from Solomon to Bilqīs. The knowledge of the 'language of birds' (*zabān-i murghān*) refers to knowledge of their bodily forms (*ṣūra*), which are not outside of the 32 [primordial] 'words', and to the knowledge of the [divine signs] engraved in their original nature and in that of Adam, peace be upon him (283a–b).

The knowledge of the basic elements of the ontological divine language enabled Solomon to understand not only any human language, but also the 'languages' spoken by all animate and inanimate objects, symbolically represented by the 'language of the birds'. He was able to perceive the divine Word, which is essentially the word of glorification connecting every object and being with the Word of the divine Essence at the core of its existence. This universal language of glorification is

[19] In the Qurʾānic story of Solomon, the expression 'language of the birds' (*manṭiq al-ṭayr*) is mentioned in relation to the knowledge given by God to David and Solomon: '*We gave knowledge to David and Solomon: And they both said: "Praise be to Allah, Who has favoured us above many of his servants who believe!" / And Solomon was David's heir. He said: "O ye people! We have been taught the speech of birds, and on us has been bestowed (a little) of all things: this is indeed Grace manifest."*' (Q. 27:15–16, tr. Yusuf Ali).

the source of any language. It is the counterpart of the divine Word descending into the creation as the 'Breath of the Merciful':

> '*[Hast thou not seen how that whatsoever is in the heavens and in the earth extols God,] and the birds spreading their wings? Each – He knows its prayer and its extolling; [and God knows the things they do]*' [Q. 24:41]. Since Solomon knew the language of the birds (*lughat wa zabān-i murghān*) and other languages, and he understood the words of objects (*kalima-yi ashyāʾ*), thousands upon thousands of voices and intonations (*āwāzhā wa alḥānhā*), including the external form of their words and their meanings (*al-lafẓ wa-l-maʿnā*), were obedient (*muṭīʿ*) to him. He heard the fascinating and soothing lutes (*sāzhā-yi firībanda-yi dil-padhīr*), which 'no ear has heard',[20] and other [sounds]. This extolling [continues as long as exists] the Word, the Speech and the pure Essence of God (*kalima wa kalām wa dhāt-i pāk-i khudā*) (116b).

Solomon is the last significant prophetic figure in the *Jāwidān-nāma* before the cycle of the 'motherly' prophets (*ummīs*), whom we will discuss in the next chapter.

[20] Inventory I, no. 25.

10

Jesus and Muḥammad: The 'Motherly' (*Ummī*) Prophets between *Tanzīl* and *Taʾwīl*

Jesus, Son of Mary

Although every prophet had some knowledge of *taʾwīl*, the task of explicit revelation of this knowledge was not included in all prophetic missions. The textual evidence of the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests that the prophets of the Old Testament were initiated into different degrees of *taʾwīl* on the personal level. The accounts of their deeds in the Bible and the Qurʾān contain some references to this knowledge. But their task as prophets sent to the humankind was essentially to realise the *tanzīl*, the progressive 'descent' of the knowledge of the divine Word.

The mission of Jesus introduced a dramatic modification in this 'descending' phase of prophecy. In Chapter 7, it was mentioned that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception, the divine knowledge given to Adam was transmitted along two parallel lines. The external form of this knowledge, the body of Adam created as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word, was given to all humans by their mothers at the moment of their birth. The transmission of this external form is, therefore, ensured by the biological mechanism of heredity, without any 'conscious' participation on the part of humans. The innermost meaning of this knowledge, corresponding to the knowledge of names that God taught Adam, was transmitted only in the line of prophets.

We have also seen that the condition of the historical humankind was characterised by a rupture, or 'delay', between the external shape of the human body reproduced from generation to generation and the knowledge of its metaphysical meaning. As any other object of the physical world described by human languages, the human body

became a linguistic concept arbitrarily associated with some word transmitted from parents to children by unconscious 'imitation' (*taqlīd*). The crucial role of Jesus' mission was to break the mechanical chain of biological reproduction of the human bodily form in order to remind humankind that the shape of the human body and the features of the human face are originally and essentially the locus of manifestation of the divine Word. In other words, Jesus temporarily bridged the 'delay' between the external shape of the human form and its metaphysical meaning showing that the divine Word takes the form of the human body spontaneously and independently of the laws of biological heredity, as was the case at the moment of Adam's creation: 'Jesus said, "I am His Speech (*anā nuṭquh*)", because he is Speech *in his external form and in his knowledge* (*bi-hayʾat wa ʿilmiyyat*)' (368b).

> If you wish to understand Jesus and to reach his innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*), recognising in him the Speech and the Word of God (*kalām-i khudā wa sukhan-i khudā*), you must know that this Word of God came into the womb of Mary and became flesh, and took the shape and the form (*shakl wa ṣūra*) of Adam, with 32 teeth and 32 facial lines[1] … If you do not realise this, you will [never] attain [the understanding of] the form of Adam, which is the form of God. You will not find the marks of the 32 [primordial] 'words' of Adam on the face of Jesus; you will not be able to see him in everything (425a–b).
>
> God said in the Torah: 'Let us make man in Our form, after Our likeness … so I created Adam' [Genesis 1:26–27].[2] [This] form is therefore an expression of the perfect fullness (*tamām*), the divine form (*ṣūrat-i ilāhī*) [containing] the 32 [primordial] 'words' inseparable from God. And Jesus said: 'I am this Word.'[3] [The human] form has been created as the counterpart of these 32 [primordial] 'words', it is the mark (*nishān*) of the 32 divine 'words', which will [appear as] the Book of Life (*muṣḥaf-i ḥayāt*).[4] Jesus, who is pure spirit (*rūḥ-i pāk*), incarnated (*gūshtmand shud*) in order to produce the divine form (*ṣūrat-i khudāʾī*). He, who is the Word of God, manifested himself in

[1] That is, in accordance with the number of primordial 'words' of the Word.

[2] Persian text: *shakhṣī biyāfarīnam bi-shakl-i mā wa ṣūrat-i mā wa hayʾat-i mā pas Adam-rā āfarīdam.*

[3] Inventory II, no. 4.

[4] This is an allusion on the sealed Book mentioned in the Revelation of John. We will see more explicit examples in Chapter 13.

> every existing object and being (*mawjūdāt*) … O Christian, this external form of Jesus is [the form] of the pure soul (*jān-i pāk*) from Adam and Eve … and Adam was the master (*khudāwand*) of the 32 divine 'words'. The marks (*nishān*) of the science of the lines of the divine [ontological writing] (*ʿilm-i khaṭṭ-i ilāhī*) are 32; [they are the] counterpart of these 32 [primordial] 'words' without beginning and without end that God taught Adam.[5] And Jesus said: 'I am this Word.' Jesus, who is the pure soul (*jān-i pāk*), incarnated in order to reproduce [after it was produced for the first time in the form of Adam] his [Adam's] form (*ṣūra*) and the 32 lines (*khaṭṭ*) [of the divine ontological writing contained in this form] in accordance with the number of the 32 [primordial] 'words' (325b–326b).

Jesus is thus the same divine Word of which Adam was made the original locus of manifestation. As noted previously, the female principle is associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the idea of expression and manifestation. Just as Eve *manifested* the science of the Word given to Adam by means of her bodily shape and the features of her face, as well as by actually reproducing the form of the Word when giving birth to human beings, Mary manifested the divine Word giving birth to Jesus. The similarity between Jesus and Adam is underlined in several passages.[6]

In the Qurʾān, Jesus is characterised as '*Jesus, the son of Mary, an apostle of Allah, and His Word which He bestowed on Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him*' (Q. 4:171). According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this verse proves that Jesus, born without a father (this is why he is called by the name of his mother, 'son of Mary') is the direct manifestation of the divine Word, which spontaneously took the form of a human body in the womb of Mary. This exceptional ontological link with the mother is the reason for which Jesus is qualified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the first 'motherly' (*ummī*) prophet, an epithet ascribed in the Qurʾān to Muḥammad.

In Chapter 4, we discussed the role played by the female aspect of the human form in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s epistemology. Eve, the archetype of the Mother, possesses the seven most fundamental, 'motherly' lines

---

[5] Allusion to Q. 2:31 frequently cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

[6] For example, fol. 69b (both Adam and Jesus are brought into existence by the divine Breath), 322a, 325a–b, 396b–397b.

of the divine ontological scripture. These lines constitute the 'Mother of the Book', the prototype of the ontological writing and the matrix of the visible universe. The motherly lines are also the key without which the complete divine writing embodied in the shape and facial features of Adam would remain forever unattainable.

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Jesus is the first prophet whose mission includes the revelation of these fundamental, basic elements of the divine Word, which are the starting point of the universal *taʾwīl*. After the historical mission of Jesus, the revelation of the basic elements of the Word was continued by Muḥammad, who is thus the second *ummī* prophet. The Qurʾān is the first prophetic Book that contains not only compound words, but also the disjointed letters at the beginning of some suras and their combinations, the *ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, these disjointed letters announce the full revelation of the basic ontological elements constituting the Mother of the Book. The task of the universal *taʾwīl* will be achieved by a category of 'motherly' (*ummī*) saints, very vaguely described in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Some passages suggest that the concept of the *ummī*s is a modification of the traditional Shiʿi concept of the imamate: both words, *ummī* and *imām*, are indeed derived from the same Arabic root *ʾmm*.[7] The cycle of the *ummī*s will be closed by the second coming of Jesus, who will open the sealed Book mentioned in the Revelation of John and bring all of humankind together within one community speaking one universal language. There is, therefore, a further similarity between Adam and Jesus: in addition to both being the direct manifestation of the divine Word in human form, they are both starting and closing figures of their respective prophetic cycles, that is, the complete cycle of prophecy for Adam and the cycle of *ummī*s for Jesus.

The central positions of the *Jāwidān-nāma* concerning the 'motherly' status of Jesus can be summarised as follows. Jesus has a particular relationship to his mother Mary because he revealed her original nature, namely the fundamental 'motherly' lines of the divine writing, the lines of Eve, the key to the deciphering of the complete

[7] See Mir-Kasimov, 'Ummīs versus Imāms'. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s description of the *ummī*s in the period following the death of Muḥammad will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 13.

divine writing in the shape and on the face of Adam. The virginity of Mary receives several interpretations in this context. First, it symbolises that, through the conception of Jesus without a father, God wanted to emphasise that the most fundamental manifestation of His Word is produced by means of the female bodily form. Second, it means that Jesus is the first of the prophets to reveal the secret of the original nature of Mary the Mother. Nobody before him did attain this knowledge. The following fragments illustrate this perspective:

> The specific feature [of Jesus], with regard to other prophets, is his relationship to Mary … He had a special relationship to Mother, because it was he who explained the original nature (*khilqa*) of Mary. He was born from a virgin. This means that his original nature was produced by the original nature of Mary [without the intervention of a father]. It is in this sense that the lines of the divine [ontological writing] on his face are 'virgin'. Another aspect of the original nature of this virginity, which was not explained by anyone else [before Jesus, is that] Jesus, [son of] Mary, who is the Word of God (*kalima-yi ilāhīst*), was born from the virgin Mary. No creature has ever attained this virginity; it was untouched. Nobody [before Jesus] has ever reached the [knowledge of] the original nature of the virgin Mary. [This interpretation is also referred to by the Qurʾānic verse]: '*houris, cloistered in cool pavilions … untouched before them by any man or jinn*' [Q. 55:72–74], … that is, nobody ever attained [the knowledge of] their original nature (420a).
>
> God prevented Jesus, the Word of God (*kalimat Allāh*), from having a [physical] father. '*All things perish except His Face*' [Q. 28:88]: the divine [ontological] writing can be recognised and read on the face of the mother, not on the face of the father. If the original nature (*khilqa*) of the mother's face did not exist, it would be impossible to read the [ontological] writing of the divine Book on the [human] face; [it would be impossible] to read the Book of Life, sealed with seven seals, that Peter saw in his revelation (*kashf*).[8] The Word would not have become manifest (57a).

[8] The 'Revelation of Peter', or 'Book of Peter', refers in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the Christian apocryphal text known as the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. We have already seen the citations from this text in Chapter 1. It is possible that the version of this text consulted by Faḍl Allāh included also fragments of the canonical Revelation of John, in particular the opening of the seven seals of the heavenly Book and the sacrifice of the Lamb.

> God called [Jesus] by [the name of his] mother[9] in order [to refer] to the secret of the original nature of the Mother (*sirr-i khilqat-i umm*), which was destined to be revealed by him. Starting from the mother and the original nature of mother, it is possible to reach [the full copy of the divine ontological writing manifested in the form of] the father, who is Adam (78a–b).

There is also another, eschatological aspect of the 'motherly' status of Jesus. As mentioned in Chapter 7, the return to the original human condition in Paradise begins with Eve, or Mother, who gives bodily form to any human being. This interpretation determines the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s reading and interpretation of Qurʾān 17:71: '*One day We shall call together all human beings with their (respective) Mothers.*'[10] The fact that Jesus was born without a father and is called by the name of his mother, ʿIsā ibn Maryam, alludes to this eschatological return to the source of the original human nature which is Mother: 'Jesus, peace be upon him, is the Word of God and the Spirit [coming] from Him.[11] He is called [in the Qurʾān by the name of his] mother … Mary because of his 'motherly' (*ummī*) [quality].[12] On the Day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*), people will be called back with their mothers' (266a).

Several passages establish a link between the fundamental lines of writing on the face of Mary (seven lines with corresponding locations on the face) with the 14 persons, including Jesus, Mary, and the 12 apostles. 'The lines of the face of Mary are seven: hairline, [two] eyebrows and four eyelashes. With the seven parts of the face where they are located, they are 14. [Similarly], 12 apostles (*ḥawwāriyūn*), Jesus and Mary are 14 [persons]' (322b).

It is interesting that the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not explicitly mention in this context the parallel with the '14 immaculate ones' (Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima and 11 Imāms) of the Twelver Shiʿis. Also, although the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not mention Fāṭima, emblematic female figure of Shiʿi Islam, among the women, such as Eve, Zulaykhā, Bilqīs or Mary, exemplifying the archetypical Mother and the female aspect of the original knowledge contained in the human form, later Ḥurūfī texts

---

[9] Allusion to Qurʾānic 'Jesus, son of Mary' (Q. 4:171).

[10] Several passages in the *Jāwidān-nāma* state that the word *imām* in this Qurʾānic phrase should be understood as the plural of *umm,* 'mother'.

[11] Close paraphrase of Q. 4:171.

[12] See Glossary, 'Mother'.

contain explicit passages on the excellence of Fāṭima.[13] This suggests that some direct Shiʿi references, attenuated for some reason in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, were possibly present in Faḍl Allāh's original thinking and his oral teachings. A closer examination of other works of Faḍl Allāh and his poetry could bring more light on this question.

The *Jāwidān-nāma* distinguishes between two missions of Jesus. His historical mission, like the mission of any other prophet, was limited to the revelation of an exact portion of the knowledge corresponding to his place in the prophetic cycle. At this stage, Jesus could not reveal directly his 'motherly' knowledge; he could only allude to it by means of metaphors and parables. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this is the meaning of the words that Jesus addresses to the apostles in the Gospels, when he says that he will return in order to explain the true meaning of his parables.[14] The stage of revelation corresponding to the mission of Jesus is measured, as for any other prophet, by the number of simple elements of speech and writing, phonemes and letters, present in the language of the historical Jesus. Since this language (the *Jāwidān-nāma* refers most probably to the Greek of the Gospels) did not contain the complete set of the original 28/32 elements, it was impossible for Jesus to reveal the full knowledge of the Word. He will therefore return at the end of the prophetic cycle to complete the revelation of all the 28/32 primary 'words':

> Jesus did not express his [knowledge fully] at the time [of his first coming]. He possessed the science of the 32 'words' of the divine [Word] on his face, as well as 32 and 28 teeth,[15] which [represent] the science of the 32 divine 'words'. But these 32 'words', in accordance with which his face had been created, were not actualised on his tongue. [This is why] he said: 'I will come [back] in order to explain' (423b).

Consequently, the Christians did not receive the entirety of Jesus' knowledge:

> O Christian, be aware that the prophets who came before the manifestation of Jesus foretold that a virgin will give birth to a

[13] Cf. Sayyid Isḥāq, *Maḥram-nāma,* in Huart, *Textes persans,* Persian text, p. 30.

[14] Inventory II, no. 14.

[15] Most probably, this refers to the 28 ordinary teeth and four additional wisdom teeth.

> son, who will be named 'God is with us'.[16] When he comes, the idolatry will be uprooted and there will be only one religion (*dīn*), nation (*milla*) and confession (*madhhab*), and every human will have the knowledge of God. The Jews say that Jesus of the Christians is not the [Messiah] foretold by the prophets because he did not unify all religions, nations and confessions, and all humans did not attain the knowledge of God. One could answer that Jesus said: 'O apostles! I speak to you by symbols, signs and allusions. I will come again and explain their meaning.' He also said: 'I will not come to make the religions of the [previous] prophets defective, but I will come to complete them.'[17] The Messenger, peace be upon him, testified that he [i.e., Jesus] was [the person] foretold by the [previous] prophets. He came and he is gone, but he is the divine Word, which will come again. His [second] coming is one of the signs of the Resurrection (*nishān-i qiyāma*). O Christian, according to Jesus, when he said: 'All that I have told you, I told by symbols and signs, and I will come again in order to clarify them', you will not [fully] understand his words before he [will come again and] explain them (396a).

During his second coming, Jesus, in his quality of the embodiment of the Word, will therefore complete the revelations of the previous prophets in order to restore the full set of 28/32 divine 'words' taught to Adam. This will complete the revelation of the innermost meaning of the human bodily shape, the original locus of manifestation of the Word:

> Jesus said: 'I will not come to make the religions of the [previous] prophets defective, but I will come to complete them.' He said: 'I am the Word of God', and 'The first thing that came from the heavens was the Word, and God was with this Word, and I am this Word.'[18] This is how the 32 'words' [of the divine Word] reached Adam and his descendants. The form (*ṣūra*) of Adam and his descendants is the science of the 32 'words' [of the Word]; and Jesus said: 'I am this Word.' Jesus will come in order [to complete] this Word, [all] the 32 'words' of which were given to Adam, and of which every prophet received some 'words'. [Jesus] said: 'I will come in order to complete them and to reveal the secret of their fullness. I will not come to make them deficient.' Since Jesus is the Word of God, he must reveal the

[16] *Khudā bā mā,* a Persian translation of the name Emmanuel, explicitly mentioned in the fragment on the fol. 421b cited below. Inventory II, no. 11.

[17] Inventory II, no. 8 and 14.

[18] Inventory II, no. 4.

> number of the [primordial] 'words' [of the Word], and how [by the intermediary of these 'words', Jesus] brings his existence into everything. This is why he said: 'I will come [a second time] in order to explain that which I [previously] said [only] by symbols and allusions' (426a).

The following statement suggests that the second coming of Jesus is announced in the Qurʾān: 'In the Qurʾān, [the word] 'festival' (*ʿīd*) is mentioned only one time, with reference to Jesus.[19] This word is derived [from the root] *ʿwd* [meaning 'return']' (88a).

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the four letters – *mīm*, *sīn*, *yāʾ* and *ḥāʾ* – of the Arabic word *masīḥ* by which Jesus is usually referred to in the Qurʾān symbolise the four phonemes which will complete the 28 phonemes of the Qurʾānic revelation up to the full number of 32, which characterise the original divine Word: 'Muḥammad did not receive these four 'words'.... The name of the person who will rightfully receive them will be Jesus (*masīḥ*) [when he returns]' (172a).

The second coming of Jesus brings forth also another aspect of his 'motherly' dimension. This aspect surfaces in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of some passages from the canonical Revelation of John, describing the opening of the Seven Seals of the heavenly Book, identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the Book of Life (*muṣḥaf-i ḥayāt*). As noted, it is possible that Faḍl Allāh's source for these passages was not the canonical Revelation of John, but the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*; in the passage cited below, the characteristic symbolism of the canonical Revelation is consistently ascribed to Peter. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation, the Seven Seals symbolise the seven 'motherly' lines of the ontological divine writing on the face of Mary.[20] These lines are the key to the universal *taʾwīl*; they give access to the reading of the complete divine writing in the bodily shape and on the face of Adam and, subsequently, to the knowledge of the divine Word. Since Jesus is himself the Word of God embodied in human form, and since he is the first prophet who attained the knowledge of the original nature and ontological significance of the Mother, he is also the only

---

[19] Reference to Q. 5:114: '*Said Jesus son of Mary*, "*O God, our Lord, send down to us a Table out of heaven, that shall be for us a festival, the first and last of us, and a sign from Thee.*" '

[20] On the Sealed Book containing 12 seals with the descriptions of the missions of the 12 Imāms, see Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin*, pp. 188–189.

prophet who can fully reveal this fundamental knowledge. The mission of Jesus during his second coming is essentially the realisation of the universal *taʾwīl*, the *taʾwīl* of the human bodily form as locus of manifestation of the divine Word:

> In the *Book of Peter* (*kitāb-i Fiṭrūs*), Jesus said that God put the Book of Life on a high pedestal and sealed it with seven seals. The Book of Life is [represented by the] lines of the face of Mary. The seven seals correspond to the seven divine lines [on the human face]: four eyelashes, two eyebrows and the hair of the head … Every line is composed of four lines [of the natural elements], earth, air, water and fire. In this way, seven seals become 28. With the line of balance [represented by the] parting of the hair, this makes eight lines [which, multiplied by the number of four elements] produce 32 lines, as counterpart of the 32 [primordial] 'words' [of the divine Word], without beginning and without end, that God sent to Adam. [These same 'words', i.e., phonemes] appear in the Torah and in the Qurʾān. God the Most High taught all the names to Adam,[21] and all these names are not outside these 32 [primordial 'words', which] are inseparable from God. Since Jesus is the Speech of God, the Spirit and Word of God (*kalām-i khudāst wa rūḥ wa kalima-yi khudāst*), he said to Peter: 'I will open [the seals of the Book of Life].' The Lamb with seven horns came, and the seven horns [represent] 28 [lines of the divine writing], since every horn corresponds to four lines. [The Lamb] received [the Book of Life and] was sacrificed before God, and all the angels (*firishtagān*) of the heavens and earth, and the prophets, prostrated themselves and said: 'By your sacrifice before the heavenly Father, you delivered us from the divergence of languages'[22] (394b–395a).

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the opening of the Book of Life means the revelation of the complete copy of the universal ontological writing in the human form and in the features of the human face. This writing is the locus of manifestation of the universal divine Speech, of the primordial ontological language God taught to Adam. Since this universal language contains all metaphysical truths of the divine Essence, which were previously partially revealed to different prophets in their respective languages, the opening of the sealed Book of Life and the sacrifice of the Lamb will erase the divergences between

[21] Allusion to Q. 2:31.

[22] Inventory II, no. 1.

human languages, as well as between different religions and confessions. Humankind will thus be unified within one community directly linked to God by means of His universal Speech. Every human being will then be truly human, that is, aware of his or her external form as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word. Humankind will therefore enter the kingdom of heavens, which is identical to the divine Word and divided in accordance with its 28/32 'words' or aspects. These ideas are developed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* basically as interpretation of the Christian apocalyptic symbolism:

> When the Lamb received the Book of Life and was sacrificed before the Father, the angels and the prophets prostrated themselves and said: 'You delivered us from the divergence of languages and introduced us into the realm of the heavens and of the earth.' The exterior and the interior (*ẓāhir wa bāṭin*) of the heavens and of the earth is the Word of God. The Word is their [of the heavens and the earth] foundation. And Jesus said: 'I am this Word.' The 32 [primordial] 'words' should be recognised in the language and original nature of the face of Adam. [This leads to the understanding that] the 'Face of God' refers to the 28 and 32 [primordial] 'words' (327a).
>
> The Jews said that the Messiah [whose coming] is promised by the prophets, will be born from a virgin, and the boy will be named 'Emmanuel' (*'Immānū'īl*), which means 'God is with us'.[23] When he comes, all religions, confessions and beliefs will be unified all over the world. All the creatures (*khalā'iq*) and the people of the Book (*ahl-ikitāb*) will be unified. The divergences between the scriptures [of the different religions] will be levelled, and babies in their cradles will have [perfect] knowledge of God. After [the coming of the Messiah] there will be no need of education (*ta'līm*). But the Jews say that Jesus [lit. 'Messiah', *masīḥ*] who came [in the past] was not [the promised one], since the divergences between the creatures persist. [Indeed], there are 12 sects among Christians, 72 among the Jews, 73 [in the community of] Muḥammad, 70 among the Zoroastrians (*majūsī*), and so on. The Messiah promised by the prophets has not yet come. It can be answered [to the Jews] that the Messiah [i.e., Jesus] promised by the prophets came [one time] and brought [the revelation] of some of the divine 'sciences'.[24]

---

[23] Inventory II, no. 11.

[24] That is, the ontological letters, which are 'sciences' of corresponding phonemes or 'words'.

> But he will come again in order to fully eradicate polytheism. In that age, all humans will be initiated into the knowledge of God, as it was promised by the prophets, and Muḥammad, peace be upon him, confirmed [these expectations] (421b).

As the Book revealing the universal ontological divine writing, which enables all human beings to recognise this writing in any existing object and, starting from its external form, leads to the knowledge of the metaphysical truth which sustains its material existence, the apocalyptic Book of Life symbolises the Book of *taʾwīl*. Its opening will complete the 'return to the origin' of the divine Word, in the same sense that the revelation of the Qurʾān completed the 'descent' (*tanzīl*) of this Word. We have already discussed in previous chapters the symmetry between *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl*, and the conception of a sacred Book corresponding to the period of *taʾwīl*, as counterpart of the sacred Books revealed by the prophets of the period of *tanzīl*. In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the 'Book of *taʾwīl*' is essentially the Book of the human bodily form, the original locus of manifestation of the divine Word, represented by the archetypal couple of Adam and Eve.[25] This is why all the books related to *taʾwīl* mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* have anthropomorphic features. In Chapter 13, we will see that, at the end of time, the Qurʾān will have an anthropomorphic appearance corresponding to its dimension of *taʾwīl* expressed by the disjointed letters at the beginning of some suras. Also, the sealed Book of the Christian apocalyptic literature is identified with the face of Mary. The following passage establishes also a link between the Qurʾānic verses mentioning the divine Word sent to Mary and the divine 'Book which speaks the truth' (*kitāb yanṭiqu bi-l-ḥaqq*):

> '*[The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only the Messenger of God, and] His Word that He committed to Mary*' [Q. 4:171]. The words [come] from the book, and anything that comes from a book is a book: '*with Us is a Book speaking truth*' [Q. 23:62]. 'Speaking' (*yantiq*) is imperfective tense (*muḍāri'*), and the 'truth' is Jesus, the Jesus who will come (184a–b).

Between the historical mission of Jesus located within the period of *tanzīl* and his second coming which completes the last stage of the *taʾwīl* lies the cycle of the *ummīs,* the 'motherly' prophets and saints.

[25] On the 'book of *taʾwīl*', see Mir-Kasimov, 'The Word of Descent'.

Muḥammad was the second *ummī* prophet after Jesus. If for Jesus the functions of *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl* are separated into two distinct missions, the mission of Muḥammad, the 'Seal of the Prophets', marks the end of the *tanzīl* and the beginning of the period of *taʾwīl*, combining the specific features of both *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl*.

Muḥammad and the Revelation of the 'Mother of the Book'

Both Jesus and Muḥammad are described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as *ummī*s, the 'motherly' prophets, which means that their missions include the revelation of the most basic elements of the original ontological language. These basic elements constitute the 'mother' of the divine writing, the genuine locus of manifestation of which is the female bodily form and facial features. Eve and Mary exemplify the archetype of this basic writing, the Mother of the human Book.

However, Jesus and Muḥammad represent different aspects of relationship to the 'Mother of the Book', and different stages of the revelation of the basic elements. For Jesus, the explicit revelation of his 'motherly' knowledge is not included in his historical mission, but postponed until his second coming at the end of time when he will open the Book of Life of the face of Mary and thus complete the *taʾwīl*. For Muḥammad, the revelation of the 'Mother of the Book', the elements of which are included in the Qurʾān, is part of his historical mission. The prophetic experience of Muḥammad completes the descending course of the divine Word (*tanzīl*), corresponding to his role as the 'Seal of the Prophets', but it also includes episodes of the ascending journey to the original source of the divine Word, the *taʾwīl*, symbolised most particularly by his heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*).

The specific reasons mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* in order to explain Muḥammad's qualification as a 'motherly' (*ummī*) prophet can be summarised as follows. The knowledge of the 'Mother of the Book', that is, of the heavenly archetype of the Qurʾān, was revealed to Muḥammad, as well as the knowledge of the Seven Twofold (*sabʿ al-mathānī*).[26] According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Seven Twofold refer

[26] For the meaning of this expression in the *Jāwidān-nāma* see Chapter 4 and the Glossary. For its meanings in the broader context of Islamic tradition see Rubin, 'Oft-repeated', and his, Exegesis and Ḥadīth: The Case of the Seven *Mathānī*', in G. R.

to the 14 letters (the 'disjointed letters', *al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*) which appear in different combinations at the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras, and symbolise the 'foundations' of the ontological language, the lines of the original divine writing on the face of the Mother.[27] This knowledge is the foundation and key to the knowledge of the complete divine Word. More generally, the passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggest that the symbol of Mother is essential for the prophetic mission of Muḥammad: the *Fātiḥa*, the opening sura of the Qurʾān, is composed of seven verses in accordance with the seven lines 'written' on the facial features of Mother; during his heavenly ascension, God manifests Himself to Muḥammad in the form of a young man, identical to the form of Mother (22a, 269b); the prayer revealed to Muḥammad at the end of his ascension is structured in accordance with the fundamental form of Mother and has to be performed in the direction of Mecca, the 'mother of the cities' (241b):[28]

> Muḥammad was called 'the motherly one' (*ummī*) because he possessed the 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*), which [corresponds to the number] 14. The Mother is at the beginning of the genesis of humans (*khilqat-i insānī*); it is from her that they come into existence. Only he [i.e., Muḥammad] possesses the science (*ʿilm*) of seven upon seven.[29] This is why he was surnamed (*ummī*) after the Mother of the Book (175a).
>
> Only he [Muḥammad] received [as part of the Qurʾānic revelation] the foundations of the speech (*aṣl-i kalām*), which are the separate letters (*ḥurūf-i muqaṭṭaʿa*). [These letters] constitute the heritage of Adam and the Mother of the Book, because [all possible words] are composed of them. It is in this sense that [Muḥammad] is *ummī* (401a–b).

Muḥammad is the first prophet who reached the knowledge of the innermost meaning of the single letters of the alphabet. This knowledge is beyond the understanding of the archangel Gabriel who brings the Qurʾānic revelation to Muḥammad. It leads to the

---

Hawting, and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef, ed., *Approaches to the Qurʾān* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 141–156.

[27] See the passages translated below.

[28] For the citations related to the 'mother of the cities' see further below.

[29] Allusion to the seven fundamental features appearing in seven corresponding locations on the face of the Mother.

original knowledge, that is to say, to the knowledge of the names that God taught Adam. Since Muḥammad was the only prophet who attained the knowledge of the ontological meaning of the disjointed letters, these letters are included in the Qurʾān as part of the revelation given to Muḥammad:[30]

> Nobody other than Muḥammad reached the secret of the foundations of the speech (*sirr-i aṣl-i kalām*), which are the letters of the alphabet (*ḥurūf-i muʿjam*). This [secret] belongs therefore rightfully to Muḥammad: 'The child is the secret of his father.'[31] 'I have a time with God when I am not attended by any angel brought near … ';[32] [The archangel Gabriel addressed Muḥammad] when [the combination of the letters] *khyʿṣ* was revealed [to the latter:] 'How did you know that which I know not?'[33] (89a–b). [34]
>
> With reference to [the verse] '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], the 32 [primordial] 'words' constitute the secret of Adam. [The revelation of the disjointed letters received by Muḥammad directly from God and referred to by the archangel Gabriel when he asked Muḥammad]: 'How did you know that which I know not?' [shows] that the Messenger reached this secret. Necessarily, it is in his Book [the Qurʾān] that the foundations of the divine Book (*aṣl-i kitāb-i Allāh*) appeared [explicitly] (90a).[35]

This is another argument in favour of the Qurʾān's superiority over the *ḥadīth qudsī*, that we discussed in Chapter 8. If the Qurʾān did not

---

[30] Fragment fol. 103b mentions an interesting aspect of the *ummī* quality of Muḥammad that does not seem to have been developed elsewhere: Muḥammad was simultaneously the Seal of the Prophets and the *ummī*, i.e., 'motherly' Prophet, because Time in its entirety was given to him. Muḥammad received both the revelation of the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*) and that of the Mother of Time (*umm-i zamān*), i.e., knowledge of the innermost meaning of the seven days of the week (cf. Chapter 5).

[31] Inventory I, no. 4. Allusion to the view that Muḥammad revealed the secret of the names that God taught to Adam, the forefather of Muḥammad. See the next citation.

[32] Inventory I, no. 26.

[33] Inventory I, no. 69.

[34] This fragment draws attention to the part of the revelation that Muḥammad received directly from God, without the intermediary of the archangel Gabriel.

[35] That is, the disjointed letters that appear in different combinations in the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras.

contain the disjointed letters and their combinations, this superiority could be questioned, because the Qurʾānic message was brought to Muḥammad through the intermediary of the archangel Gabriel, while the *ḥadīth qudsī* is the direct expression of the divine speech in human language. But the fact that the Qurʾānic revelation contains disjointed letters and their combinations, which are beyond the understanding of the intermediary angel and thus constitute the knowledge received by Muḥammad *directly* from God, similar to the divine teaching of the names to Adam is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the conclusive argument proving the superiority of the Qurʾān over the *ḥadīth qudsī* as well as over all previous prophetic books:[36]

> Any concept and information expressed in the Qurʾān by means of the composed (*murakkab*) [lexical units] is [potentially] contained within these 28 and 32 [primordial] 'words'.[37] It is in these 28 and 32, which are the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ*) and the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*), that the secrets [of the Qurʾān] should be sought. Since the Mother of the Book was revealed in the Qurʾān brought by Gabriel, the Qurʾān is superior to the *ḥadīth qudsī*. If the Mother of the Book and the disjointed letters were included in the *ḥadīth qudsī*, one could imagine that the Mother of the Book in the *ḥadīth qudsī* is superior [to the Qurʾān], because [the *ḥadīth qudsī*] is the direct speech [of God]. But it is not the case (110a).
>
> Since it contains the [revelation of the] foundations of the speech, the Qurʾān [revealed] through mediation [of the angel] is superior to the *ḥadīth qudsī*. For the same reason, [the Qurʾān] is superior to the Torah and other [prophetic] books that do not contain [the revelation] of the foundations of the speech (51b–52a).
>
> It is said concerning the letters at the beginning of [some Qurʾānic] suras: 'God the Most High has a secret in every [revealed] book, and His secret in the Qurʾān is in the [disjointed letters] at the beginning of the suras'; 'God the Most High has a choicest part in every book, and the choicest part of this book [the Qurʾān] are the letters of the alphabet.'[38] Thus, the secret of any revealed book (*kitāb-i āsmānī*) and its choicest part are the

[36] On the relationship between the Qurʾānic text and the *ḥadīth qudsī*, see Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word*.

[37] That is, the phonemes or the names of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet.

[38] Inventory I, no. 14 and 15.

> disjointed letters (*ḥurūf-i muqaṭṭaʿa*). Whosoever reaches [the knowledge] of these [letters] reaches [the knowledge] of the revealed book. All [the compound] words (*alfāẓ*) of the Qurʾān correspond to the meanings (*maʿānī*) related to God and creation, Origin and Return (*mabdāʾ wa maʿād*), pre- and post-eternity (*azal wa abad*), past and future (*mā kāna wa mā yakūn*). The disjointed letters are the secret [of these compound words] and their choicest part, in accordance with the *ḥadīth:* 'All the secrets of God the Most High are [contained] in the revealed books.'[39] [The disjointed letters] encompass all [possible] meanings, in accordance with [the verse]: '*Not a thing, fresh or withered, but it is in a Book Manifest*' [Q. 6:59] (76a–b).

Another example of the direct communication with God is the heavenly ascension of Muḥammad and the prayer given to him by God without the mediation of Gabriel. Thus, this prayer represents the original Word of God, the most authentic locus of manifestation of which is the human form. This is why, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the revelation of the prayer and the vision of God in the form of Adam are associated with each other in the story of the heavenly ascension of Muḥammad. We will return to the discussion of the heavenly ascension and revelation of the prayer further below. At this point, let us just quote the following passage which highlights the idea of *direct* revelation without the mediation of Gabriel:

> '*Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque, the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs*' [Q. 17:1]; '*He was taught by one Mighty in Power, endued with Wisdom: for he appeared (in stately form)*' [Q. 53:5–6], that is, [he appeared] in human form (*yaʿnī bi-ṣūrat-i bashariyya*).[40] '*He*', that is, God '*being on the higher horizon, then drew near*' [Q. 53:7–8], that is

[39] Inventory I, no. 1. This *ḥadīth* goes on to state that all the secrets of prophetic books are contained in the Qurʾān, and all the secrets of the Qurʾān are contained in the Opening Chapter (*fātiḥat-ul-kitāb*), and all the secrets of the Opening Chapter are contained in the *Bismillāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm,* and all the secrets of the *bismillāh* are contained in the letter *bā'*, and all the secrets of the *bā'* are contained in the point under the *bā'*, and this point is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Hence the reference to the disjointed letters.

[40] The Qurʾānic word, *fa-istawā,* is generally linked in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the principle of balance (*istiwāʾ*), originally and most perfectly realised in the human form.

> to say, God drew near to Muḥammad, '*and suspended hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer*' [Q. 53:8–9], '*Indeed, he saw him another time by the Lote–Tree of the Boundary*' [Q. 53:13–14]. The divine Word (*kalima*) is represented here by Adam, and the 28 [primordial 'words'] are symbolised by the handle of the bow (*qabẓa-yi kamān*). There is therefore no place for [the archangel] Gabriel … [Muḥammad said]: 'I have a time with God when I am attended neither by any angel brought near nor by a Messenger prophet.'[41] When [the combination of letters at the beginning of the Qurʾān 19] *khyʿṣ* was revealed, Gabriel said: 'How did you know that which I know not?'[42] '*Then revealed to his servant that he revealed*' [Q. 53:10], that is, to Muḥammad, who said: 'He ordered to me 50 prayers.'[43] During [Muḥammad's] heavenly ascension, and 'another time [by the Lote-Tree of the Boundary]', and in the word [mentioned in the verse]: '*A good word is as a good tree*' [Q. 14:24],[44] God the Most High showed Himself under the appearance (*kiswa*) and in the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam (54b).

According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the single letters included in the Qurʾānic revelation characterise the Qurʾān as a text in transition from the conventional to the ontological level of the language. In Chapter 8 we have seen that the conventional rational meanings are associated with compound lexical units and maintained by means of arbitrary social agreements, transmitted through blind imitation and varying from one human language to another. All revelations of the prophets preceding Muḥammad were made at the level of compound units of their respective languages and, therefore, the metaphysical truths of the revelation were inevitably veiled by the rational meanings conventionally linked to the same compound lexical units. The revelation of Muḥammad was also expressed by means of the compound words of the Arabic language, which were composed of the 28 letters and sounds of the Arabic alphabet, and implicitly contained four additional phonemes symbolised by the ligature *lām-alif*. From this point of view, the Qurʾān marks the limit of the descending phase

[41] Inventory I, no. 26.

[42] Inventory I, no. 69.

[43] Inventory I, no. 16.

[44] 'Tree' is used here as an allusion to the Lote-tree of the Boundary and to the Burning Bush from which God spoke to Moses. This link is established explicitly in other fragments.

of the Revelation (*tanzīl*), which attains the complete number of 28/32 ontological elements. In addition, the Qurʾān contains 14 letters that appear at the beginning of some suras, either alone or in combinations free of any rational meaning. These letters refer, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, directly to the metaphysical truths of the universal ontological language and show that the compound words of the Qurʾān should be also considered from this ontological perspective, without reference to their conventional rational meanings. In this context, the *Jāwidān-nāma* restores one of the traditional readings of the adjective *ummī* applied to Muḥammad, namely 'illiterate'. Muḥammad was 'illiterate' (*ummī*) with regard to the rational meanings of the Arabic language founded on blind imitation and the mechanical reproduction of social conventions, which excluded any possibility of metaphysical perception. This is why, by divine inspiration, Muḥammad was initiated into the knowledge of the foundations of the divine ontological language, and became a 'foundational' (*aṣlī*) and 'motherly' (*ummī*) prophet.

Along this same line of argumentation, the *Jāwidān-nāma* formulates an interesting point of view on the thesis of Qurʾān's inimitability. Imitation is what supports the link between words and conventional rational meanings attributed to them in accordance with the arbitrary agreements of human languages. This link is not supported by any ontological reality. The Qurʾān does not depend on imitation, because it is the expression of the divine ontological language, both implicitly at the level of compound words of the Arabic language, and explicitly at the level of single letters and combinations to which no rational concept can be attributed:

> [The Messenger Muḥammad] was named *ummī* because the Word (*kalima*) that came to the Messenger was exempted from any shape or form (*az shakl wa paykar wa hayʾat munazzih wa mubarrāʾ*). As far as he did not abandon his own form (*ṣūra*) and science (*ʿilm*), [expressed by means of the] soot and blackness [representing the ink used for cosmic writing], he would not be able to travel into the essence (*dhāt*) [of the Word and its 'words']. He was therefore like an illiterate (*ummī*)[45] who can

[45] *Ummī* is used here and in the next fragment in the sense of 'illiterate', but it should be kept in mind that the word *ummī* expresses a specific concept of 'motherly', fundamental knowledge in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

> neither write nor read, who does not perceive the [primordial] 'words' by the means of soot and blackness, but [perceives them directly,] independently [of their visible manifestation] (49b).
>
> One of the reasons for which the Messenger [Muḥammad] was 'foundational' (*aṣlī*) is because he could neither write nor read, he was purely *ummī* and, by the divine inspiration (*bi-waḥy-yi ilāhī*) heard the divine Word (*kalima-yi ilāhī*) in all things. Indeed, a man who cannot read, cannot also read the divine Word [contained] in everything [by his own effort but, he can be enabled] to read and to know by divine inspiration (*bi-waḥy-yi ilāhī*) (188a).
>
> Since Muḥammad attained the fundamental line (*khaṭṭ-i aṣl*) [of the universal ontological writing], he was *ummī*. Another meaning [of this name] is that the [revelation of the] single (*mufrad*) [letters and phonemes], which are, in a sense, the foundation of the speech (*aṣl-i kalām*), was given to him. [This revelation makes it possible to view] the human conventional writing (*khaṭṭ-i iṣṭilāḥ-i insānī*) as science (*ʿilm*) and locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of the [universal] divine writing (*khuṭūṭ-i ilāhī*): these two [writings] are one and the same (175a).

The intermediary position of Muḥammad between *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl* is also highlighted by his relationship with Adam, who is simultaneously the possessor and locus of manifestation of the knowledge of the Word, as well as the starting and final point of the general prophetic cycle. The goal of *taʾwīl* is the return to the original condition of Adam and to the fullness of divine knowledge given to him. The prophetic message of Muḥammad was explicitly revealed by means of 28 'words' symbolised by the sounds and letters of the Arabic language, but he also possessed, interiorly, the knowledge of the full set of the 32 'words' originally revealed to Adam: 'Compared to Adam, upon him be peace, who is the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 divine 'words', Muḥammad … was externally (*az rū-yi ẓāhir*) the locus of manifestation of the 28 'words', while interiorly (*az rū-yi bāṭin*) he was the locus of manifestation of the 32' (287a).

The relationship between Muḥammad and Adam involves both 'inclusive' and 'complementary' aspects of the series of 28 and 32, such as these aspects were previously defined.[46] The 'complementary' aspect characterises Muḥammad as the Seal of the 'descending' phase of the

[46] See the Glossary: '28/32'.

prophecy. The 28 letters of the Arabic which appear in the Qurʾān, added to the 32 elements revealed to Adam, produce the number 60, the universal measure of a complete period, the particular manifestations of which can be observed in the division of time into years of (roughly) 360 days, hours containing 60 minutes, etc., and in the similar division of heavenly spheres into 360 degrees. We have already seen the description of this kind of relationship in Chapter 7, where the mission of Muḥammad is identified with the extremities, that is, phalanges of hands and feet, completing the 'body' of the Revelation identical to the cosmic body of Adam. In this 'complementary' perspective, Muḥammad is the final point in the process of unfolding the knowledge of the original Word which started with Adam.

But the end of the descent and unfolding is not yet the end of the *cycle*. The completion of the cycle presupposes the return to the starting point. This aspect is expressed by the 'inclusive' relationship between the 28 and 32: with the revelation of 28 original phonemes and letters, Muḥammad came closer than any other prophet to the complete number of 32 characterising the fullness of the Word revealed to Adam. But there is still a gap of four phonemes that separates the last prophet from the first. This gap announces the returning, ascending phase of the Revelation, the *taʾwīl:*

> Adam spoke by the means of the 32 'words' (*kalima*) [i.e., phonemes], and his face was the science (*ʿilm*) of the 32 'words', as well as the 360 bones of his [body]. The descendants of Adam are, like Adam, [made] in accordance with the exterior form (*ṣūra*) [of the 32 divine 'words'], and their faces are the science of these 'words'. However, unlike Adam, some of them do not use all the 32 'words' [in their speech]. For example, the Messenger [Muḥammad] spoke by means of the 28 'words'.[47] Four 'words' were thus not present in his tongue. But, according [to the verse] '*God's original upon which He originated mankind*' [Q. 30:30], [Muḥammad] was created as Adam, who was 60 cubits high,[48] 28 and 32. Any seeker of God (*khudāshināṣ*) who finds himself before the 32 without having previously acquired [the knowledge] of the 28 is in difficulty. This is why God sent the foundations of His speech (*aṣl-i kalām*), created as the counterpart of the 28 [primordial] 'words' to the Messenger, and with

[47] That is, phonemes of the Arabic alphabet represented by the 28 letters.
[48] Inventory I, no. 19.

> them their likeness.[49] Unlike all other prophets, Adam [used in his speech all the 32 primordial 'words']. This is why Adam was the first and the Seal [of the Prophets] was the last, [representing] 28 [primordial 'words']. The 32, when they come down (*firūd āmad*), become the 28 and, starting with the 28, [it is possible] to ascend to the 32 (52a).

With reference to the Qurʾānic verses and the *ḥadīth* material, the *Jāwidān-nāma* upholds the idea that process of revelation will be continued after Muḥammad. The well-known *ḥadīth* where Muḥammad says that dreams or 'true visions' (*al-mubashsharāt*, *al-ruʾyāʾ al-ṣāliḥa*) are the remaining part of the prophecy occupies a central place in this discourse:

> The gate of the divine effusion is not shut (*bāb-i fayḍ-i ilāhī masdūd nīst*). After the Messenger, peace be upon him, the gate of the prophetic inspiration (*waḥy*) is shut, but the gate of the true vision (*ruʾyā-yi ṣāliḥa*) [remains open]. The Messenger said: 'There will remain nothing of the prophecy but tidings.' They asked: 'What are the tidings?' He said: 'It is [something seen in] a true vision by a Muslim, or seen about him'. He [also] said: 'The true vision is one out of 46 parts of prophecy.'[50] … According to this *ḥadīth* of the Messenger … [the gates] of inspiration (*ilhām*) and [vision in] dream (*khwāb*), which are parts of prophecy, are not shut. If the gate of the divine effusion was [definitely] shut, God would not have said: '*Thus We appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people, and that the Messenger might be a witness to you*' [Q. 2:143]. And the Messenger said: 'Whosoever saw me in dream will see me in reality', and 'Whosoever saw me in dream saw the truth.'[51] The gate of the divine effusion is therefore not shut, because if it was, it would be impossible to 'be witnesses to the people'. The saints (*awliyāʾ*) would be unable to obtain any knowledge in the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-ikashf*), and [the statement], 'There will remain nothing of the prophecy but tidings', would be pointless. It is therefore proven that the divine effusion (*fayḍ-i fayyāḍ*) is not disrupted (447a–b).

---

[49] *Wa barābar-i ān,* a literal translation of the Qurʾānic expression '*wa mithlah maʿah*' (5:36 ff.), referring here to the four additional 'words'.

[50] Inventory I, no. 47.

[51] Inventory I, no. 54 and 55.

Like Jesus, who ontologically possessed the perfect knowledge of the original Word, but was not expected to reveal it fully during his historical mission, Muḥammad also left some aspects of his message without conclusive explication. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, he did so intentionally, so that the person in charge of the Revelation after him could be recognised providing remaining portions. This person, vaguely described as a 'witness' and 'possessor of the knowledge of the Book', will guide to salvation one of the 73 sects in which the Muslim community will be divided after the death of Muḥammad.[52]

Although the historical mission of Muḥammad did not include the actual realisation of *taʾwīl* on the scale of the entire humankind, it nevertheless provided the basic elements without which such a realisation would be impossible, namely, the revelation of the 14 single phonemes and letters constituting the 'Mother of the Book'. As already mentioned above, several passages state that the four remaining phonemes and letters are contained implicitly in Muḥammad's Revelation, alluded to by the ligature *lām-alif* which is composed of four distinct letters (*alif*, *fāʾ*, *lām* and *mīm*), or by the Qurʾānic expression 'and with it its likeness' (*wa mithlah maʿah*) mentioned in one of the quotations above (fol. 52a). The following passage expresses this idea more straightforwardly:

> If someone asks why [the ligature] *lām-alif* is written [as a single sign], and why the Messenger said in a *ḥadīth* that *lām-alif* is a single letter, the answer is that, when developed, the *lām-alif* produces four letters (*ḥurūf*) [if one counts] without repetitions.[53] It is therefore the locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of these [letters], which were given to Adam [in order to complete the number of letters revealed to him] up to 32. God the Most High said: '*And for whatever verse We abrogate or cast into oblivion, We bring a better or the like of it*' [Q. 2:106] … meaning 'Whatever verse We delay (*taʾkhīr kunīm*) and do not write down, We write down the like of it.' Since [the revelation] of these four letters was delayed, [God] sent to the Messenger the like of them, in order to represent (*qāʾim-maqām*) the four [primordial] 'words' given to Adam, completing thus [the 28

[52] For more details on the figures of post-Muḥammadan revelation, see Chapter 13.

[53] I.e., *lām, alif, mīm* and *fāʾ*.

> 'words' of Muḥammad] up to the 32 ['words' of the perfect Word]: 'I received the Qurʾān and with it its like' (428a–b).[54]

But the most powerful symbol of *taʾwīl* integrated into Muḥammad's mission is the heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*) of Muḥammad, also mentioned in passage fol. 52b cited above.[55] As it appears from the descriptions in several fragments, the heavenly ascension of the Prophet exemplifies in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the return to the original source of the divine Word. The successive stages of the ascension allude to the whole period of *taʾwīl* which, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, began historically after the mission of Muḥammad was accomplished.

We have already discussed previously the *Jāwidān-nāma's* interpretation of the Lote-tree of the Boundary.[56] According to this interpretation, the Lote-tree symbolises the perfection of the human bodily form, the unique locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word. The Boundary marked by the Lote-tree is the boundary between the world of forms and the world of the pure, invisible divine Word. Applied to the story of Muḥammad's heavenly ascension, this means that Muḥammad meets Adam twice. In the beginning of the ascension, at the first heaven, he meets Adam as the first in the line of prophets who appear before him at every heaven he travels through. At the end of the ascension, when Muḥammad comes to the highest heaven, he sees the Lote-tree of the Boundary, which, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, is another representation of Adam who, at this level, is not just the first of the prophets, but the symbol of the most perfect form, the form of the complete divine Word, the archetype of the whole cycle of prophecy and the boundary of the world of forms.[57] The four ontological 'words', represented by the ligature *lām-alif* in the Qurʾān, were revealed to Muḥammad at the end of his heavenly

---

[54] Some Qurʾānic verses as, for example, '*We have given thee seven of the oft-repeated, and the mighty Qurʾān*' (Q. 15:87), are also used in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to corroborate the idea that Muḥammad received an addition to the Qurʾānic message, by means of which the 28 letters of the Qurʾānic Arabic were extended to include the complete set of the 32 primordial 'words'.

[55] For the link between the *miʿrāj* and extra-Qurʾānic revelation received by the Prophet, see Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word,* p. 28.

[56] Cf. Chapter 3.

[57] Cf. Chapter 7.

journey as four streams coming from beneath of the Lote-tree: '[The archangel] Gabriel brought [Muḥammad] to the first heaven, where he met Adam. At the end of his ascension, [Muḥammad] came to the Lote-tree of the Boundary, which is another image representing Adam. The four streams coming from beneath of the Lote-tree refer to the four remaining 'words" (277a).[58] At this point, Muḥammad reaches the knowledge of the full Word with its 32 'words', as it was revealed to Adam. Muḥammad's arrival at the Lote-tree of the Boundary thus prefigures the end of the complete cycle of the Word, including the Descent (*tanzīl*) and the Return (*taʾwīl*):

> In accordance with [the verse]: '*A good word is as a good tree*' [Q. 14:24], when the Messenger reached the Lote-tree of the Boundary (*sidrat al-muntahā*) in the eighth heaven, [he reached] the Word of the Boundary (*kalima-yi muntahā*), which [consists of the] 32 [primordial 'words'][59] … In the beginning [of his heavenly ascension, Muḥammad] saw Adam, and at the end [he came] to the Lote-tree of the Boundary, then received '*all the names* [Q. 2:31] that had been revealed to Adam (266b).

The 'two bow-lengths' mentioned in the Qurʾān 53:9 allude to two bow-shaped eyebrows, which are part of the original divine writing on the human face. The phrase 'even nearer' in the same verse refers to the 28 original 'words', usually associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the seven most basic, 'motherly' lines, symbolised by two eyebrows, four eyelashes and the hairline. Multiplied by four (for the natural elements earth, fire, water and air), they produce 28, the number of original phonemes revealed to Muḥammad. Beyond these, there are four additional phonemes symbolised by the four streams (of milk, wine, honey and water) emerging from under the Lote-tree, which separate the Qurʾānic revelation from the complete Word with its 32 'words' revealed to Adam: 'The four other ['words'][60] are represented by the four streams coming from beneath the Tree of the Boundary

[58] That is to say, the four phonemes/letters lacking in the Arabic from the full number of the 32 primordial phonemes or 'words'.

[59] The 'Word of the Boundary' marks here the revelation of the complete number of the 32 primordial 'words' of the divine Word.

[60] Those lacking in the Arabic, which is the language of the Qurʾānic revelation. See the fragment fol. 277a above.

(*dirakht-i muntahā*). Their science (*ʿilm*) is contained in the tree of the Boundary, which is the face of Adam' (207b).

According to the story of the heavenly ascension, Muḥammad went beyond the Lote-tree of the Boundary, in the region where the archangel Gabriel, who accompanied him until this point, was unable to follow him. Muḥammad then had a direct encounter with God and received from Him the ritual prayer for the Muslim community. In accordance with the *Jāwidān-nāma's* interpretation of the Lote-tree of the Boundary, this stage of Muḥammad's heavenly journey alludes to the fact that Muḥammad transcended the world of forms and reached the source of the divine Word. There, he beheld the original 28/32 aspects of the divine Word as direct emanations of the divine Essence, without intermediary of any form. This culminating point of the ascension marks also the accomplishment of *taʾwīl*, the return to the source and to the original metaphysical meanings of the 28 phonemes contained in the Qurʾānic revelation. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this fact is symbolised by the number of 50 daily prayers initially imposed upon Muḥammad by God, which corresponded to the 28 letters and 22 diacritical points of the Arabic alphabet:[61]

> The Qurʾān is composed of 28 'words' (*kalima*), and the 28 letters (*ḥurūf*) and 22 points (*nuqṭa*) are the science (*ʿilm*) of these 28 'words'.[62] Since [the total number] of letters and points is 50, God addressed Muḥammad enjoining him 50 prayers. The science [of the 50 prayers] is [represented by the] 50 letters and points of the Qurʾān … [At the end of the heavenly ascension], Gabriel remained behind, and God enjoined [to Muḥammad] 50 prayers, in accordance with the number of the 50 letters and points of the divine Word (*kalām-i ilāhī*). These [letters and points] are the science of the 28 spoken 'words', founded on the Essence of God, which have no beginning and no end (*azalī wa abadī*), which are not created (*ghayr makhlūq ast*) (432a–b).[63]

---

[61] The author evidently does not take into consideration the fact that the diacritical points were not systematically used in Arabic script at the time of Muḥammad.

[62] I.e., the names of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet.

[63] Several fragments highlight that the prayer received by Muḥammad at the end of his heavenly ascension corresponded to the primary 'words' free from any spatial dimension, form or colour. See, for example, fol. 293a–b.

It is important to note, however, that the prayer, resulting from Muḥammad's experience of *miʿrāj/taʾwīl*, refers not only to the 28 original phonemes explicitly contained in the Qurʾān, but also to the complete set of the 32 aspects of the Word that God taught Adam, which constitute the innermost meaning of the human bodily form: 'Starting from the 28, [Muḥammad] accomplished his heavenly ascension [in order to attain] the 32, on the day of Friday, which [is the day] of creation of Adam' (52a). This reference is embedded into the structure of the Muslim prayer, with 17 postures (*rakʿa*) on ordinary days and 15 *rakʿa* on Fridays, 32 *rakʿa* in sum.[64] From this point of view, the prayer is, in a sense, a second revelation given to Muḥammad. If the Qurʾān is the result and the final point of the Descent (*tanzīl*) of the divine Word, expressed by means of the Arabic language with its 28 letters and sounds, the prayer is the result of the ascension back to the source of the Word (*taʾwīl*), expressed by means of a universal bodily language of postures including all 32 elements of the complete Word. The Muslim prayer therefore announces the imminent revelation of the four primary 'words' missing in the Qurʾān:

> In a settled abode, the prayer consists of 17 [postures, on the weekdays] and 15 [postures on Fridays], which makes 32 together. Ablution is performed [before the prayer], because complete submission (*ṭāʿat-i tāmm*)[65] and original nature (*khilqa*) are revealed by the ablution. Any Muslim, who has abandoned unbelief (*kufr*), performs the prayer in this way, not in accordance with his/her native tongue which, like Mongol (*mughūl*), Hindi (*hindī*) or Persian (*ʿajamī*), [may contain] less [than 32 phonemes/letters]. Since [humans] are created in accordance with the complete original nature (*bi-khilqat-i tāmm*), the divine service must also be performed in accordance with the complete original nature. This is what makes humans (*adamī*) [really human, descendants of] Adam created by God in His form (*ṣūra*). Since whosoever goes to Paradise has the shape (*shakl*) of [Adam], the acts of worship must correspond in number to the names [taught by God to Adam] (205b).

---

[64] Similarly, the number 28 is obtained by the addition of the 17 *rakʿa* of the prayer on ordinary days to the 11 *rakʿa* of the prayer performed in travel.

[65] Or 'submission to the fullness' of the Word with its 32 'words', represented by the 32 postures of the prayer.

Since Muḥammad, in his heavenly ascension, realised the *taʾwīl* not only of the 28, but also of the full set of 32 elements of the Word, he can be considered also as the 'seal' of the whole cycle of the prophecy, including its descending and ascending segments, even if the latter was not actually disclosed to humankind at the time of Muḥammad. This idea is suggested in the following two passages:[66]

> The Messenger reached the secret of these 32 [primordial 'words' represented by the ritual postures of the prayer] … He also reached the secret of the 32 'words' taught by God to Adam, in accordance with the verse [Q. 2:31]. This is why it is said that '*God and His angels bless the Prophet*' [Q. 33:56]. In a settled abode, the prayer consists of 17 [postures on weekdays] and 15 [postures] on Fridays, which make 32 together. The prayer in accordance with this number was enjoined as Seal (*khatm*) to the Messenger (300a–b).
>
> The Friday prayer contains 15 postures (*rakʿa*), while on other [days of the week it contains] 17 postures. Together, this makes 32 postures, in accordance with the number of 32 divine 'words' without beginning and without end (*azalī abadī*). Therefore, the Messenger worshipped God in accordance with the full number of the divine 'words' (*bi-jamīʿ-yi kalām-i ilāhī*), which are His pre-existent attributes: '*Perfect are the words of thy Lord in truthfulness and justice*' [Q. 6:115]. This is why Muḥammad became the Seal of the Prophets (*khatm-ianbiyāʾ*) (401a).

Since the prayer encompasses all the 28/32 'words' of the divine Word, the original locus of manifestation of which is the form of the human body, the prayer is essentially identical to the human body: 'The science of the composition of the human [body] (*ʿilm-i waḍʿ-i insānī*) is determined by the divine Word. [Similarly], the prayer … was created in accordance with the number [of 28 letters and 22 points representing] the science of the divine Word' (343b). The prayer expresses Muḥammad's experience of the vision of God in the human form during his heavenly ascension. This idea is expressed with reference to the Lote-tree of the Boundary, which symbolises the cosmic body of Adam:

---

[66] The mention of the 'second seal' (*khātim-i thānī*) is not found in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* but appears at least in one of the early Ḥurūfī texts, the *Maḥram-nāma* by Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, who was one of the closest followers of Faḍl Allāh. See Huart, *Textes persans,* Persian text, pp. 21–22.

> When [in the course of his heavenly ascension] the Messenger went through all the heavens … and arrived to the tree of the Boundary (*dirakht-i muntahā*) … God the Most High revealed Himself [to Muḥammad] in the form of a youth, which refers to the form of Mother (*ṣūrat-i umm*) and the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*) … God thus took the form corresponding to the number of prayers He enjoined [to Muḥammad and his community]. [This form] is the form of God (*ṣūrat-i khudā'ī*) (265a–b).

In Chapter 2 we saw that the diffusion of the divine Word from its source into the created universe was made possible by the principle of Balance, which ensures also the structural homogeneity between the Word with its 28/32 'words' and the organisation of the universe with all that is contained in it. Since the prayer received by Muḥammad at the source of the divine Word is identical to the complete Word, its circulation through the levels of the creation is determined by the same line of balance that conveyed the divine Command at the beginning of the creation. The prayer thus re-actualises the line of balance and maintains the essential correspondence between the structure of the universe and the Word. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the traditional account of the opening of Muḥammad's breast that he experienced before he was taken to his heavenly journey[67] alludes to the fact that the line of balance was introduced into Muḥammad's breast, thus enabling him to receive the prayer and to bring it down: 'The night of his heavenly ascension the Messenger, peace be upon him, saw an angel who came and opened his breast … This opening means that the line of balance of the original nature (*khaṭṭ-i istiwā'-yi khilqa*) had been drawn' (202a).

> [The prayer] came from the heavens, on the night of the heavenly ascension [of Muḥammad]. When the prayer returns to the heavens, it goes to Paradise, '*the breadth whereof is as the breadth of heaven and earth*' [Q. 57:21] … This prayer is based on the [number of primordial 'words' of the divine Word], 28 and 32.

[67] On the opening of Muḥammad's breast, see H. Birkeland, *The Legend of the Opening of Muhammed's Breast* (Oslo, 1955). More particularly, on the connection of this episode with the heavenly ascension, see also B. Schrieke, 'Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds', *Der Islam* 6 (1916), pp. 1–30, especially p. 9 ff.; J. Horovitz, 'Muhammeds Himmelfahrt', *Der Islam* 9 (1919), pp. 159–183, especially p. 169 ff.; and the references in van Ess, 'Le *mi'rāǧ* et la vision de Dieu', p. 29 and note 9.

> When the prayer is accomplished in accordance with these numbers, heavens and earth, all beings and objects, constellations, all that is high and low, the Throne and the Footstool are divided in accordance with the line of balance (127b–128a).

Starting at the divine source, the prayer is bound to return to its source. From the point of view of its nature and structure, the prayer is similar to the names that God taught Adam, and which constituted the prototype of all following prophetic revelations. Therefore, the prayer is also structurally similar to the body and face of Adam, created as the original locus of manifestation of these names. After the period of the 'descent' (*tanzīl*) of the names revealed to Adam is accomplished by the prophets and sealed by Muḥammad, the heavenly ascension of Muḥammad opens the way to bring these names back to the cosmic Adam, thus closing the cycle:

> Adam is called 'Lote-tree of the Boundary' (*sidrat al-muntahā*)[68] because the knowledge (*ʿilm*) coming from God reaches first the Lote-tree of the Boundary. [Similarly], the knowledge came first to Adam; this is why the angels prostrated themselves before him.[69] From Adam, [this knowledge] reached the angels, prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) and saints (*awliyāʾ*). Every act of obedience (*ṭāʿa*) and prayer is taken by the angels from the earth to the Lote-tree of the Boundary, which [represents] the external form and inner meaning (*ṣūra wa maʿnā*) of Adam … The prayer contains 17 and 11, and 17 and 15 postures (*rakʿa*), which sum up respectively to 28 and to 32 postures. [The prayer] returns to the Lote-tree of the Boundary, which [represents the 28 and 32] lines of Adam's face (415a–b).[70]

The prayer is therefore the word of the *taʾwīl* integrated into the prophetic mission of Muḥammad, whose ascension marks the beginning of the period of the ascending flow of the Word returning to its divine source. During this period, the prayer enables believers to reproduce the experience of the heavenly ascension of the Prophet to the source of the divine Word, that is, to realise their individual *taʾwīl*. This context seems to underlie the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s understanding of the tradition mentioning the link between the heavenly ascension and the prayer:

---

[68] Q. 53:14 ff.

[69] Q. 2:34.

[70] A similar fragment can be found in fol. 131b.

> [The verse] '*To Him good words go up*' [Q. 35:10] [refers to] the 32 pure, simple ['words' of the divine Word] coming from the heavens. '*And the righteous deed – He uplifts it*' [Q. 35:10], that is, He uplifts the righteous deed to the heaven.[71] [The 'righteous deed'] is prayer (*salāt*), and it is said in the *ḥadīth:* 'The prayer is heavenly ascension of the believer'[72] (180b).

Muḥammad is the second prophetic figure of the 'maternal' cycle of the *ummī*s, and the turning point between the *tanzīl* and the *taʾwīl.* After Muḥammad, the *ummī*s will belong to the ascending, or 'returning' phase of the cycle of the Word. From this point of view, there is an evident similarity between the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s *ummī*s and the Shiʿi concept of Imāms as saints responsible for the *taʾwīl.* As previously noted, this similarity is highlighted by the fact that both words, *ummī* and *imām*, are derived from the same Arabic root *ʾmm.* In addition, the *Jāwidān-nāma* contains several passages stating that the word *imām* should be considered the plural of *umm.*

The individual *taʾwīl*, made available through the prayer brought by Muḥammad from his heavenly journey, anticipates the universal *taʾwīl*, which will be realised by the eschatological Saviour at the end of time. This final stage of the cycle of the *ummī*s corresponds to the returning phase of the Word. For humankind, this means their progressive return to the knowledge originally given by God to Adam, leading to their salvation and Paradise. For the physical universe, this means progressive dissolution, because the 28/32 ontological 'words', which support the existence of material forms, will gradually withdraw from the latter on their way back into the undifferentiated Unity of the original divine Word. Since the *Jāwidān-nāma* states the essential identity between Word and Time,[73] the end of the period of *taʾwīl*, when the Word will return to its original condition, will necessarily coincide with the completion of the full cycle of Time. The last stage of the cycle of the *ummī*s belongs to this period of *taʾwīl.* This is why its discussion is placed in the last part of this book, where we will examine the eschatological and soteriological issues of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

---

[71] *Ay yarfaʿ al-ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ ilā-l-samāʾ.*

[72] Inventory I, no. 39.

[73] Cf. Chapter 5.

11

From Idrīs to Moses: Other Significant Features of the Prophetic Missions

Every prophetic figure in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is associated with a complex network of doctrinal positions, and often related to one or several other prophets through the interpretations of the characteristic objects or episodes of their missions. In the previous chapters I have attempted to outline what seems to me as the central ideas of the *Jāwidān-nāma's* prophetology. In the present chapter I will discuss briefly the prophetic figures that were not included in this outline, as well as some additional interpretations concerning the missions of the already mentioned prophets.

The most ancient prophet mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is Idrīs.[1] According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the specific knowledge given to Idrīs is the knowledge of the heavens and heavenly bodies, as well as the knowledge of the division of Time. This means that the fundamental identity of the original divine Word, the cosmic body of Adam, the heavenly spheres and bodies and Time had been revealed to Idrīs, as well as the law of correspondence between these entities, based on the division in accordance with the numbers of 28/32 aspects, 'words' or phonemes of the divine Word. Most of the passages containing the elements of astrology, that is to say, the division of the heavens into 12 astrological houses, each of which affects a specific aspect of human life, the properties of the heavenly degrees and of their effusions, and the influence of the planets, are found in the fragments related to Idrīs:

> One of the 28 prophets [mentioned in the Qurʾān] was Idrīs, the master of the science of the heavens, planets and constellations: '*By the heaven of the constellations*' [Q. 85:1], '*And the moon –*

[1] Usually identified either with the biblical Enoch or with Hermes Trismegistus. See E. Yoram, 'Idrīs', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* vol. 2, pp. 484–486.

> *We have determined it by stations*' [Q. 36:39] … God the Most High said: '*And mention in the Book Idris; he was a true man, a Prophet*' [Q. 19:56]. [Following the inspiration he received] from the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i kashf*), he divided the constellations into 12 parts of 30 degrees each. In each degree, every planet produces a different kind of effusion (*fayḍ*), and the same holds true for the minutes. He discovered the division of all the heavens in 360 degrees, or six times 60, in accordance with the [number] of six directions.[2] [Every 60 is composed of] 32 and 28 … He divided the stations of the moon into 28, and divided every constellation into 28 [parts] in accordance with the stations of the moon, of which 14 are always visible, and 14 are hidden under the terrestrial globe … The division of the sphere of the fixed stars into 360 degrees entailed a [similar] division of the sphere of the spheres (*falak al-aflāk*) and of the earth (40b–41a).

The next prophet, Noah, seems to symbolise in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the idea of differentiation, which had been initiated by the divine Imperative 'Be!' (*K^{u}n!*), and marked the passage from the primordial Unity to the plurality of the creation.[3] The differentiation is closely associated with the principle of Balance which ensures the fundamental identity between the 28/32 ontological 'words' or phonemes produced from the differentiated Imperative and the created universe with all that it contains. The Flood in the story of Noah is interpreted from the point of view of *Jāwidān-nāma*'s alchemical symbolism. The waters of the Flood, which covered all the surface of the earth, represent the state of the original undifferentiated Unity, where the category of form did not yet exist. Since form is associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the element earth, the emergence of earth from underneath the decreasing waters of the Flood represents the emergence of the forms resulting from the differentiation:

> '*Make thou the Ark under Our eyes, and as We reveal*' [Q. 11:37; 23:27], that is, 'make thou the Pen (*qalam*), and embark in it, that is, in the Pen, your people'.[4] '*Insert in it two of every kind*' [Q. 23:27], that is, the two words *kāf* and *nūn* [of the divine

[2] I.e., north, south, east, west, zenith and nadir.

[3] Cf. Chapter 2.

[4] The similarity between the Pen and the Ark is not explained in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. For the symbolism related to the Pen, see Chapter 2, citation fol. 107–108b.

Command *Kᵘn!* (Be!)].[5] These two words are the 'two of every kind', [because] they originated the 32 [ontological 'words'] from which were produced the '*two of every kind*' and created '*all the pairs*' [Q. 36:36]. This [division into pairs] can be recognised by the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) and the original nature (*khilqa*) [of every existing thing]. '*When Our command comes and the Oven boils*' [Q. 23:27]: this water is [one of the four elements] which [together with the] 32 [parts] of earth, 32 [parts] of fire, and 32 [parts] of air [transform] the seven [lines manifested in accordance with the] original nature (*khilqa*) of the [human] face, [plus] the line of balance, into 32 [lines corresponding to the 32 [primordial] 'words' of the complete Word, revealing thus] the fullness [of the divine writing on the human] face.[6] '*Embark in it!*' [Q. 11:41], that is, in this Ark, which refers to the Pen. '*Its course and its berthing*' [Q. 11:41]: when the storm from the Oven of Adam and Eve will come and cover all the surface of the earth [with water] … [whosoever] will be not in the Ark will not be saved. Therefore [Noah] said: '*O my Lord, do Thou harbour me in a blessed harbour, for Thou art the best of harbourers*' [Q. 23:29]: the blessed harbour is that mentioned in the [verse]: '*The first House established for the people was that at Bekka, a place holy, and a guidance to all beings*' [Q. 3:96]. As to the Ark of Noah, which symbolises the Pen, it is said that when it reached the house of the Kaʿba, it turned seven times around it. '*And it was said, "Earth, swallow thy waters"*' [Q. 11:44]: this is in accordance with the order of the creation, for water [was created] the first, when '*His Throne was upon the waters*' [Q. 11:7]. When the quality of earth (*turābiyyat*) predominated over that of water (*māʾiyyat*), [it was said]: '*Earth, swallow thy waters; and, heaven, abate!*' [Q. 11:44]. [The emergence of earth from water symbolises the emergence of the] seven lines [of the divine ontological writing on the human] face … '*And the waters subsided*' [Q. 11:44]: this means that the quality of earth predominated at the end of the creation (74a–b).

---

[5] *Kull zawjayn,* this Qurʾānic expression begins with a *kāf* and ends with a *nūn.*

[6] The wording of this passage is somewhat intricate, but the basic idea is often mentioned in other fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*: the seven 'fundamental' or 'motherly' lines of the face, symbolised by the hairline, two eyebrows and four eyelashes, become eight when counted with the 'line of balance' dividing the face into two symmetrical halves. These eight lines, multiplied by four natural elements of which every line is composed, produce 32 lines, in accordance with the 32 primordial 'words' of the divine Word.

Abraham is the first prophet associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the idea of the complete revelation of the Word. This idea emerges in the interpretation of the Qurʾānic verse 2:124: '*And when his Lord tested Abraham with certain words (kalimāt), and he fulfilled them (atammahunna). He said, "Behold, I make you a leader (*Imām*) for the people.*"' According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*: 'The completion of the words [by Abraham] refers to the 32 divine 'words'. When he [Abraham] completed them, [God] said: "*I will make thee an Imām to the people*"' (458b–459a).

The completion of the divine Word puts Abraham in a very special place in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s prophetology. Several passages suggest that the knowledge of the complete Word underlies the Qurʾānic image of Abraham as the archetype of pure monotheism.[7] The idea that the human face is the privileged locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word, central for the *Jāwidān-nāma*, also determines its approach to the Qurʾānic passages related to Abraham. Abraham is described essentially as the 'prophet of the Face':

> '*So We were showing Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and earth, that he might be of those having sure faith*' [Q. 6:75]. This means that whosoever did not reach the kingdom of the heavens and earth is not from those who have sure faith. When [Abraham] saw the stars, the moon and the sun, he said that they are gods. But when they eventually sat [under the horizon], he said: '*I love not the setters*' [Q. 6:76]. [At the end] he said: 'I have turned my *face* to Him who originated the heavens and the earth' [Q. 6:79] … He [Abraham] had [the knowledge of] his face as the counterpart of Him [of God] (214a–b).

The fragment in fol. 458b–459a quoted above establishes a link between the status of the Imām and the revelation to him of the complete set of the 32 'words' of the divine Word. It will be recalled from the previous chapter that the knowledge of this complete set of 28/32 primordial 'words' is a characteristic feature of the *ummī*s, and the word *imām* is derived from the same Arabic root *ʾmm* as *ummī*. Even if Abraham is not explicitly characterised in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as an *ummī* prophet, we will see in the following passages that such an

[7] See R. Firestone, 'Abraham', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 1, pp. 5–10.

interpretation is suggested through the link between Abraham and Muḥammad, the second *ummī* prophet of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

The link between Abraham and Muḥammad is expressed essentially in the religious rites. Abraham's knowledge of the complete Word was not intended to be revealed explicitly to his community at his time, but it was reflected in the rituals he founded. At the time of Muḥammad, when the explicit revelation of the complete Word began, Abraham's rites found themselves in the context in which their original meaning could be fully expressed, and were integrated in the mission of Muḥammad. Hence the Qurʾānic reference to Abraham as predecessor of Muḥammad.[8]

According to a well-known *ḥadīth*, the body of Adam was made of the dust collected from different regions of the earth.[9] The Islamic tradition attributes the construction of the sanctuary of the Kaʿba to Abraham. This sanctuary, located in what later became the city of Mecca, marks the place from which was taken the dust for Adam's head and face. Abraham was the first prophet who established the Kaʿba as the direction of prayer (*qibla*). According to the *Jāwidān-nāma's* interpretation, this was the direct consequence of the special revelation received by Abraham, which consisted of the 32 lines of the divine ontological writing, the counterpart of the 32 primordial 'words' of the complete Word which appeared on the face of Adam. In this context, the Qurʾānic term *imām* applied to Abraham is close to its more general meaning of 'leader', especially the person who leads the prayer. Muḥammad initially followed the *qibla* of Moses, praying in the direction of the Temple of Jerusalem, but eventually changed this custom and turned to the direction of the Kaʿba.[10] According to the mentioned *ḥadīth*, the location of the Temple of Jerusalem provided the dust for the breast and the back of Adam. The breast is usually associated with knowledge, and the back with offspring. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Muḥammad turned from the *qibla* of Moses, corresponding to the knowledge given to the previous prophets,

[8] Cf. fol. 66b: 'The Messenger brought the religion of the community of Abraham (*dīn-i ummat-i Ibrāhīm*): "*Say:* '*As for me, my Lord has guided me to a straight path, a right religion, the creed of Abraham, a man of pure faith*' [Q. 6:161]." '

[9] Inventory I, no. 13.

[10] Cf. Q. 2:125, commented on in fol. 198 b. For the change in direction of the prayer, see A. J. Wensinck, 'Ḳibla', *EI2,* vol. 5, pp. 82–83.

descendants of Adam, to the *qibla* of Abraham corresponding to the direct knowledge of the most fundamental elements, 'words' and 'letters' of the divine Word written on the face of Adam, which constitute the basis and the sum of all knowledge ever received by the prophets:

> God ordered Moses to turn his face [during the prayer] towards the location of Adam's heart (*maqām-i dil-i Adam*). Before Moses, [God] ordered Abraham to turn his face towards the Kaʿba, which is the location of the head, forehead and face, because it is on the face that the divine science and [ontological] writing can be seen … It is on the face that the lines of the divine [ontological] writing become visible, not on the breast or back [which correspond to the orientation of Moses]. This is why God ordered Muḥammad to turn his face to the direction of the Kaʿba, which [corresponds to] the face of Adam. It is also for this reason that God said: '*And who is there that has a fairer religion than he who submits his face (wajhah) to God being a good-doer, and who follows the creed of Abraham, a man of pure faith?*' [Q. 4:125][11] … It is said in the Torah that Moses asked God to see His face, and [God] responded that he will see the back. Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*) is the location corresponding to His breast and back (251b–252a).[12]

However, since the head and breast are parts of the same body of Adam, they are closely related to each other. In the case of Abraham, it seems that the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes a link between the head and face on the one hand, and the breast and back on the other, between the Kaʿba and the Temple, Mecca and Jerusalem, by suggesting a parallelism between the episode of Abraham's trial and the Covenant concluded between God and the prototypes of Adam's descendants extracted from his loins in order to witness God. As we have seen in Chapter 7, the *Jāwidān-nāma* states that the prototypes of humans actually saw God at the moment of the Covenant by perceiving the 28/32 'words' of the complete divine Word in human form, and more particularly on the *face* of Adam. This is how they were enabled to testify that God is their Lord, after which they were returned to the *back* of Adam. The copy of this testament was put into the Black Stone

[11] Arberry modified ('face' instead of 'will').

[12] Cf. a similar fragment fol. 41b.

located within the Kaʿba of Abraham: 'The Covenant of the Black Stone is contained in the Kaʿba of Abraham, because the breast and the back are inseparable from the face' (6a).

> The words fulfilled [by Abraham] refer to the 32 'words' of the divine [Word]. When [Abraham] fulfilled them, [God] said: "*Behold, I make you a leader (*Imām*) for the people.*" *Said he, "And of my seed?" He said "My covenant shall not reach the evildoers."*' [Q. 2:124]. The Covenant [when God asked the prototypes of humans]: '*Am I not your Lord?*' [Q. 7:172] is contained in the Black Stone (459a).

The idea of the link between the back and the face is mentioned also in relation to the ritual of sacrifice established by Abraham and commemorated by Muslims during the *ḥajj*. Abraham was initially ordered to sacrifice his son, the fruit of his *back*. He should have performed this sacrifice with the victim facing the Kaʿba, the place corresponding to the *face* of Adam and the locus of manifestation of the complete Word. The general meaning of Abraham's sacrifice in the *Jāwidān-nāma* coincides with the reading widely admitted in Islamic mysticism. It refers to the sacrifice of the lower self (*nafs*), without which it is impossible to perceive the divine secrets:

> God the Most High said in His Book [Abraham speaking to his son]: '*My son, I see in a dream that I shall sacrifice thee*' [Q. 37:102]. God the Most High recompensed [Abraham] and said: '*And We ransomed him*' [Q. 37:107]. This means that, instead of his [son], Abraham sacrified a ram, or another animal … Abraham [thus established] a custom (*sunnatī*), following which whosoever accomplishes the pilgimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*) must sacrifice an animal representing his lower self (*nafs*) (202a–b).

The two holy cities corresponding to two directions of prayer are connected by the *isrāʾ*, the miraculous journey of Muḥammad from Mecca to Jerusalem which, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, preceded the heavenly ascension. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Gabriel opened the breast of Muḥammad in Jerusalem, the place corresponding to the breast of Adam.[13] This opening and purification of the breast at the site of the Temple of Jerusalem is related to a similar episode in the story of Moses:

[13] On the opening of Muḥammad's breast see Chapter 10, note 67.

> '*Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque, the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs*' [Q. 17:1]. The Holy Mosque and the Kaʿba are the location of the head of Adam, and the Further Mosque is the location of his back (*ẓahr*) and breast (*ṣadr*). The latter is where the descendants are located: '*And when thy Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their backs (min ẓuhūrihim), their seed*' [Q. 7:172].[14] The chest of Adam is the location of the science (*ʿilm*) and knowledge (*maʿrifa*): '*God knows the thoughts in the breasts*' [Q. 3:119]; '*It [the Book] is signs, clear signs in the breasts of those who have been given knowledge*' [Q. 29:49]. Moses said: '*Lord, open my breast … , and do Thou ease for me my task*' [Q. 20:25–6]. When [Muḥammad], during the night of his heavenly ascension, travelled from the location of the head of Adam to [the location] of his breast, he saw an angel who came and opened [Muḥammad's] breast, and purified it from any defilement (*ghubār*), because the Temple of Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*) is the pure house, the House of God. There is the location of the Tent of Meeting, and the source of the original nature (*aṣl-i khilqat*) of Adam (249a–250a).

The link between the two directions of prayer will be explored further below, when discussing the mission of Moses.

Another custom of Abraham, namely the parting of hair,[15] is also mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The parting of the hair would symbolise the line of balance, one of the properties of which is to complete the number of 28 ontological 'words', obtained from the seven basic, 'motherly' lines multiplied by the number of four elements, up to the number of 32 'words', which characterises the full Word. The parting of the hair is thus related to the Qurʾānic episode of Abraham's trial and completion of the words mentioned above.[16]

The re-actualisation of Abraham's rites within the mission of Muḥammad includes also the number of postures (*rakʿa*) in the prayer established by Muḥammad. As noted earlier, the 17 *rakʿa* of daily prayer added to the 15 *rakʿa* of the Friday prayer produce the number 32 which, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of Qurʾān 2:124, commemorates Abraham's fulfilment of the divine words. The

---

[14] Arberry modified ('backs' instead of 'loins').

[15] Cf. al-Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis,* p. 168: 'He [Abraham] … was the first to part his hair.'

[16] Cf. fol. 278b, 281a, 282a, 295a.

Muslim prayer thus comes from the community of Abraham (*az millat-i Ibrāhīm*).[17]

Moses is probably the prophetic figure that occupies the most important place among the prophets of the Old Testament mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. We have already seen several fragments related to the Moses' story in the previous chapters. In the remaining part of this chapter, I will therefore focus on the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretations of Moses' story not discussed earlier in this book.[18]

If Abraham is the 'prophet of the Face', Moses is the 'prophet of the Back and Breast'. The attribute of Moses that occupies probably the most central place in the *Jāwidān-nāma's* interpretations is the Tent of Meeting.[19] The Tent of Meeting was constructed by Moses on the site of the future Temple of Jerusalem, and prefigures the 'Further Mosque' (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*): '[Moses], who built the Tent of Meeting, was the founder of the "Further Mosque"' (251a). According to the *ḥadīth* mentioned above, this place provided the material for the back and the breast of Adam. The back of Adam contained the germs of humankind to come and, more particularly, the germs of all the prophets. From the back of Adam the prototypes of humans were extracted to behold God as their Lord and to conclude the Covenant, and then into the back they returned. The Tent of Meeting symbolises, therefore, from the geographical as well as metaphysical points of view, the place where the primordial Covenant was concluded. At the end of time, humankind will be gathered in the place where it came from. The Tent of Moses therefore stood on the locus of the Last Gathering:

> The land of the Gathering of the prophets (*ḥashr-i anbiyā'*) is the land of Jerusalem, because [it is the location] of the breast and back, from which are born all the prophets, saints and unbelievers (*hama anbiyā' wa awliyā' wa kuffār*). It is there that they concluded the Covenant (*'ahd*). There they will return, and there they will gather, because 'everything returns to its origin' (8a–b).

---

[17] Cf. fol. 66b–67a.

[18] For more details see Mir-Kasimov, 'Some Specific Features of the Ḥurūfī Interpretation'.

[19] Inventory II, no. 12.

As we have seen in fragment fol. 249a–250a, the location of the Tent of Meeting is associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the breast of Adam, and the breast is essentially the receptacle of prophetic knowledge. The only prophetic knowledge in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is the knowledge of the Word and its 28/32 original 'words'. It is interesting that several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* state that Moses, like Abraham, received the knowledge of the *complete* divine Word. We have already seen in Chapter 9 that the episodes of Moses' encounter with God on Mount Sinai, including Moses' wish to see God, followed by the pulverisation of the mountain, and the breaking of the tablets, are interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as describing the revelation to Moses of the complete set of 28/32 original 'words'. We have also seen that the prophetic attributes corresponding to the full set of 28/32 'words' symbolise in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the human face, the original locus of manifestation of the Word. Therefore, it is not surprising that the *Jāwidān-nāma* identifies the tablets of Moses with the human face, and more specifically with the face of Adam. The *Jāwidān-nāma* further highlights that the tablets were deposited in the Tent of Meeting. There is therefore an essential link between the knowledge contained in the breast, symbolised by the Tent of Moses, and the knowledge of the full Word manifested on the face of Adam:

> His [Adam's] breast is the locus of manifestation of the divine science (*maẓhar-i ʿilm-i khudā*), and his back (*ẓuhr*) is the locus of manifestation of the prophets. The prophets and, in particular, Moses, turned their faces in this direction. It is in this location that [Moses] deposited the Torah and the tablets [of the Law], which contained 10 verses[20] and which represent [the human] face. Whosoever prostrates himself [in this direction], prostrates himself necessarily before all the prophets and Adam (251b).

In addition, it is said in the Qurʾān that Moses received the 'complete Book' (*al-kitāb tamām*), which is also associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the Tent of Meeting:

> [The 'Further Mosque' (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*) mentioned in the Qurʾān 17:1] refers to the Temple of Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*), which is the location of the Tent of Meeting where, as it is said, the Torah is preserved. This is why God said: '*Then We gave*

[20] Inventory II, no. 15.

> *Moses the Book, complete for him who does good, and distinguishing every thing, and as a guidance and a mercy; haply they would believe in the encounter with their Lord*' [Q. 6:154]. The 'completeness' (*tamāmī*) is the counterpart of 'doing good'. This refers to the explanations [related to the construction] of the Tent of Meeting (352b).

Very much like Abraham, Moses was not expected to explicitly reveal the knowledge of the complete Word during his historical mission. But the *Jāwidān-nāma* seems to suggest that the 28/32 basic elements of this knowledge were encrypted and preserved in the measurements of the Tabernacle described in detail in Exodus 26. This is the reason for which several fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* underscore a close relationship between the broken tablets of Moses, the 'complete Book', and the Tent of Meeting. All three represent the complete divine Word; all three are copies of the original Book of God, of which the human body and face are the first comprehensive locus of manifestation. Hence the anthropomorphic interpretation of the measurements of the Tent:

> Each curtain of the Tent was furnished with 50 loops, featuring the 50 letters and points, counterparts of the 28 phalanges of the fingers of the hands and feet located on each side of the face … [Each curtain of] the Tent measures 28 cubits of length and four cubits of width, [reproducing] the shape of the [human] face … The 28 [original Words] correspond to the 50 letters and points [of the Arabic alphabet]. Their original form of expression is the [human] face. The 28 and 28 ['words' which underlie the 50 letters and points] appear subsequently in the form of [the phalanges] of the fingers of the hands and the feet, 28 on each side of the body. The 50 letters and points are their science. And each side of the Tent contained 50 loops attached to the Tent (180a–b).

Thus, the Tent of Meeting expresses not only the symbolic values specific to the Back of Adam, but also those related to his Face. From this point of view, the Tent of Meeting of Moses is an equivalent of the Kaʿba of Abraham:

> Concerning the pilgrimage to the Kaʿba: the Kaʿba represents the perfect soul (*mithāl-i nafs-i kāmil*). What Moses built, that is, the Tent of Meeting, is also an indication (*dalāla*) of the 50 distinctive features (*ʿalāma*) of the bodily form of the perfect

> human (*ṣūrat-i insān-i kāmil*). From this point of view, [Moses] attained his own Kaʿba, [and he attained the realisation of the fact] that the 32 [lines of the human face and body] are the knowledge mentioned in [the verse]: '*taught man that he knew not*' [Q. 96:5], that is, [taught man the meaning] of his own bodily form contained in the 32 [original 'words']. Thus, [the meaning of the saying], 'he who knows himself [knows his Lord]', was indeed realised for him (215a).
>
> Moses turned his face [during the prayer] in the direction of the Tent of Meeting … because [there] was the mountain where God appeared to him … God told Moses to make 11 curtains to represent the lines of the face of Adam … He said that these 11 curtains must be 28 cubits long and four cubits wide to represent the 32 [original] sounds. And it is there [in the Tent] that he [Moses] laid down the Tablets … [The Tent of Meeting] is similar to the Kaʿba (364a).

Just as in the case of rites established by Abraham, the fact that the Tent of Moses was constructed in accordance with the complete number of 28/32 ontological 'words' means that its full meaning would be explicitly revealed during the mission of Muḥammad, which corresponds to the point in the prophetic cycle when such a revelation becomes possible. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Tent of Meeting anticipates the revelation of the 28 ontological 'words' corresponding to the 28 letters of the Qurʾān, and of the four additional 'words' corresponding to the distance between the revelation of Muḥammad and the original knowledge of Adam, the distance that Muḥammad would cover during his heavenly ascension, significantly starting from the location of the Tent of Meeting. As mentioned in the next quotation, which gives us another interpretation of the measurements of the Tent, the 'meeting' mentioned in the name of Moses' Tent alludes to the meeting between Muḥammad and Adam at the end of Muḥammad's heavenly ascension, the meeting between the 28 and the 32, which closes the cycle of the Word and restores it in its fullness. The complete Word resulting from this meeting is reflected in the measurements of the Tent as well as in the structure of the Muslim prayer:

> The first and the last curtain of the Tent [of Moses] were furnished with 50 loops each, in accordance with the number of letters and diacritical points of the 'words' of the Prophet

> [Muḥammad]. There were 11 curtains, each of them 28 cubits long,[21] in accordance with the number of the 28 words of prayer in travel [which contains 11 *rakʿāt*], and four cubits wide, [in order to produce the number] 32, that of the 32 original 'words'. This tent is named in the Torah 'the Tent of Meeting' [Exodus 39 ff.] because it represents the 28 'words' of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and the 32 'words' of Adam. This number [32] governs the prayer established by Muḥammad, which includes 17 *rakʿa* every weekday and 15 *rakʿa* on Friday (286b).

Another important episode of Moses' story much elaborated upon in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is the episode of the Burning Bush. Just as the episode of the parting of waters that we discussed in Chapter 2, the interpretations related to the Burning Bush are focused on alchemical symbolism. The fire from which God spoke to Moses is one of the four elements that constitute the body of Adam. It is subordinated to the element earth, the only element that can maintain form, and conveys the same division into 28/32 parts corresponding to the aspects of the complete Word as the body of Adam. This is why this fire is able to speak, to express the divine Word.[22] The fire of the Burning Bush is 'the light of the theophany, which appears to prophets and saints in order to inform them about the divine Essence and attributes, about the Resurrection, the Origin and the Return' (168a). Moses saw in the fire the manifestation of God in the form of Adam, revealing the division of the human body and face in accordance with the 28/32 'words' of the complete Word, and this manifestation was the prototype of the measurements of the Tent of Meeting (fol. 180a–b). The Bush itself is compared to the Lote-tree of the Boundary where Muḥammad spoke with God (fol. 72a).

The figure of Moses synthesises a number of central doctrinal positions of the *Jāwidān-nāma* and introduces the cycle of the *ummī*s, discussed in the previous chapter.

---

[21] There is apparently a confusion between the measurements of the Tabernacle and those of the exterior Tent (Exodus 26).

[22] 'Moses built the Tent of Meeting [as a representation of what] he saw in the fire. [He did so] in order to mark the predominance (*taghlīb*) of earth, in accordance with the division of the [human] face into the 28 parts of fire. He [constructed] the Tent because it was [made] of earth, in order to show that it is [earth] that has the aptitude to receive [a given] form (*qābiliyyat-i ṣūra*), while the fire was divided into 28 parts after [earth]' (180a–b). See also fol. 49b, 295b, 377b–378a, 380a, 415b–416a.

Part III

Soteriology and Eschatology

In Chapter 7 we have briefly referred to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretations of the Qurʾānic story of the fall from Paradise. This event created a rupture between the original human condition and the state of historical humankind. The prophetic missions are essentially intended to cover this gap and to lead humankind back to its original condition.[1] According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the exclusion of Adam and Eve from Paradise alludes to their loss of the knowledge of the complete divine Word with its 28/32 'words' that God had first 'written' by creating the human bodily form and then taught to Adam. From this point on, there existed two general possibilities to restore this knowledge and thus return to Paradise.

The first possibility is personal enlightenment, understood as individual realisation of the *taʾwīl*. From the point of view of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the knowledge of the Word constitutes the ontological basis of humanity and of human bodily form. Therefore, this knowledge is potentially available to all human beings, for whom it is essentially self-knowledge. It determines the ontological condition of any particular human being or, in other words, his or her place in Paradise of knowledge or Hell of ignorance:

> O seeker, you have been created by the 32 divine 'words'. These 32 'words' are one and the same Word in their essence … The innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of your [being consists of] these 32 'words' without beginning and without end, linked to the essence of the presence of Unity (*muttaṣil bi-dhāt-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*). When you reach the station (*maqām*) [corresponding to this knowledge], necessarily [the condition of Paradise following] the

[1] Cf. A. H. Johns, 'Fall of Man', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* vol. 2, p. 172.

> first [death, mentioned in the verse]: '*They shall not taste therein of death, save the first death*' [Q. 44:56], will be [realised for you] (462a–b).

The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s fundamental statement on the human form as the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word means that the lack of actual knowledge of the complete Word can entail the regression of humans into the lower forms of life, like animals, plants or minerals, which correspond to the combinations of a lesser numbers of ontological 'words'. The doctrinal developments on this topic complete the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of transformations or transmigrations in the food chain that we discussed previously (in Chapter 6).

The second possibility of returning to the original human condition is the universal realisation of the *taʾwīl* at the end of the general prophetic cycle, when the revelation of the 28/32 ontological 'words', the 'foundations' of the divine Word, gradually realised by the *ummī*s, or 'motherly' prophets and saints, will culminate with the coming of the eschatological Saviour. The Saviour, identified in many passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* with Jesus, will explicitly reveal the ultimate meaning of the human form as the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word, and redeem the transgression of Adam and Eve by his sacrifice.[2] Consequently, the humans will recover their original identity to the full extent, in the sense that their knowledge of the Word will correspond perfectly to the knowledge represented by their bodily forms, just as was the case before the fall.

[2] As we will see later on in Chapter 13, the *Jāwidān-nāma* seems to admit on this point the doctrine of redemption through the sacrifice of Christ.

12

Ways of Individual Salvation: Paradise of Knowledge and Hell of Ignorance[1]

The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the Qurʾānic description of the events that led to the exclusion of Adam and Eve from Paradise is founded on the hierarchy of the four natural elements with regard to their capacity to express the knowledge of the Word. This hierarchy has been discussed in Part One. Fire is the most subtle of the four elements and therefore less able to maintain a given form. Since form is the locus of manifestation of the knowledge, the 'science' (*ʿilm*) of the Word, the fire is less likely to receive this knowledge. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this idea is expressed by Satan's refusal to bow down to Adam: '*I am better than he: Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay*' [Q. 7:12]. Satan, made of fire, was unable to perceive the knowledge of the divine Word expressed by the *form* of Adam made of earth. Therefore, Satan did not receive this knowledge and remained forever in ignorance.

Ignorance is also the lot of the demons, the followers of Satan. The knowledge conveyed by the means of the bodily form of Adam to the angels was the knowledge of the divine Word. Since all that exists was created by the Word, Satan and the demons did not receive the knowledge concerning the creation of the universe, including the creation of their own selves. With reference to Qurʾān 18:51, the *Jāwidān-nāma* states that they 'did not witness their own creation'. Another consequence of the ignorance is that Satan and the demons cannot enter the heavens. As we have seen in Chapter 6, the division of the

[1] In the following, I have used some material from my article, O. Mir-Kasimov, '"Paradise is at the Feet of Mothers": the Ḥurūfī Road', in S. Guenther and T. Lawson, ed., *Roads to Paradise: Eschatology and Concepts of the Hereafter in Islam* (Leiden, Boston and Tokyo, forthcoming).

heavenly spheres reproduces the fundamental division of the human body into 28/32 parts corresponding to the 28/32 'words' of the complete Word. The demons cannot enter the heavens because the knowledge of the complete Word is denied to them, as well as the knowledge of the creation of the heavens, which was contained in the teaching of Adam they missed because of their pride:

> The demons did not bow down to Adam, and their descendants [have no access to the secrets] of the creation of the heavens and of the earth … Satan does not know that he is Satan, that is, that he was created by the Imperative [*K^{u}n! (Be!)* composed of two consonnants] *kāf* and *nūn* … because these [names of the letters] *kāf* and *nūn* contain 28 and 32 [ontological] 'words', which make the grandeur of Adam. The [*ḥadīth*s], 'God created Adam in His form' and 'in the form of the Merciful', allude to this fact, and the angels bowed down because Adam taught them the *kāf* and the *nūn* [of the divine Imperative], by which are created Adam, Satan and [all other] beings and objects. Adam is the teacher and locus of manifestation [of the divine Imperative and the 28/32 ontological 'words']. This is why it is said [concerning demons]: '*[I made them not witness] … the creation of themselves*' [Q. 18:51], and also: '*They listen not to the High Council, for they are pelted from every side*' [Q. 37:8] because they cannot access the heavens, and if they do '*except such as snatches a fragment, and he is pursued by a piercing flame*' [Q. 37:10]. The demons cannot attain the [knowledge concerning] the creation of the heavens and the earth and understand its secrets; this is why (is is said that) they cannot accede to the heavens (97a).

When Adam and Eve, following the suggestion of Satan, ate from the forbidden tree and discovered their nakedness, as described in Qurʾān 7:12–25, they lost, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the 'raiment' of the divine science, the perception of their bodies as the loci of manifestation of the divine Word.

> [God] forbade Adam to come close to the tree, lest he becomes unjust.[2] Satan stripped them [Adam and Eve] of their raiment[3] (*libās*) because he [Satan] is [made] of fire, and thus does not possess such a raiment [of bodily form] which is the locus of manifestation of the 32 'words'. Whosoever comes close to the

[2] Allusion to Q. 2:35.

[3] Allusion to Q. 7:27.

> 'evil tree' (*shajara-yi khabītha*),[4] risks to lose in fire the raiment [of his or her bodily form], which is the copy [of the form of Adam] (389b).

In order to convince Adam and Eve to follow his suggestions, Satan used the Corrupt word, the opposite of the 28/32 pure divine 'words'. However, as the 28/32 'words' that emanated from the divine Essence are the origin of the entire creation, the Corrupt word cannot have any other foundation other than the 28/32 originally pure 'words': 'Satan prevents (people) from accessing the real knowledge of their selves by means of the Corrupt word, the origin (*aṣl*) of which is pure' (160a).[5] We have already discussed a similar relationship between the ontological words and the words of imitation in Chapter 8. The critical difference between the Pure word and the Corrupt word is that the latter, just like Satan himself and the demons, cannot rise up to the divine Presence, to the source of the knowledge that was given to Adam: 'Indeed, the author of any imperfection is and will be the impure word, opposed to the pure word mentioned in [the verse]: "*To Him mount up (all) words of purity*" [Q. 35:10]. The impure word is that which cannot rise up to Him' (53a). The Pure word is naturally assimilated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the word of the prayer which, as we have seen in the previous section, comes from God and returns to Him.

It is interesting that the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes a link between the forbidden tree of Paradise and other Qurʾānic images of an evil tree. This thematic approach to the Qurʾānic text, when passages from different suras related to similar concepts are brought together and compared, is characteristic of the *Jāwidān-nāma*: 'God said to Adam: "*Draw not nigh this tree, lest you be evildoers*" [Q. 2:35]. This is the same tree as "*the tree cursed in the Qurʾān*" [Q. 17:60]. "*And the*

---

[4] Allusion to Q. 14:26.

[5] This resembles the thesis of non-existence of evil in Mazdaism. Cf. S. Shaked, 'Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and his Creation', *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 227–234. We will see some examples of Mazdaist vocabulary in the *Jāwdān-nāma* further below (cf. fol. 165b), but in the present stage of research it is difficult to say how profoundly the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine was influenced by Mazdaism. Mazdaist vocabulary was used at the time of FaḍlAllāh both in Sufi and Shiʿi circles.

likeness of a corrupt word is as a corrupt tree – uprooted from the earth, having no stablishment" [Q. 14:26] (192b).[6]

Another voice assimilated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to satanic suggestions is the voice of the lower self (*nafs*). Just as the Corrupt word and the demons, the thoughts and actions inspired by the lower self cannot lead to heavenly knowledge.[7]

Following the fall from Paradise, the humans who do not recognise the knowledge contained in their own bodily form take part in the ignorance of Satan, and join him in his element, which is fire:

> Among the natural elements, fire is the most distant one as to the possibility to receive a form in order to express the Word of God, and the earth is the closest. The fire is more distant than air, water and earth because it is the most subtle [among the four elements]. This is why [Satan] said: '*I am better than he*' [Q. 7:12]. The Lord of Unity endowed earth with the capacity to receive a form, and [the earth] became locus of manifestation for the expression of the divine Word… '*The inhabitants of the Fire*' who say: '*pour on us water*' [Q. 7:50] are those who are deprived of the capacity to maintain a form or an image, who did not have [this capacity] in the past and will not have it in the future, just as Satan who said: '*Thou createdst me of fire*' [Q. 7:12]. Those who possess [outwardly] a human form in this sensible universe, but do not find out how [this form] expresses the [divine] Word, cannot realise what makes humans really human. They are with Satan, because the fire is the origin of Satan, and they are the companions of fire. Consequently, in the next world, they will be tortured either by fire or by water boiling on fire (192b–193a).

The last citation expresses the idea that those humans who do not attain the knowledge of the divine Word are not really human, because their ontological knowledge does not correspond to the metaphysical meaning of their bodily form. The *Jāwidān-nāma* maintains, as observed in Part One, that there is exact balance between the inner truth that brings an entity into existence and the external form of this entity, which is the locus of manifestation of the former. This balance

---

[6] This is an example of the 'thematic' interpretation of the Qurʾān in the *Jāwdān-nāma,* extended elsewhere in the text to the *ḥadīth* and biblical materials. As mentioned in the Introduction, the same method was very probably expected to be applied to the fragmented contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma* itself.

[7] Cf., for example, the passage fol. 277a–b cited below, in Chapter 13.

is consistently valid in the world of Images, where the relationship between the metaphysical ontological truths and the forms of their manifestation is immediate. But it can be provisionally broken in the material world, because some divergence between the two counterparts can develop during the lifetime of any given object or being. In this case, the balance will be restored after physical death, when the external form, no more corresponding to the inner truth, will be destroyed. The latter will then receive an adjusted form in the world of Images, which will possibly generate a corresponding physical form for a new cycle of physical existence.[8] One of the aspects of this theory is developed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to the Qurʾānic expression '*their faces enveloped by the Fire*' (*wa taghshā wujūhahum al-nār*) (Q. 14:50). The fire, 'element of ignorance', symbolises that part of ignorance that separates some humans from the knowledge of the full divine Word. Since the human face is the locus of manifestation of this knowledge, in the world of Images the faces of such humans will be covered by fire. The fire will hide the 'science' of the divine Word written on the human face. Those human beings who remained unaware of the ontological knowledge corresponding to the human bodily form will be thus reduced to the forms of life corresponding to their actual knowledge, namely to the animal, vegetal and mineral forms:

> '*Their faces enveloped by the Fire*' [Q. 14:50]: in the world of spirits ('*ālam-i arwāḥ*), the prophets saw the fire cover all faces, because the original nature (*khilqa*) of Satan [is made] from fire. Similarly, the face of Adam is ['covered'] by the 32 [primordial] 'words', the aptitude to receive which belongs to the world of earth. [Since Satan and his followers] did not accept [the superiority of earth and the science of the 32 primordial 'words' it bears], necessarily, it is fire that covers their faces in the other world. They will be downgraded into the animal, mineral and vegetal forms (*ṣūrat-i ḥaywān wa jamād wa nabāt*) … because their human form (*ṣūrat-i bashariyya*) is covered by fire (194a).

[8] The idea that the inner truth is dependent upon acts (*aʿmāl*) and impressions, or 'aperceptions' (*idrākāt*) associated with them, and can evolve and change in the course of temporal existence, is more explicitly expressed in later Ḥurūfī texts, such as the *Maḥram-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī. I will return to this text in the Conclusion. Whether these later texts accurately describe Faḍl Allāh's original ideas, or represent an independent line of doctrinal development, is an open question.

The following passage contains some additional details along the same lines. The knowledge of the Word is 'covered', that is hidden for Satan, because he did not recognise earth's capacity to express the divine science. The fact that fire 'covers' earth reflects this attitude of Satan:

> '*Their faces enveloped by the Fire*' [Q. 14:50] … God the Most High created Adam of earth. No other [element] has the aptitude to receive (*qābiliyya*) [and maintain] the lines of divine [ontological] writing, which are the science (*ʿilm*) of the 28 and 32 divine 'words'. [Only] the human tongue can produce [the whole range of these 'words', or phonemes]; no other creature is enabled to do this. [God] divided the face of Adam in accordance with the number of names He taught him:[9] '*God's original upon which He originated mankind. There is no changing God's creation*' [Q. 30:30]. '*I am better than he: Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay*' [Qur 7:12]. And Satan was [made] of fire, and he did not bow down to Adam. He said: '*I am better than he: Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay*' [Qur 7:12]. Therefore, [unlike the angels who bowed down to Adam], Satan made of fire did not read the lines of the divine [ontological writing on the face of Adam]. They remained 'enveloped' to him. Necessarily, those who follow Satan made of fire … [will see] '*their faces enveloped by the Fire*'. Fire is promised to the inhabitants of Hell, the kind of fire of which Satan is made. Though fire is also one [of the four natural elements] constituting the body of Adam, the element predominant in the constitution of Adam is earth, because it is earth that has the aptitude to receive [and maintain] the lines of the divine [ontological writing], which [are the visible manifestation] of the divine Word (311b).

The Qurʾānic verse 4:47: '*You who have been given the Book, believe in what We have sent down, confirming what is with you, before We obliterate faces, and turn them upon their backs …* ' expresses, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the same idea as the image of faces covered by fire. When the human face is turned hindwards, the lines of the divine writing are not visible on it and it looks like an animal face, uniformly covered with fur, with no clear pattern of facial features:

> [God] enjoins people to believe in the Qurʾān '*before We obliterate faces, and turn them upon their backs*' [Q. 4:47] … that

[9] Reference to Q. 2:31: '*He taught Adam the names, all of them.*'

> is, '[before] We erase the science of the Word [from their faces]'; or 'turn your faces upon [your] napes', that is, 'make your faces like the faces of animals', pigs and dogs, which do not manifest the science of the 28 and 32 [primordial] 'words', because they are covered with fur (429a).

Thus, the perfection of humanity is not guaranteed, but only possible in humans. Those who fail to realise the knowledge corresponding to the human bodily form remain animals:

> When the descendants of Adam cannot find the way leading [to the knowledge] of the innermost meaning] of the form (*ṣūra*) of Adam, and cannot reach [the knowledge] of the original nature (*khilqa*) of the things, and cannot discern the 32 and 28 [primordial 'words'], inherited through the Word (*kalima*) [of the prophetic revelation?] in the external shape (*shakl*) of Adam, and cannot realise [the condition expressed in the utterance]: 'he who knows himself, knows his Lord', they are rejected (*mardūd*) [from the human condition, in accordance with the verse]: '*We indeed created Man in the fairest stature/ then We restored him the lowest of the low*' [Q. 95:4–5]. Their faces will be turned upon their backs [in accordance with the verse], '*before We obliterate faces, and turn them upon their backs*' [Q. 4:47], and thus reappear in the form of animals (*ṣūrat-i ḥaywān*). The line [of the divine ontological writing] proper to the face of Adam and his bodily form will be exchanged (*badal*) for this animal, mineral or vegetal condition. [After this] they will be unable to recognise the Father (*padar*).[10] Even if they contemplate their [transformed] form for an eternity of eternities, they will not be able to imagine their [original] species and the extent [of its possibilities]. In this world and in another, '*They are like cattle; nay, rather they are further astray. Those – they are heedless*' [Q. 7:179], just as a snake, a bull or a donkey, who know nothing about their line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwā*) or the Word that commands their [existence]. They have no knowledge about the form of their humanity (*ṣūrat-i bashariyyat-i khūd*), which they inherited from Adam, and which 'measures 60 cubits'.[11] They do not know that, by the means of the bodily form of Adam, they can reach Paradise, '*the breadth whereof is as the breadth of heaven and earth*' [Q. 57:21]. [They have no knowledge about such things],

[10] I.e., Adam.

[11] Inventory I, no. 19.

> like snakes, scorpions, monkeys or frogs. All creatures will perish except the Perfect Human (*insān-i kāmil*) (121b).

From what has been said up to this point, it could be concluded that the condition of mankind after the loss of the original knowledge and exclusion from Paradise is akin to the condition of demons, who never possessed such knowledge. The best an ignorant human can expect in the afterlife is regression into an animal form; the worse is eternal Hellfire. That would be true but for an important detail: since human beings are created in the form of the Merciful, they have an essential link with the divine attribute of Mercy.[12] 'Satan did not bow down to Adam, and Adam was in the form of the Merciful; he was the name of the Merciful and of God (Himself)' (266b–267a).[13]

The last citation suggests that, by his refusal to follow the divine order and bow down to Adam, Satan lost not only the knowledge of the divine Word conveyed by the bodily form of Adam, but also the divine Mercy expressed by this form. In the previous chapters, we have already discussed the special link that the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes between the 28/32 'words' of the divine Word and the attribute of Mercy. Several passages maintain that the knowledge of the 28/32 'words' is an expression of the divine Mercy. The ontological names, which bring the universe with all that it contains into existence, are conveyed into the creation by the divine Mercy; they are the 'breath of the Merciful'. Since this ontological knowledge is assimilated to Mercy, ignorance is on the side of the opposite divine attributes of Coercion (*qahr*) and Wrath (*ghaḍab*).[14]

To the extent that fire, the original element of Satan, symbolises ignorance and denial of the form of the Merciful, Wrath is inherent to the condition of Satan and demons. The divine emanations cannot reach them but as manifestations of Wrath.[15] The human beings who

---

[12] Cf. Chapters 1 and 4.

[13] For the relationship between the terms 'mercy' (*raḥma*), 'womb' (*raḥim*) to Eve in the *Jāwidān-nāma* see Chapter 4, and Mir-Kasimov, 'Les dérivés de la racine *rḥm*'.

[14] Cf. fol. 121a, with reference to the followers of Satan who remain away from the knowledge of names given to Adam: *bi-ṣifāt-i ghaḍab wa qahr mawṣūf shudand.*

[15] The damnation of humans is therefore provisionary, while the damnation of Satan is definitive. For similar ideas in the thought of Rūzbihān Baqlī Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209), and in particular for essential link between God's attribute of Wrath and Satan, see the substantial study of P. Ballanfat introducing his edition of four texts of

do not realise the ontological knowledge originally given to Adam are subjected to the same Wrath in the Hellfire. However, unlike Satan and the demons, fire is not the original element of humans, who are made of earth and the divine Mercy is inherent to their bodily form. In other words, for the human beings, the form of their own bodies is the token of the divine Mercy; it contains all the knowledge necessary to escape from Hell and to enter Paradise. The humans are the only creatures in the universe for whom salvation is always available through self-knowledge. The liberation from Hell is attained by the contemplation of the form of the Merciful: 'According to a *ḥadīth*, the gates of Hell will be opened, and nobody will remain there [on the day when] the All-Merciful will put His foot on Hell. This refers to the station (*maqām*) where [the inhabitants of Hell] will see the form of Adam, which is the form of the All-Merciful' (119b).

In passage fol. 166a–b, quoted in Chapter 8, human liberation from the Hell of ignorance by the means of self-knowledge is described as the passage from the Word of imitation to the true Word, and as victory of Ohrmazd over Ahriman. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the word of imitation seems assimilated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the Corrupt Word of Satan.

As noted in the previous chapters, the divine attribute of Mercy is most closely associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the figures of Eve and Mother. Metaphysically, Mother symbolises the fundamental divine writing, the matrix of all existing forms. In the womb of Mother, the development of the embryo reproduces all the stages of the creation, from the undifferentiated drop of sperm to the human form, the fully differentiated locus of manifestation of the divine Word. The knowledge of the complete Word cannot be attained without knowledge of the fundamental writing contained in the bodily shape and facial features of Mother. Only this 'motherly' knowledge can open the doors of Paradise, where human beings enter in the 'form of Eve' that they received at the moment of birth from their mothers. On

---

Rūzbihān, *Quatre traités inédits de Ruzbehân Baqlî Shîrâzî* (Tehran, 1998), in particular pp. 168–171. We should note, however, that not any fire is assimilated to ignorance in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Fire in its positive manifestation, as light of theophany, is identical to the 28/32 original 'words'. We have already discussed in Part One the luminous appearance of the Word and the ambiguity of the element fire in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

the day of the last Gathering, humans will be called 'by their mothers'; whoever forsakes Eve, forsakes divine Mercy and therefore his or her chance of salvation. Within the general prophetic cycle, the revelation of this fundamental writing is the mission of the *ummī*s, the 'motherly' prophets and saints. In the next chapter, we will see how the cycle of the *ummī*s culminates with the second coming of Jesus, when he will open the seven seals of the Book of Life identical to the seven lines of the divine writing on the face of Mary.

The principle of 'return to the Mother' is essential for the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of salvation, in its individual as well as collective dimensions. The following fragment highlights once more that separation from Eve leads to the loss of the fundamental knowledge and eventually to Hell:

> On each of the eight gates of Paradise are written four words (*kalima*). This makes in sum 32 [primordial 'words'] which constitute the form of Adam, who is the means (*wāsiṭa*) leading to Paradise. And on each of the seven gates of Hell … are written three lines. This makes 21 in sum, referring to the form of Eve and the writing of her face … Indeed, *al-ḥamd* [the opening sura of the Qurʾān, *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*], which is in the form of Eve, contains seven verses and 21 'words',[16] and anyone who forsakes it goes to Hell … '*Gehenna shall be their promised land all together. Seven gates it has, and unto each gate a set portion of them belongs*' [Q. 15:43–4]. 'Paradise lies at the feet of mothers',[17] and the 'Seven Twofold' (*sabʿ-i mathānī*)[18] [are named] 'Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*), because [they are] the mother of all meanings (*maʿānī*). [All meanings of the Qurʾān are implicitly contained] in the 'womb' (*baṭn*) [of the Mother of the Book],[19] and from her they are born (24a–b).

Knowledge of the self leads the seeker to enlightenment when he or she realises that the innermost metaphysical reality of the human being consists of 28/32 ontological 'words' of the eternal divine Word. This realisation brings the seeker to the world of divine Unity, to the

---

[16] Here 'word' (*kalima*) means the name of the letter (*alif, bāʾ*, etc.). There are 32 letters in the form of Adam and 21 letters (without repetitions) in the opening sura of the Qurʾān (*thāʾ, jīm, khāʾ, zayn, shīn, ẓāʾ* and *fāʾ* do not appear in this sura).

[17] Inventory I, no. 36.

[18] See Chapter 4 and the Glossary.

[19] Inventory I, no. 1.

original source of the 28/32 'words', where he or she takes part in the eternal condition of divine Essence and attributes. The *Jāwidān-nāma* refers to this stage by the Sufi term *maqām-i wuṣla*, 'spiritual station of the union', and characterises it using the Qurʾānic expression 'the abode of everlasting life' (*dār al-muqāma*) (Q. 35:35):

> When the perfect soul (*nafs-i kāmil*) of Adam or that of the seeker of the divine [knowledge] sees itself, that is, when it sees its own original nature (*khilqa*) as science of the 32 divine 'words', and discovers that its own innermost reality (*ḥaqīqa*) [consists of] these 32 divine 'words', it reaches the station of Union (*maqām-i wuṣla*) … and the world of subsistence (*ʿālam-i baqāʾ*). [It reaches] the Essence and the attributes of the [divine] Unity (*aḥadiyya*): '*They shall not taste therein of death, save the first death*' [Q. 44:56] (284b).

The next citation expresses the same idea with the focus on the stages of progression from the lines of the human face to the original unity of the Word:

> God wrote by the hand of His might the 28 letters which are the science of the 28 [ontological] 'words'. Departing from this science of the face of Adam it is possible to attain [the knowledge] of the original human nature, which leads [in its turn] to the 28 eternal divine 'words', which lead to the divine Unity, which constitutes the fundamental essence of the 28 'words'. 'He who knows himself knows his Lord' (403a).

We have already seen that the realisation of his or her own ontological reality as the sum of the 28/32 'words' of the divine Word brings the seeker back to Paradise, which is the original and genuine condition of humanity.[20]

Self-knowledge is also the recognition of the human form, that of Adam, in the constitution of the heavens and heavenly bodies. The effusion of the Word transmitted by the degrees of the heavenly spheres, with their constellations and planets, can lead the seeker to the perception proper to Paradise. Inversely, whoever does not attain such knowledge, cannot receive the heavenly effusions coming from the cosmic form of Adam and remains therefore in Hell:

---

[20] Cf. passage fol. 462a–b above.

> Whosoever is able to discern these significations and conditions (*maʿnā wa ḥālāt*) [made manifest by the division of the heavenly spheres in accordance with the numbers of the ontological 'words', attains] the deepest understanding of the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) and of the division [introduced by] 'his length is 60 cubits',[21] as well as of entering Paradise, '*the breadth whereof is as the breadth of heaven and earth*' [Q. 57:21] in the form of Adam. Whosoever grasps with certitude [the working of the] heavenly effusion (*fayḍ az samawāt*) and of the receptive aptitude of earth (*qābiliyyat-i arḍ*), [and understands that] this effusion is never interrupted, attains the [knowledge] of the innermost meaning (*ḥaqīqa*) of this heavenly effusion and of the division [of the heavenly spheres] … As to the inhabitants of Hell, they do not know anything [about this] (116b).

In Chapter 4, we have already seen that love is the most prominent path to self-knowledge. When a human being is able to recognise and read the lines of divine writing on the face of the beloved, he or she is able to recognise the same ontological writing in any existing object and to contemplate the corresponding metaphysical truths. The seeker who has attained such a degree of self-knowledge is a true monotheist: 'Recognise the divine Word in everything and thus become a monotheist!'[22]

Another idea related in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the concept of self-knowledge leading to the knowledge of God and the true monotheism is that the knowledge of one's self renews the primordial Covenant. We have already mentioned the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the Covenant in Chapter 7. The *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes a link between the Qurʾānic verse 7:172 where the prototypes of humans, extracted from the loins of Adam, attested that God is their Lord, and the verse 18:51, which mentions those whom God did not allow to witness the creation of their own selves. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the prototypes of humans were able to recognise their Lord because, at the moment of the Covenant, they were shown that their selves are created as the counterpart of the 28/32 ontological 'words', and that the entire universe is created by the means of these 'words'. The episode of the Covenant constitutes thus a germ of self-knowledge inherent to

[21] Inventory I, no. 19. In this tradition '60 cubits' are usually interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the sum of 28 and 32.

[22] Fol. 444a: *dar hama ashyāʾ kalima-yi ilāhī-rā chinīn mīdān tā muwaḥḥid bāshī.*

human nature. Whoever realises this knowledge, restores individually the conditions of the primordial Covenant, and is thus able to fully re-actualise his or her recognition of God.[23]

Only humans who have realised self-knowledge are truly human, in the sense that they have inherited not only the exterior form of Adam, but also the ultimate knowledge of human nature as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word, which constitutes the innermost meaning of the human bodily form. Only these humans are the true heirs of Adam, both in physical and spiritual senses: they inherit the earth which is the material of the human body, as well as the knowledge of the divine Word contained in this form.[24]

The condition of Paradise to which the seeker is brought by the realisation of his or her own self does not necessarily involve separation from the material world. When the seeker discovers the 28/32 ontological 'words' of his or her own being, he or she is also able to discern the ontological truths that sustain the existence of any object or being. At this level, the seeker is freed from the veil of arbitrary human agreements and imitations, and is able to perceive directly the ontological 'words' in the forms of material objects. It will be recalled that the direct manifestation of the divine words is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the property of the world of Images, or Paradise. Therefore, the images of Paradise are actualised for the seeker who has attained the perfect self-knowledge already in the material world: 'When he/she discovers that the 32 [ontological] 'words' constitute his real being, these 32 'words' manifest themselves [before the mystic] in the hundreds of thousands of images, such as the eternal youth of the Paradise and the *houris* … ' (284b).

However, for most humans self-knowledge cannot be realised spontaneously. It necessitates a specific guidance, which can be compared to the prophetic vocation:

> Only divine providence can lead to the knowledge of the original nature of Adam and of his descendants, as in the case of Muḥammad when he chose the milk in the night of his heavenly ascension. Gabriel said: 'You chose the original nature (*fiṭrat*)',

[23] These developments can be found, for example, in passage fol. 418b–419a cited in Chapter 7.

[24] Cf. the passage fol. 406a–b cited in Chapter 7.

> which means, 'You attained [the knowledge] of the original human nature (*khilqat-i insānī*)' (448a–b).

As discussed in Chapter 10, the prayer brought by Muḥammad from his heavenly ascension provides the believers with a direction in their search for the knowledge of their true selves. The words of the prayer are bound to return to their source in the original Word of God. With the words of his or her prayer, the worshipper can follow the ascension of the Prophet and thus attain the ultimate source of the words of the prayer, the 28/32 ontological 'words', which constitute the metaphysical reality of human beings and contain all the available knowledge of God. The following citation mentions some of the ideas related to this level of knowledge that we have already examined previously: escape from Hell and from the perception based on blind imitation; actualisation of the images of Paradise; knowledge about the future actualisation of what is now only possible; return to the eternal condition of Paradise:

> It is impossible to access Paradise without the knowledge of the prayer … [This prayer] came from heaven and it returns to heaven. This is why it is said that 'The prayer is the heavenly ascension of the believer.'[25] … '*To Him good words go up, and the righteous deed – He uplifts it*' [Q. 35:10]. [The worshipper] elevates the good words which are the foundation of the divine Word. The 'righteous deeds', in accordance with the [external] form of the prayer and the act of adoration, [which constitutes the inner meaning of this form], … bring up … the innermost meanings of these words and deeds, so that [the worshipper] can contemplate in dream, [already] before his or her death, various images [of Paradise] and Paradise [itself], '*the breadth whereof is as the breadth of heaven and earth*' [Q. 57:21]. God shows to [the worshipper] in actuality that what exists in potentiality, and '*Whosoever is blind in this world shall be blind in the world to come*' [Q. 17:72]. To the extent that [the worshipper] is able to recognise the real essence of these meanings, he or she enters quite explicitly the Paradise. The prophets give the promise of this Paradise to those who believe in the unseen, part of which is the Paradise, and particularly to the believers who [are able to go beyond] the imitation of the faith and the external adoration, and apprehend this spiritual station [of the real prayer]. Thus

[25] Inventory I, no. 39.

> they escape from ignorance and darkness, and come to the station where '*they shall not taste therein of death, save the first death*' [Q. 44:56] (124b).

Several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggest that Paradise is not the final point in the journey towards knowledge. As we have seen in Chapter 10, Muḥammad went beyond the Lote-tree of the Boundary into the world of pure and invisible divine Word. In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Lote-tree represents the human bodily form, the form of the divine Word, the most perfect of all existing forms and their highest limit. Beyond this limit lies the domain of the direct perception of metaphysical truths independent of the mediation of forms:

> The detachment from the external form [of the letters and of things, similar to the transition from the graphic symbols of letters to the phonemes] leads to the intellection of the Essence (*taʿaqqul-i dhātī*) which is indivisible, exempt from form, and beyond the reach of the imagination. [This Essence] encompasses all things, and all things are its loci of manifestation (460b).

It is interesting that the condition that makes possible such direct perception is described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the second birth mentioned by Jesus: 'Whosoever possesses a bodily form (*shakl wa ṣūra*) cannot enter the kingdom of heaven which is the [invisible] Word, unless he or she is born anew. Indeed, the Messiah said: "Except a man be born again (*man lam yūlad marratayn*), [he cannot see the kingdom of God]"[26] (387b).[27]

At this point, it should be useful to remember that the path leading to self-knowledge is identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the line of balance. The line of balance and its relation to the salutary knowledge have been already extensively discussed in Chapter 2. In particular, we have seen that Adam, in his quality of the divine Throne, represents the original locus of the universal balance. Starting from the bodily shape of Adam, the line of balance spreads into the rest of the creation. The main function of the line of balance is to structure the universe and any form contained in it in accordance with the divine Word with its 28/32 ontological 'words'. This structure ensures the correspondence between the existing objects and beings and the ontological

[26] Inventory II, no. 3.

[27] Gospel of John 3:3.

'words': 'The line of balance of Adam must be drawn in order to reveal the science of the 32 divine 'words'.[28]

The Balance is inherent in every existing form; it is the omnipresent divine Justice and Equity.[29] Since the line of balance is inherent in all things within the universe, any object and being is originally connected to the divine Word. Any object and being is, from the instant of its creation, already on the path leading to God. This original condition can be altered only by the interference of the Corrupt Word of Satan.[30]

The following passage expresses the ideas related to human imprisonment in individual Hell by the ignorance of 'the creation of one's own self' and the possibility of deliverance by the line of balance as the way of knowledge:

> In a sense, whosoever has not found the way leading to the [knowledge] of the Word of the original nature of Adam (*kalima-yi khilqat-i Adam*), of the line of balance of things and of the lines of divine [ontological writing, belongs to the number of those of whom it is said]: '*I made them not witnesses of the creation of the heavens and earth, neither of the creation of themselves*' [Q. 18:51]. To such a person, everything is prison (*zindān*), Hell (*dūzakh*), ignorance (*jahl*) and darkness (*ẓulma*). Necessarily, [a person in such a condition] takes now an idol (*but wa ṣanam*), now the stars, sun and moon for God; now he imagines that water, air, fire and earth are the makers of things and time (*fāʿil-i ashyāʾ wa rūzgār*); now he [attributes this position] to himself. Necessarily, everythings becomes then prison and Hell [to him/her]. Like snakes, scorpions, [other] animals and minerals, [a person in such a condition] does not comprehend his own shape and form (*shakl wa ṣūra*), the origin of his original nature (*aṣl-i khilqa*) or his line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*). Necessarily, to such a person, everything is Hell and darkness (119b–120a).

The line of balance is the 'Straight Path' (*ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*) mentioned in the Qurʾān: 'Everything is on the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) of the Straight Path of God, which is the science of His

---

[28] 412b: *bar khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ-yi Adam bāyad raft tā ʿilm-i 32 kalima-yi ilāhī ẓāhir shawad.*

[29] This idea is expressed, for example, in passage fol. 390a cited in Chapter 6.

[30] Cf. fol. 52b.

28 and 32 'words'.' (455b–456a). And the Straight Path is the passage from Hell of ignorance to Paradise of self-knowledge:

> When they attain the secret knowledge concerning their creation, and after they go over the Straight Path they will arrive at Paradise, '*whose breadth is as the heavens and earth, prepared for the godfearing*' [Q. 3:133], and they will find the '*good word [that] is as a good tree*' [Q. 14:24], that is to say, the world of theophanic images (*ʿālam-imithāl*), [that] of incorporeal souls (*nufūs-imujarrada*) and figures of eternal delight (*ashkāl-i azalī wa-abadī-yi faraḥ-bakhsh*), which are [shaped in accordance] with the 'Straight Path' (*ṣiraṭ-i mustaqīm*) … They will thus be delivered from Hell. But if they do not reach the Straight Path and [continue] to follow Satan who did not bow down to Adam, they will remain in Hell forever (203b).

As discussed in Chapter 6, since the line of balance is inherent not only in humans, but also in all existing objects and beings, the non-human forms of life and even inanimate objects can enter the path of salvation and progress towards the knowledge of the complete divine Word, in particular as participants in the universal food chain.

Both for the humans and lower forms of life, the idea of progression on the path of ontological knowledge is associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the idea of sacrifice. In the same Chapter 6 we have also seen how the prophets sacrificed animals with their faces turned in the direction of the Kaʿba, in order to integrate them into the human form symbolised by this location; and in Chapter 4 sacrifice is interpreted as the annihilation of the lower self either in an amorous relationship or through ritual sacrifice.

The idea that death, in appropriate conditions, can lead to the accomplishment of the ontological knowledge is expressed in several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. According to this interpretation, the condition of mortal beings is superior to that of immortal angels. When angels opposed the divine intention to create Adam, one of their arguments was that Adam will shed blood (Q. 2:30). Since they do not need to eat or to drink, the angels did not know that, by killing animals in order to feed himself, Adam integrated them into his body and thereby brought them closer to the supreme knowledge of the divine Word of which his body is the locus of manifestation. If the angels had such a capacity, they would certainly use it, too.[31]

Along the same lines of interpretation, the Qurʾānic mention of those '*slain in God's way*' (Q. 3:169) alludes, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, to those who die in the way of the knowledge of the divine Word. Whoever dies in this way is a true martyr because, through this kind of death, the person becomes a theophanical witness, one of the keepers of the 'knowledge of the Book'.[32] Such a person can guide others towards the knowledge of the divine Word:

> '*Count not those who were slain in God's way as dead, but rather living with their Lord, by Him provided, rejoicing in the bounty that God has given them, and joyful*' [Q. 3:169–70]. The spirits of the *shuhadāʾ* ['slain' and 'witnesses'] are witnesses on the missions of the prophets, '*those who possess the knowledge of the Book*' (*wa man ʿindah ʿilm al-kitāb*) [Q. 13:43]. They are also those who are slain on the path of God (*sabīl-i ilāhī*), of the divine Word and Speech (*kalima wa kalām-i ilāhī*) and of their manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) (304a).
>
> [After the verses Q. 3:169–70]: the original nature of humans is the path of the divine Word (*khilqat-iinsānī sabīl-i kalima-yi ilāhī-yi khudā hastī*). Those who are killed [on this path] are close to God, and [others] reach God through them. The human form (*hayʾat-i insānī*), including the face, is the path of God, because it is the locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of the divine Word. Without form, there is no manifestation of the Word or Speech (376b).

In the next chapter, we will discuss the collective aspect of the 'return to the Mother' under the guidance of the *ummī*s, 'motherly' saints who continued the sub-cycle of the revelation initiated by Jesus and Muḥammad.

13

The Last Stage of the Cycle of the Word: The *Ummīs* and the End of Time

Several passages in the *Jāwidān-nāma* suggest that the line of the *ummī* saints continues after the *ummī* prophets, Jesus and Muḥammad. The title *ummī* is indeed used in the plural, *ummī*s, with reference to the Qurʾānic verse 62:2: '"*It is He Who has sent amongst the Ummiyīn an apostle from among themselves*"[1] [Q. 62:2]: it was necessary that they were *ummī*, and the last of them must be *ummī*' (363b). As we have seen in the cases of Jesus and Muḥammad, the term *ummī* refers in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the knowledge of the most fundamental, 'motherly' elements of the divine Word. The *ummī*s should therefore be understood as a category of people who posses this specific 'motherly' knowledge and can guide the rest of the humankind on the way of its progressive disclosure. Their mission should consist in the realisation of the universal *taʾwīl*, which began with the mission of Muḥammad and will be accomplished by Jesus in his second coming. The cycle of the *ummī*s seems to be contained between the historical mission of Jesus, the first *ummī* prophet of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, and his second coming as the eschatological Saviour. The *Jāwidān-nāma* does not seem to give a more detailed description of the *ummī*s, and the passages related to them and other figures responsible for the returning phase, the *taʾwīl* of the Word's cycle, are generally difficult and allusive. For example, the following fragment seems to establish a link between the 'motherly' saints and the capacity to recognise and interpret (*taʾwīl*) the divine writing in the creation:

[1] I have kept the original Qurʾānic term *ummiyīn* instead of Yusuf Ali's translation as 'unlettered', which does not correspond to the meaning attributed to this term in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

> From the original nature (*khilqa*) of the 'motherly' (*ummī*) ones, like Jesus son of Mary, pass [to the contemplation] of all objects [and beings], apparent and hidden (*ẓāhir wa bāṭin*), [including the] mental and imaginary [objects], and see [them all] as the divine writing and word (*kitābat wa kalima-yi khudā*) … The [bodily] shape [of the 'motherly' ones] is the royal book and the Well-preserved Tablet of God (*kitāb-i kiyā wa lawḥ-i maḥfūẓ-i ilāhī*), where the being (*hastī*) of all things should be sought. In them can be read the [ontological] writing of anything … The [ontological] hermeneutics (*taʾwīl*) of any possible [object or being] and [of any image] seen in the dreams is [contained] in humans (*insān*) (269b).

Although the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not specify it explicitly, there is certainly a similarity between its concept of *ummī*s and the traditional Shiʿi concept of Imāms.[2] First of all, the special relationship to *taʾwīl* – in the sense of an absolute and universal exegesis of the prophetic revelations as well as of the created universe, brought back to their source in the original divine Word – is fundamental both for the *ummī*s and for the Shiʿi Imāms. As we have seen in Part Two, this source is symbolised in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the figure of Mother. This is why the prophets and saints who have a special link with this source are referred to as 'motherly' ones, the *ummī*s. From the point of view of similarity between the concepts *ummī* and *imām*, it is interesting that, with reference to the Qurʾānic verse 17:71, the *Jāwidān-nāma* interprets *imām* as the plural of *umm*: '"*One day We shall call together all human beings with their (respective) Imāms*"[3] [Q. 17:71] … [that is to say], 'with their mothers', because *imām* is the plural of *umm* ['mother'], which means that they will be called to the original nature (*khilqa*) of Eve, from which it is possible to reach the original nature of Adam' (439b).

Of course, from the grammatical point of view, *imām* is not the plural of *umm*, and the word *Imām* in the Qurʾānic verse has not necessarily a Shiʿi connotation, being usually translated by the neutral 'leader'. But it is important that the fragments cited above establish explicitly a link between *imām* and *umm* in the context of the eschatological Return to the origin of the divine Word, to the

---

[2] Cf. O. Mir-Kasimov, 'Ummīs versus Imāms'.

[3] Tr. Yusuf Ali.

Mother of the Book and to Paradise. This is very close to the Shiʿi concept of Imām as the Guide on the way of the eschatological Return.

Another allusion to the Shiʿi concept of Imām is the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of the imamate as the *completion* of the Word. We have already seen this interpretation in the passages related to Abraham: '*And when his Lord tested Abraham with certain words, and he fulfilled them. He said, "Behold, I make you a leader (imām) for the people*." ' From this citation, the *Jāwidān-nāma* concludes that 'the imamate and the fulfillment of the [divine] words (*kalimāt*) … are interrelated' (10a).

The *completion* of the 28 ontological 'words' revealed to Muḥammad up to the number of 32 'words' of the complete divine Word, or of the Supreme Name of God would be, as we have observed at the beginning of this chapter, also the essential mission of the *ummī*s. Moreover, we will see below that the task of completion of the Muḥammad's message by four additional 'words' is explicitly ascribed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and the first Imām of the Shiʿis. The traditional Shiʿi concept of Imām likewise includes the idea of knowledge of the complete Word or Supreme Name of God and related supernatural powers.[4] The Shiʿi Imām is the 'speaking Qurʾān' (*Qurʾān nāṭiq*) and the 'speaking Word of God' (*kalām Allāh al-nāṭiq*).[5] This aspect of the Shiʿi concept of Imām is echoed or straightforwardly referred to in several fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. For example, in the following fragment the Imām is described as one of the categories of the spiritual guides. These guides have a physical body, but their true being is identical to the divine Word. Only through them the divine Essence and attributes can be revealed, and therefore whoever does not follow such a guide remains in ignorance:

---

[4] See Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* in particular pp. 228–242, and his 'Savoir c'est pouvoir. Exégèse et implications du miracle dans l'imamisme ancien', in D. Aigle, ed., *Miracle et karāma* (Turnhout, Belgium, 2000), pp. 251–286.

[5] On this concept see M. Ayoub, 'The Speaking Qurʾān and the Silent Qurʾān: A Study of the Principles and Development of Imāmī Shiʿi *tafsīr*', in A. Rippin, ed., *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qurʾān* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 177–198, and the recent monograph of M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux et le Coran parlant* (Paris, 2011). See also Chapter 4, note 10.

> O humans … you recognise your true guide (*murshid*) either in a Messenger (*rasūl*) or in an Imām … The Word (*kalima*) constitutes the inner truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of your Guide, who is [otherwise] a sensible being (*maḥsūs*) … And if you recognise neither God, nor the Messenger or the Imām … as your true guide … there is no doubt that such persons will not attain the divine secrets … and do not deserve to be followed (383a).

The next citation states explicitly the essential equivalence of the Qurʾān, the Imām and Jesus, because all three are the Word of God: '"The Qurʾān is my Imām" (*al-Qurʾān imāmī*); "*Everything We have numbered in a clear register* (*fī imām mubīn*)" [Q. 36:12]: the Qurʾān is the Word, and the Word is Imām, and Jesus is the Word' (177a).

The next fragment underlines the same idea with much more explicit Shiʿi colouration. The Imām is – however indirectly, by means of an anonymous quotation of the well-known statement attributed to ʿAlī, 'I am the speaking Word of God' – identified with the first Shiʿi Imām:

> 'The Qurʾān is my Imām.' [The Qurʾān] is the soot and blackness [of the ink, support of the visible writing, which constitutes] the science [of the divine Word]. [During the prayer], it is convenient to turn the face in this direction, because the soot and blackness [of the writing] lead to the Word (*kalima*). The Imām is the person [referred to by the expressions]: 'I am the speaking Word of God'[6] (a*nā kalām Allāh al-nāṭiq*) and '*His Word that He committed to Mary*' [Q. 4:171]. Therefore, the Word is Imām, and whosoever is dead without having known the Word dies the death of the ignorant.[7] This means that whosoever does not know the Word of his time is an unbeliever (*kāfir*). 'I am the speaking Word of God', '*Everything We have numbered in a clear register* (*fī imām mubīn*)' [Q. 36:12], that is, 'in the clear Word' (*ay fī kalima mubīn*) (189a–b).

The comparison of Imāms and, in particular, of ʿAlī with Jesus is a

[6] Inventory I, no. 22.

[7] Inventory I, no. 51. In this passage, the paraphrase in Astarābādī dialect precedes the citation of the Arabic text of the tradition, as already seen in fragment 430a–b above.

common Shiʿi idea.[8] The Imāms are the manifestations of the divine Word, and Jesus symbolises in the Qurʾān such a manifestation. In the corresponding verse, Q. 4:171, cited in the fragment above, Jesus is described as the Word of God sent to Mary. This Shiʿi vision of Jesus as similar to the Imāms might have inspired the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s concept of the *ummīs* beginning with Jesus.

It should be noted, however, that the *Jāwidān-nāma* remains, very probably intentionally, ambiguous in what concerns its Shiʿi references. For example, in the following fragment, with reference to the same *ḥadīth* concerning the knowledge of the Imām, the Imām is interpreted as a prophetic book:

> The Messenger said: 'Whosoever dies without having known the Imām of his time dies the death of the ignorant.' … From this *ḥadīth*, it can be concluded that there is no age without the Imām, and the Imām of every age is the holy Book of this age, for [it is said]: '*Yet before it was the Book of Moses for a model (imām) and a mercy*' [Q. 46:12], and '*Everything We have numbered in a clear register* (*imām*)' [Q. 36:12]. Therefore, this 'Imām' refers to the Qurʾān and to all [other] holy books. It is thus necessary to know the Imām, which is the holy Book. And the Qurʾān is Imām, because it explains the Essence (*dhāt*), the attributes (*ṣifāt*) [of God], the origin and the return (*mabdā' wa ma'ād*), the science of the without-beginning and without-end (*ʿilm-i azal wa abad*), the past and the future (*mā kāna wa mā yakūn*) (430a–b).

Another group of fragments alludes apparently to the Shiʿi conception of Imām as the visible Face of God, a being by the intermediary of which God manifests Himself to the creation.[9] Just as in the passages cited above, based on the Qurʾānic quotations, the corresponding developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* start from the notions generally admitted in the Muslim community, without any sectarian colouration, namely the Imām as the person who leads prayers in the mosque. However, the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of the *qibla*, the spiritual orientation of the Muslim prayer, as the orientation towards the face of Adam, which is the locus of manifestation of the divine Word, clearly

[8] See H. Corbin *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 1, p. 19, and T. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2001), pp. 39–40.

[9] See, for example, H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* index, 'Face'.

brings this general Muslim concept of Imām very close to its specifically Shiʿi interpretation.[10] During the prayer, the Imām faces the Kaʿba, which symbolises the human face. The physical body of the prayer leader therefore represents the real Imām who is the manifestation of the divine Word. It is before this manifestation of the divine Word that the people who worship behind the Imām bow down during the prayer:

> Concerning the imamate. The mosque is a representation of the human form (*mithāl-i ṣūrat-i insān*), and the *miḥrāb* is the representation of the face. There is the place of the Imām. In accordance with the religious law (*sharīʿa*), nobody can stand before the Imām, nor at his right or left. The true Imām (*Imām-i ḥaqīqī*), of whom the visible imām (*imām-i ẓāhirī*) is locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*), faces his own representation, which is the Kaʿba.[11] Nobody stands *next* to the Imām; all the attendance perform the prostrations *behind* him. In a sense, they perform their prostrations before the Imām, while he [the Imām] prostrates himself before his own representation – not before his own representation as such, but before this divine truth (*ḥaqīqat-i khudāʾī*) which is manifested (*tajallī*) in him. The *miḥrāb* is thus established as [representing] the form of the original nature (*ṣūrat-i khilqa*), the location of the unique person (*shakhṣ*) who is the *Imām* (150a).[12]

This metaphysical concept of Imām as the Face of God is further linked with the theme of Mother. Mecca, where the Kaʿba, symbol of the theophanic Face and orientation of the Imām, is located, is indeed surnamed the 'mother of the cities' (*umm al-qurā*). In Chapter 4, we have seen that the female bodily shape and facial features, that of Eve or Mother, are the locus of the divine manifestation *par excellence* in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The Imām is thus closely related to Mother as the principle of theophany and origin of the divine Word. Some of the passages that discuss the relation

[10] For the identification of the *qibla* with the Imām, see Y. Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawīs: An Introduction to the Religion, History and Identity of the Leading Minority in Syria* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), pp. 137–138.

[11] This passage from the 'visible' to the 'true' Imām marks the beginning of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the exoteric figure of Imām as it is perceived through the lens of the *sharīʿa*, and outlined at the beginning of this fragment.

[12] A similar idea is expressed in 233a.

between the Imām and the Kaʿba mention the beliefs according to which the Black Stone, located in the sanctuary of the Kaʿba, contains the primordial Covenant concluded between God and the prototypes of the humans to come. As noted before, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation, the primordial Covenant refers to the revelation to the prototypes of humans of the innermost meaning of the human bodily form as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word. The Imām would thus be someone who knows the theophanic secret of the human form, and this knowledge is essentially 'motherly' in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, because Mother is the source and the archetype of any actual human form. The following passage gives us an example of this kind of allusions, both to the Shiʿi concept of Imām and to his 'motherly' status, which would bring the Shiʿi concept close to the Ḥurūfī category of *ummī*s:

> ʿAlī said, with regard to the Black Stone, that the Covenant of the descendants of Adam will appear from this place; it was enclosed into this stone. And the Imām will appear from the Kaʿba,[13] which is the 'mother of the cities'[14] (*umm al-qurā*) and the mother of the earth in its entirety (*umm-i hama arḍ ast*). [Indeed], the Imām must come forth from the origin (*aṣl*) … : '*those who follow the Messenger, the ummī Prophet*' [Q. 7:157] (245a–b).

The fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* mentioning ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib contain probably the most explicit references to the specifically Shiʿi doctrines, in particular, through the choice of the *ḥadīth* materials and statements attributed to ʿAlī. Many of these traditions were especially popular in the Shiʿi milieu and are not found in the canonical Sunni *ḥadīth* collections. However, with the exception of the few very brief mentions of al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/680), one of the sons of ʿAlī and the third Shiʿi Imām (fol. 42a, 194a and 220a), and al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874), the 11th Imām of the Twelver line (fol. 246a), ʿAlī is the only Imām discussed at any length in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. This is understandable if, as it seems to be the case, Faḍl Allāh did not

[13] According to some, mostly Shiʿi, eschatological traditions, the *Mahdī* first manifests himself in Mecca. See D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton, NJ, 2002), p. 203.

[14] Inventory I, no. 65.

want to express too openly his Shiʿi sympathies. Unlike ʿAlī, close relative of the Prophet and the fourth caliph of the Muslim community, a figure much respected also in Sunni Islam, the mention of any other Imām would unambiguously demonstrate the Shiʿi inspiration of his work.

In Part One, we have already discussed the place of ʿAlī in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s cosmogony. The *Jāwidān-nāma* interprets the well-known *ḥadīth*, according to which at the beginning of the creation, Muḥammad and ʿAlī were one light, the light of the divine Word emanating from the divine Essence. With the progressive unfolding of the creation, ʿAlī symbolises the Black Point, the first visible manifestation of the Word, origin of the divine Science and Writing. The following fragment closely associates ʿAlī and the imamate, but does so with reference to the prayer leader, which is common Muslim understanding of Imām:

> The Prince of the Believers [ʿAlī], may God honour his face, said: 'All secrets of God the Most High [are contained] in prophetic books; all prophetic books are [contained] in the Qurʾān; all that is in the Qurʾān [is contained] in the opening chapter; all that is in the opening chapter [is contained in the formula] 'In the name of God' (*bismi'llāh*); all that is in *bismi'llāh* [is contained in the letter] *bā'* of the *bismi'llā*; all that is in the *bāʾ* of the *bismi'llāh* [is contained] in the [diacritical] point under *bāʾ*; and I am the point under *bāʾ*.'[15] As [ʿAlī] said, 'I am the point under *bāʾ*', whosoever knows the [innermost meaning of the] point, knows [the rank of] ʿAlī. Whosoever knows [the innermost meaning] of the Qurʾān and of the point, knows the Imām of his time (*Imām-i zamān*). [God said to Abraham]: '*I make you a leader (imām) for the people*' [Q. 2:124]; [the believers said]: '*Make us a model (imām) to the godfearing*' [Q. 25:74]. The true imamate (*imāmat-i ḥaqīqī*) does not exist outside the prayer (*ṣalāt*). For him [ʿAlī], the point under *bāʾ* of the *bismi'llāh* had a meaning that the shape of the letter 'b' had not. [ʿAlī] used to perform [daily] 51 [*rakʿa* of prayer]. His acts of worship (*ʿamal*) during day and night were thus in accordance with the complete number of divine secrets and prophetic books.[16] He was therefore rewarded [by the knowledge] of all [the secrets contained in prophetic books]. In

[15] Inventory I, no. 1.

[16] The number 50 represents the sum of the 28 graphic forms and 22 diacritical points of the Arabic alphabet.

> virtue of [his utterance]: 'I am the point under *bāʾ* … , [ʿAlī] was the point in the true [ontological] writing of God (*nuqṭa-yi khaṭṭ-i ḥaqīqī-yi khudāʾī*), while the visible point [of the human writing] is a locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of this point of the [ontological] writing of God' (232b).

According to the traditional Shiʿi concept, the mission of ʿAlī and of the Imāms, who are his descendants, is essentially the realisation of *taʾwīl*, the esoteric exegesis of the revelation that 'descended' (*tanzīl*) through successive prophetic revelations and attained its perfection in the Qurʾān revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad. The *taʾwīl* performed by the Imāms is not just an ordinary Qurʾānic commentary, but an absolute hermeneutics that brings the word of the revelation back to its origin in the divine Word. The *Jāwidān-nāma* also associates *taʾwīl* with ʿAlī, with reference to the *ḥadīth* materials central to the Shiʿi discourse on this topic. Since the cosmic figure of ʿAlī symbolises in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the science of the Word, its most perfect locus of manifestation, the original Book of God, in his historical manifestation the mission of ʿAlī is to lead the believers from the written text of the Qurʾān to its archetype. Hence, ʿAlī is designated as the 'speaking Qurʾān'. In this quality, he is associated with the 'Book that tells the Truth' (*kitāb yanṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq*) mentioned in the Qurʾān 23:62. In the Introduction, we have discussed the possible relationship of this Qurʾānic reference with the concept of the 'book of *taʾwīl*', symmetrical to the prophetic revelations of the period of *tanzīl*. This is another argument that brings ʿAlī close to Jesus. Both ʿAlī and Jesus work for the disclosure of the original Book of God in the human bodily form, the book that will make apparent the innermost meanings of all prophetic revelations. We will see that the 'Book that tells the Truth' is mentioned also in the fragments related to the apocalyptic episode when Jesus opens the seven seals of the Book of Life, which alludes, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, to the seven lines on the face of Mary. The following fragments are typical of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s discourse on ʿAlī as the figure of *taʾwīl*:

> ʿAlī said: 'I am the speaking Book (*kitāb-i nāṭiq*), and this [the Qurʾān] is the silent Book (*kitāb-i ṣāmit*)';[17] '*and with Us is a Book speaking truth*' [Q. 23:62] … [ʿAlī] is thus the true speaking

[17] Inventory I, no. 45.

> Word (*kalām-i nāṭiq*), while the soot and the blackness [of the ink] constitute the metaphorical, silent Word (*kalām-i ṣāmit*) … And the Messenger said: 'I fought for the descent (*tanzīl*) [of the Word], while ʿAlī will fight for its return (*taʾwīl*)';[18] and he also said: 'I and ʿAlī, we are the same light'[19] (184a).[20]

The following fragments underline that the quality of 'Speaking Word' is essential to ʿAlī:

> ʿAlī said: 'I am the speaking Word of God.' The innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*) [of ʿAlī], as established [by this utterance], is the Speaking Word. From the top of his head to the tips of his toes, he is the science of the divine speech (*ʿilm-i kalām-i khudāʾī*), including water, fire, air and earth [that constitute his body] (192b).
>
> ʿAlī is 'touched by the Essence of God'[21] (*mamsūs fī dhāt Allāh*), for he said: 'I am the Word of God' (*anā kalām Allāh*), and the word is an attribute of the essence (*ṣifat-i dhātī*) of the speaker; it cannot be separated from the speaker. God has an Essence, and the Word is its inseparable attribute, and ʿAlī said: 'I am the speaking Word of God' (383b–384a).

ʿAlī expresses the same Word of which Adam was originally made the locus of manifestation:

> [Muḥammad] said: 'I saw my Lord in the most beautiful form.'[22] This means that he heard the speech of someone who possessed the most beautiful form. And, according to the Qurʾān, it is Adam who possessed the '*fairest stature*' [Q. 95:4], and it is said that [the speech corresponding to this form] was heard from the tongue of ʿAlī (345b).

The *taʾwīl* is a specific power inherent to ʿAlī's mission, just as the power over air was inherent to the mission of Solomon and the power over water to that of Moses: 'Air was under the command of Solomon … and, obeying the command of Moses, the waters parted [to open a

---

[18] Inventory I, no. 24.

[19] Inventory I, no. 63.

[20] It is remarkable that, in this fragment, the words of ʿAlī and Muḥammad are cited in Astarābādī dialect, instead of the original Arabic, which could indicate Faḍl Allāh's concern for *taqiyya* (dissimulation).

[21] Inventory I, no. 59.

[22] Inventory I, no. 30.

passage for Moses and his people], and drowned the Pharaoh. As to ʿAlī, the Messenger said that he will fight for the *taʾwīl*' (378a).

The next fragment contains an additional allusion to the Shiʿi concept of imamate, stating that the knowledge of the *taʾwīl* was revealed to ʿAlī *and to his descendants*. This looks as one of the few transparent references to the Shiʿi Imāms descended from ʿAlī. It is interesting that, in this fragment, the mention of *taʾwīl* is included in the discourse on the disjointed letters. In Chapters 8 and 9, we have seen that in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the disjointed letters represent the starting point of the universal *taʾwīl*:

> '*Recite: in the name of thy Lord …* ' [Q. 96:1]: *alif, lām, mīm,* and other [letters and their combinations at the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras] are names (*ism*), as this is indicated in the utterance of ʿAlī: 'O *kāf, hāʾ, yāʾ, ʿayn, ṣād,* I seek a refuge with you; O *ḥm, 'sq,* I seek a refuge with you!'[23] mentioned in the *Tafsīr al-kabīr*. The disjointed letters (*ḥurūf-i mufrada*), like *alif, lām* and *mīm* are … names of God, because whosoever names God by these names [of letters], names Him by all other names, which are composed of [these letters]. '*The day its [the Book's] interpretation (taʾwīl) comes*' [Q. 7:53], and [Muḥammad] said that ʿAlī will fight for the *taʾwīl*. This means that [the knowledge] of the *taʾwīl* was given to ʿAlī, that is, to his descendants (206a–b).

In some fragments, ʿAlī is described as the figure symbolising the four 'words' that complete the 28 letters of the Qurʾān up to the 32 words of the full Word: ''ʿAlī … is the locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) of these four [primordial] 'words'. The manifestation of these four 'words' will realise [the condition] of universal unification' (377b). As previously discussed, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation, the same four letters are symbolised, in the narrative of Muḥammad's heavenly ascension, by the four streams coming from beneath the Lote-tree of the Boundary. The revelation of these four words will be realised during the period of *taʾwīl*, at the end of which the complete Word will be restored by the Saviour, and humankind will be unified.

This fragment contains also an allusion to the idea, expressed more explicitly in other passages, that the four lacking 'words' are symbolised by the four Persian letters, *chī*, *pā*, *zhā* and *gāf*, added to

[23] Inventory I, no. 33.

the Arabic alphabet. However, even if several passages contain quite transparent allusions on the prominent role of the Persian language, the alphabet of which contains four letters absent from the Arabic, it should be noted that the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not seem to assert explicitly the Persian as the sacred language of the period of *taʾwīl* and the language of the full revelation of the Word. Unlike the later Ḥurūfī works, the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not contain any explicit claim that would support the idea that Faḍl Allāh considered this work to be the holy revelation of the period of *taʾwīl*.

The following fragment contains a possible hidden reference to Faḍl Allāh as the guide into the 'city of knowledge' of which ''Alī is the gate':

> '*Praise belongs to God who has put away all sorrow from us. Surely our Lord is All-forgiving, All-thankful, who of His bounty (min faḍlih) has made us to dwell in the abode of everlasting life wherein no weariness assails us neither fatigue*' [Q. 35:34–35]. And [Muḥammad], peace be upon him, said: 'I am the city of knowledge, and I am abode of wisdom, and ʿAlī is its gate.'[24] It is possible to reach this abode by bounty (*bi-faḍl*) (368a).

The textual evidence discussed above seems to corroborate the hypothesis of the Shiʿi theory of the imamate as the source of inspiration for the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s concept of *ummīs*. There are also some additional references to the typically Shiʿi ideas or expressions, which will be discussed in the Conclusion.

It is possible that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s synthesis and extension of the Shiʿi theory of the imamate was inspired not by one, but by several interpretations developed in different branches of Shiʿism. Faḍl Allāh apparently was well-versed in the doctrines of early esoteric Shiʿism shared by several Shiʿi trends. He could have used these materials as the basis of his developments, then revised and modified them with the focus on the specific definition of the concept of Mother in the context of his own doctrine. The free and original interpretation of the material of the tradition, often mixing together the data coming not only from different Islamic currents, but also from non-Islamic religious traditions is, as we have mentioned in the Introduction, the general characteristic of the *Jāwidān-nāma,* and which could be explained by Faḍl Allāh's claim to direct inspiration. The *Jāwidān-*

[24] Inventory I, no. 21.

nāma's concept of *ummī*s is, therefore, very probably the result of transformation and reinterpretation that the Shiʿi concept of imamate underwent in the course of adaptation of the traditional material to the new inspired doctrine.

The charismatic saints and guides of the period of the *taʾwīl* following the mission of Muḥammad and belonging to the Muslim community are also referred to in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as 'witnesses' (*shahīd*, pl. *shuhadāʾ*). The description of the 'witnesses' is as vague as that of the Imāms, and the relationship between these two concepts does not seem to be clearly defined in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. From the linguistic point of view, unlike *imām* and *ummī*, the word *shahīd* is not related to the root *ʾmm*. However, the following fragment could suggest that the 'witnesses' are identical to the Imāms and are therefore *ummī*. This possible allusion is found in the interpretation of the Qurʾānic verse 16:120, where Abraham is called *umma*. The word *umma* is usually understood in this particular verse in the sense of 'guide' (the same as *Imām*) or 'model', but it generally means 'people, nation, religious community'. In the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation this term, derived from the same Arabic root as *umm*, *ummī* and *imām*, refers to Abraham as witness. But Abraham is also named 'Imām' in the Qurʾān, and we have already seen the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretations of the corresponding verse in Chapter 11. Abraham would then be the Imām *and* the Witness:

> '*Thus We appointed you a midmost nation [that you might be witnesses to the people]*' [Q. 2:143] … The Witness (*shahīd*) of this [Muḥammad's] nation (*umma*) is a person to whom belongs the 'knowledge of the Book' (*ʿilm-i kitāb ba-ū ʿāʾid bāshad*). If someone says that [the Qurʾānic verse] mentions a nation (*umma*) [of witnesses, and not a single person], the answer is: '*Surely, Abraham was a nation (umma) obedient unto God, a man of pure faith and no idolater*' [Q. 16:120] (77a–b).

Some other details of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s description of the Witnesses also point in the direction of the traditional Shiʿi concept of the Imām. We have already discussed above the close association between the *qibla*/Kaʿba and Imām. The link to the Kaʿba is also a central element for the concept of Witness, because, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Kaʿba symbolises the primordial Covenant, which is the archetype

of any act of witnessing concerning metaphysical truths.[25] In the following fragment, the *Jāwidān-nāma* defines the Witness as someone who attained the 'secret of the Kaʿba', which is a transparent allusion to the Covenant:

> The nation of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, is [according to Q. 2:143] the 'midmost nation' … because his nation is the most truthful (*khayr-i ḥaqīqa*), and the most truthful nation is that which will reach the centre of all heavens, of the earth, of the Kaʿba and of the lines [of ontological writing] of the things. The Kaʿba is the centre of the earth, and his nation will reach the secret of the Kaʿba (459b).

The orientation towards the Kaʿba is also the natural condition of whoever has attained the knowledge of the complete Word, because the Kaʿba symbolises the face of Adam, the locus of manifestation of the Word. This same knowledge enables the seeker to witness the innermost truth of his or her own being.[26]

Finally, the Witnesses are often described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the Qurʾānic phrases '*those who possess the knowledge of the Book*' (*man ʿindah ʿilm al-kitāb*, in particular with reference to Q. 13:43), and '*those firmly rooted in knowledge*' (*al-rāsikhūn fī-l-ʿilm*, Q. 3:7). The 'knowledge of the (human) Book' is one of the usual characteristics of the 'motherly' saints in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, and 'those firmly rooted in knowledge', especially in the knowledge of the spiritual interpretation (*taʾwīl*) mentioned in the previous part of the same Qurʾānic verse, are often identified as Imāms in the Shiʿi exegetical works.[27]

Another specific feature of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s concept of Witness is its link with the principle of Balance. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 12, the concept of Witness refers in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the self-knowledge made potentially available to any human being through the primordial initiation symbolised by the Covenant. The Balance is the general principle that makes the metaphysical truths of

[25] See Chapter 12, in particular, the reference to the utterance attributed to ʿAlī, according to which the primordial Covenant was enclosed within the Black Stone and preserved in the Kaʿba. At the end of time, it will be extracted from the Black Stone in order to remind humans of the Covenant when they witnessed God as their Lord.

[26] Cf. the passage fol. 418b–419a cited in Chapter 7.

[27] Cf. fol. 43a, 77a–b, 59a, 304a, 412b–413a.

the divine Word knowable by the means of sensible forms.[28] In many fragments, the line of balance is described more particularly as the way to self-knowledge.

The mission of Muḥammad, which closes the phase of *tanzīl* and initiates the phase of *taʾwīl* leading, as we will see later in this chapter, to the re-actualisation of the Covenant, highlights the close relationship between the concepts of Witness and Balance. This idea is developed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to the Q. 2:143, where the community founded by Muḥammad is described as the '*midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people, and that the Messenger might be a witness to you*'.

The 'midmost nation' refers, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, to the line of balance. It is the discovery of the principle of balance, which is also associated to the divine attributes of Equity and Justice, in the nature of the things that brings the seeker to the knowledge of their innermost truth and enables him or her to witness God. Only then can the seeker be regarded as a true member of the 'midmost nation':

> '*God bears witness that there is no god but He – and the angels, and men possessed of knowledge – standing firm on justice* (*qāʾiman bi-l-qisṭi*)' [Q. 3:18]. [The 'men possessed of knowledge'] are the [true] monotheists of [their] time (*muwaḥḥidān-i zamān*), those who attained [the knowledge] of the original nature (*khilqa*) of things. '*Standing firm on justice*' is the dominant [and permanent] condition (*ḥāl-i muʾakkada*)[29] of this Reality (*ḥaqq*). By observation, you [can] come to the knowledge that as long as it exists, it is '*standing firm on justice*'. You too, when you understand [the true meaning of the] '*standing firm on justice*', [you will be able] to witness the Highest Reality (*ḥaqq-i taʿālā*). [You will then join] the 'midmost nation' [*ummat wasaṭ,* allusion to Q. 2:143], which is '*standing firm on justice*'. [You] will find then the line of balance in the middle of all things, and God '*standing firm on justice*' in the original nature of all things, like an unmovable king [on his throne] (456a).

The next passage underlines this link between witnessing and divine Justice and Equity, expressing the principle of Balance:

---

[28] Cf. Part One.

[29] For this expression, see ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt,* French trans. M. Gloton (Tehran, 1994), p. 160.

> '*God bears witness that there is no god but He – and the angels, and men possessed of knowledge – upholding justice*' [Q. 3:18]. Their witnessing takes place before the divine condition (*ki ḥāl-i khudāst*) 'upholding justice'.[30] At the moment of witness, God is always at the station of Justice and Equity (*dar maqām-i qisṭ wa ʿadl*) (347b).

The 'trace of prostration' on the faces of the members of the 'midmost community' also represents the line of balance: 'It is by the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) that the 32 divine 'words' manifest themselves: '*Their mark is on their faces, the trace of prostration*' [Q. 48:29], '*bow thyself, and draw nigh*' [Q. 96:19]' (288a).

The concept of self-knowledge and self-realisation attained by the line of balance that enables the seeker to recognise the original divine Word in every atom of the universe and thus restore and permanently maintain the condition of the primordial Covenant is clearly described in the following fragment. Only such realisation brings the seeker to the degree of being a true Witness, one of 'those who possess the knowledge of the Book', and who belongs to the 'midmost nation':

> '*God bears witness that there is no god but He*' [Q. 3:18]. O seeker, [in this verse] God bears witness to Himself that there is no god but He. As far as you have not attained the [knowledge of the identity between Adam, divine power and Word] mentioned above, how can you know how He bore this witness? As far as you stay in this condition, you are certainly not Him, and therefore, you cannot know Him as He is, and cannot bear witness to His Oneness based on your personal realisation (*taḥqīq*). As far as you did not experience the existence of all beings (*wujūd-i jamīʿ-yi mawjūdāt*), and became identical to all existents (*ʿayn-i wujūd-i hama*), [as far as] you did not draw the line of balance (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) of all beings and became identical to this line of balance, how can you contemplate [Him] '*standing firm on justice*' *(qāʾiman bi-l-qisṭ)*[31] [Q. 3:18] in everything? How can you become 'endued with knowledge' (*ūlū al-ʿilm*), and bear witness on the basis of your personal spiritual realisation (*taḥqīq*) in accordance with what God has said [in the verse]: '*That is the*

[30] Cf. previous fragment.

[31] Tr. Yusuf Ali.

> *witness of God, His angels, and those endued with knowledge, standing firm on justice*'[32] [Q. 3:18]. But when you attain the above-mentioned knowledge, you become 'endued with knowledge', and join the midmost nation, and can therefore bear witness on the basis of your personal realisation. And the Messenger … can then bear witness to your truthfulness (*ṣidq*), without any doubt or hesitation.[33] You must hear permanently, with clear hearing (*bi-samʿ-i yaqīn*), the call, '*Am I not your Lord?*' [Q. 7:172], coming from Lord (*rabb*), or from Father (*ab*), or from Adam, or from the Back (*ẓahr*), or from the Power (*quwwa*),[34] which are all one and the same thing, and you must hear and contemplate, with clear hearing and knowledge (*bi-samʿ wa ʿilm-i yaqīn*), the answer '*Yes!*', coming not only from the spirits of Adam's descendants, but from [every] atom of existing [beings and objects] (*az dharrāt-i mawjūdāt*), from the apparent and the hidden (*ẓāhir wa bāṭin*), from [anything] actual and possible (*bi-l-fiʿl wa bi-l-quwwa*), from the living and the dead, in dream, when awake and in imagination, from the speaking and the silent (*nāṭiq wa ṣāmit*), from mineral, plant and animal. Then, you can bear witness also on the part of all of them, that all existing [objects and beings] answer '*Yes!*' [when questioned by God]: '*Am I not your Lord?*', and that they all recognised [God as their Lord]. As far as you did not realise the above-mentioned condition, how can you bear witness to the delivery (*tablīgh*) of the prophetic messages? How will you join the midmost nation? And how can the Messenger bear witness to your truthfulness, as it is said: '*[Thus We appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people,] and that the Messenger might be a witness to you*' [Q. 2:143]? (473b–474a).

This self-realisation leads essentially to the knowledge of the divine Word through the human form, which is the most perfect locus of manifestation of the Word. Since the universe was created by the Word, the knowledge of the Word is an ontological knowledge, the knowledge of all objects and beings from the point of view of their Creator. As we have seen, such knowledge is potentially available to

---

[32] Ibid.

[33] Allusion to Q. 2:143.

[34] The mention of 'Father' and 'Power' here is an allusion to the specific interpretation of the Christian Trinity, where Father is identified with the 'power without beginning'. The *Jāwidān-nāma* borrowed this interpretation from the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. See fol. 388a, 396a–397b cited in Chapter 1.

any individual human being independently of the stage of the prophetic cycle corresponding to his or her lifetime. However, the general revelation of the 'foundations' of the divine Word which began with the mission of Muḥammad, marking the end of the phase of *tanzīl* and the starting point of universal *taʾwīl,* makes the direct revelation of the knowledge of the creative Word the general characteristic of the period following the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. From this point on, the 'midmost community' refers specifically to the true believers belonging to the community founded by Muḥammad, to the extent that they realise the knowledge of the foundations of the Word included in his prophetic message. This realisation makes them witness for the entire humankind:

> This science of the creation of things (*ʿilm-i khilqat-i ashyāʾ*) [by the means of the 28 and 32 ontological letters produced by the command *Kun!* (Be!)] had to appear in the religion [established] by the *ummī* Prophet [Muḥammad],[35] in the midmost [position]: '*Thus We appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people*' [Q. 2:143] (75b).

However, the role of the Witnesses from the 'midmost community' will become central not during the mission of Muḥammad, but at the end of times. The following fragment describes how the members of the 'midmost community' will witness the Day of Resurrection. This description is perfectly in keeping with common Islamic eschatological views:

> '*Thus We appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people, and that the Messenger might be a witness to you; and We did not appoint the direction thou wast facing* (*qibla*) … ' [Q. 2:143]. [The members] of this midmost nation are witnesses (*guwāh*). On the Day of Resurrection, they will witness concerning the truthful delivery of the prophetic missions, [founding themselves] on the knowledge of the science of the Qurʾān and the science of the divine writing (*ʿilm-i Qurʾān wa ʿilm-i kitāb Allāh*). And the Messenger [Muḥammad], peace be upon him, will witness to their truthfulness: '*that the Messenger might be a witness to you*'. '*The unbelievers say, Thou art not an Envoy. Say: God suffices as a witness between me and you, and whosoever possesses knowledge of the Book*' [Q. 13:43]. Whosoever has the Qurʾān before him is a witness

[35] Allusion to Q. 7:157–158.

> to the prophets, as [it is said]: '*We have neglected nothing in the Book*' [Q. 6:38] (430a).

The description of the Witness as an eschatological figure in the following fragments contains some details referring to the theoretical developments specific to the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The Witness who will come at the end of time will erase the blind imitation of one's forefathers[36] and show the true meaning of the profession of faith, of prayer and other Muslim rituals. He will reveal that what was not explicitly revealed by Muḥammad, and prepare humankind for the second coming of Jesus:[37]

> If someone asks: You say that everything that [we] hear from [our] mothers, fathers, [other] people and teachers is [a source of] imitation (*taqlīd*). When we testify [saying], 'I bear witness that there is no god but God, and I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God', we do this by imitation. Therefore, either prayer and its postures, the call to prayer, declaration of faith [and other rites are accomplished following what] we heard from our mothers and fathers, or [as] Adam [accomplished them] when '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31], and '*We had taught him knowledge proceeding from Us*' [Q. 18:65], without any physical teacher. [This is also the case] of those about who God said: '*Whosoever possesses knowledge of the Book*', from [the verse] '*Say: God suffices as a witness between me and you, and whosoever possesses knowledge of the Book*' [Q. 13:43]. The answer is that whosoever claims to 'possess knowledge of the Book', must also belong to the ['midmost nation' mentioned in the verse]: '*Thus We appointed you a midmost nation*' [Q. 2:143], and have the knowledge of the true meaning [of the religious rites such as] declaration of faith, prayer and the number of its postures (*rakʿa*), [the knowledge referred to by the verse]: '*We … guarded them from every accursed Satan*' [Q. 15:17]. [He or she must also know] why, on the night of the heavenly ascension, when the prayer was enjoined [upon Muḥammad, its numbers were reduced] from 50 to five:[38] '*And perform the prayer*' [Q. 11:114]; and why, though he understood [the innermost meaning of the numbers] of 17, 15 and 11 *rakʿa*, [Muḥammad] did not explain it [during his

[36] Cf. Chapter 8.

[37] A similar idea is expressed in fol. 50b.

[38] Inventory I, no. 16.

> historical mission].[39] The answer is that when the Witness, a complete stranger to everybody, will come and give an explanation [of these matters], people will be able to recognise him as a person who comes to explain the true knowledge of religion, resurrection, declaration of faith, clear and ambiguous [verses of the Qurʾān] (*ʿilm-i dīnī wa qiyāma wa shahāda wa muḥkam wa mutashābih*); they [will see] that he comes from God … [He will be someone who] reached [the knowledge of the] secret of '*then revealed to his servant that which he revealed*' [Q. 53:10], and [explain] why [Muḥammad, in the course of his heavenly ascension] saw Adam on the first heaven; why it is said, '*a day when heaven shall bring a manifest smoke*' [Q. 44:10]; why [Muḥammad] saw God in the form of Adam 'in the form of a beardless youth';[40] why he was sent to all existents (*mabʿūth bi-hama khalāʾiq*); and why, when Jesus will appear, all creatures will be united within one and the same creed (87a–b).

The next fragment highlights again the fact that the Witnesses will complete the revelation of that what is not explained in the Qurʾān:

> If someone asks: Why does God not [explain in His book] the details concerning the number of postures of the prayer (*rakʿa*) that you mention? The answer is that, from [the verses]: '*We have adorned the lower heaven*' – and [Muḥammad] saw Adam on this lower heaven [during his heavenly ascension] – '*with the adornment of the stars*' [Q. 37:6], '*and guarded them from every accursed Satan excepting such as listens by stealth – and he is pursued by a manifest flame*' [Q. 15:17–18], it can be concluded that it is impossible to enter the heaven by satanic inspirations (*ilhāmāt-i shayṭānī*) and by the imaginations coming from the lower self (*takhayyulāt-i nafsānī*). The secret [referred to in the verse] '*then revealed to his servant that which he revealed*' [Q. 53:10], and the secret of the reason behind the reduction of the number of prayers from 50 to five, behind the [numbers of] 17, 15 and 11 [postures of the prayer], [behind] the orientation of the face towards Jerusalem or Kaʿba, can be attained only by divine inspirations (*ilhāmāt-i ilāhī*) and by an influx from the invisible realm (*wāridāt-i ghaybī*). God did not reveal [these secrets in the mission of Muḥammad intentionally], because when the [Witness] to whom God alluded [in the verses]: '*The*

[39] Allusion to the correspondence between the number of the *rakʿa* and the number of ontological 'words': 17+15=32, 17+1=28.

[40] Inventory I, no. 30.

> *unbelievers say, Thou art not an Envoy. Say: God suffices as a witness between me and you, and whosoever possesses knowledge of the Book*' [Q. 13:43], '*Thus We appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people,] and that the Messenger might be a witness to you*' [Q. 2:143], will bear his witness; [everybody] will know that he did not bear this witness by imitation (*ān guwāhī bi-taqlīd nīst*), but it comes from this science mentioned [in the *ḥadīth*]: 'I have prepared for my faithful servants that which no eye has seen, no ear heard, no human heart ever felt' (277a–b).[41]

The eschatological Witness will be initiated into the knowledge of the innermost meanings of Muḥammad's message. This knowledge will be the hallmark by which he will be recognised:

> If someone asks why the Messenger, peace be upon him, did not explain the innermost meaning [of his mission] (*bayān-i īn ḥaqīqat nakard*), and [why] he said: 'I was sent to explain the law, not [its] innermost truth', the answer is that he was the Messenger of the end of time (*rasūl-i ākhir-i zamān*), and there will be no Messenger after him. He said: 'My community will be divided into 73 sects, [of which] all will go to Hell with the exception of one.'[42] He also said: 'God referred to the person who will bear witness of my message as the one "who possesses the knowledge of the Book" (*wa man ʿindah ʿilm al-kitāb*) [Q. 13:43]. When this witness will come, he will bear witness to the innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of my [mission]. God will make apparent to him my knowledge (*ʿilm*) and my truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*), and thus all beings and descendants of Adam will know that this person comes from God, and [represents] the way to the divine science (*ʿilm-i khudā*). The sect intended to salvation (*firqa-yi nājiyya*) will recognise him. This is one of the reasons why the Messenger did not [explain the innermost meaning of his mission]. The second [reason] is that God wished that the beings look keenly for this secret, and attain it with difficulty, in order that they realise that: '*They comprehend not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills*' [Q. 2:255] (457b).

From the fragments cited above it could be concluded that the concept of Witness belonging to the 'midmost community' is very similar in

---

[41] Inventory I, no. 25. English translation from L. Gardet, 'Djanna', *EI2,* vol. 2, pp. 447–452.

[42] Inventory I, no. 32.

the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the concept of Imām. Both concepts refer to a category of saints initiated into the 'knowledge of the book' or of the 'Mother of the Book'. These saints are active in the period following the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad, and their task is the disclosing of the innermost truth of this last prophetic revelation by the way of *taʾwīl,* the return of the prophetic word to its origin in the divine Word.[43] Both Witness and Imām have an eschatological dimension, which brings them close to the figure of the Saviour (*Mahdī*).

In traditional Shiʿi doctrine, the Imām is the only person who has the competence to reveal the esoteric meaning of the prophetic revelation, that is, to perform *taʾwīl.* In this quality, the Imām is *ṣāḥib al-taʾwīl,* 'the Master of ontological hermeneutics', or 'the Master of the return to the origin'.[44] Faḍl Allāh is also often mentioned in the works of his disciples with the title *ṣāḥib al-taʾwīl.* In the case of Faḍl Allāh, this title refers to his specific spiritual experience, when the innermost meaning of the letters of the alphabet as the starting point of the universal *taʾwīl* was disclosed to him. Notwithstanding this evidence from the later Ḥurūfī works, Faḍl Allāh did not explicitly apply the title *ṣāḥib al-taʾwīl* to himself in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* This could, of course, be an expression of *taqiyya.* In the following two fragments the *ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl* is described, in accordance with the views common to several branches of Shiʿism, as a person who will achieve the 'return to the origin' of the divine Word after its 'descent' (*tanzīl*) was completed by the Prophet Muḥammad, the 'Master of the (competed) revelation', or the 'Master of the descent' (*ṣāḥib-i tanzīl*). The only feature of this description that is probably specific to *Jāwidān-nāma* is the idea that the Master of ontological hermeneutics completes the 28 primordial 'words' revealed to the Master of revelation with 32. The sum of the 28 and 32 is 60, the number that

[43] The word *bāṭin,* 'esoteric, inner meaning', as opposed to *ẓāhir,* 'apparent, external meaning', is often used in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, but mostly in a very general context, probably with the concern to avoid emphasising too explicitly its specifically Shiʿi connotation. The same holds true of the word *ḥaqīqa,* 'reality, truth, innermost meaning'.

[44] Cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 1., p. 188; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux et le Coran parlant,* p. 124.

characterises the cosmic body of Adam and the complete Book of God:[45]

> '*Sixty poor persons*', '*two successive months*' [Q. 58:4]:[46] 60 days [of the two months] refer to 60 cubits of the height of Adam.[47] The 28 [primordial] 'words' were revealed in the language of the Master of the 'descent' (*ṣāḥib-i tanzīl*), and 32 in the language of the Master of the 'return' (*ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*). Whosoever has such a height, matches the height of Adam and will enter Paradise (189b).
>
> The disjointed [particles] of the divine 'words' (*mufradāt-i kalimāt-i ilāhī*) were manifested (*tajallī*) for the first time in the person of Adam, because '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31]. Adam was the father of humankind and angels bowed down before him. After [Adam], the same particles were manifested in the bodily form of the Seal (*dar wujūd-i khātim*). [This last manifestation] sealed the source (*mabdāʾ*) [from which the revelation 'descended', and initiated] the return (*maʿād*). The same [particles] come and manifest themselves in the locus of manifestation of the master of return (*dar maẓhar-i ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*), which achieves the task. As far as God exists, the human being and human form (*insān wa ṣūrat-i insān*) will exist. Adam was in the beginning, and at the end there are the Seal and the Master of return. All three are one and the same person … The ultimate goal of the revolution of the heavenly sphere around the earth is to realise the manifestation of Adam (236b at the margin).

The following fragment gives some additional details on the nature of this 'return to the origin': it is essentially the return to the knowledge of the names that God taught Adam, after having created the body of Adam as the perfect locus of manifestation of these names:

> Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*) is the location [corresponding] to the back of Adam [and to his chest,[48] the receptacle of the divine knowledge]. [In this place] Adam received the primary know-

[45] In addition to the fragments cited below, a passage on the fol. 21a establishes a link between *ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl,* the letter *ḍād* and its numerical value, 800.

[46] '*But whosoever finds not the means, then let him fast two successive months, before the two of them touch one another. And if any man is not able to, then let him feed sixty poor persons – that, that you may believe in God and His Messenger. Those are God's bounds; and for the unbelievers there awaits yet a painful chastisement.*'

[47] Inventory I, no. 19.

[48] Inventory I, no. 13.

> ledge (*ʿilm*) [coming] from the divine Essence (*dhāt*), and [referred to in the verse]: '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31]. [In this place, this science] will return to him [in the form] of the knowledge of action (*ʿilm-i ʿamal*), [that is,] the names [of the letters] which compose [compound lexical units] in every [human] language (106b).

The next fragment expresses a very similar idea and specifies that the final revelation of the 32 ontological 'words' will take place *after* the prophetic mission of Muḥammad:

> God the Most High created Adam and made him the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the 32 'words' without beginning and without end. [These 'words' were then taught to Adam]: '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31]. [The same] 32 'words' were produced by the tongue of Adam. The 'science' (*ʿilm*) of the 28 and 32 'words' was also written in the lines of his face. The 28 'words' were first revealed to the Messenger [Muḥammad], so that the explanation (*bayān*) of the 32 'words' could be given later on (434b).

This 'complementary' perspective on the relationship between the 28 'words' of the *tanzīl* and the 32 'words' of the *taʾwīl* coexists in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the 'inclusive' one, according to which the 28 'words' will be completed by four additional 'words' up to the number 32.[49] These four additional 'words' are the '*Messengers We have not told thee of*' mentioned in Qurʾān 4:164.[50]

The passages cited above do not contain any reference to the identity of the *ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*. However, we have already seen that several passages indicate ʿAlī as the person charged with the *taʾwīl* after the mission of Muḥammad is completed. Jesus in his second coming will also teach the *taʾwīl* and show that the forms of all existent objects and beings are the loci of manifestation of the ontological words: 'Jesus said… [that he will come] in order to lead people to perfection (*kamāl*), to teach the *taʾwīl* (*taʿlīm-i taʾwīl*), and to teach that all existing objects and beings (*mawjūdāt*) were brought into existence by the Word (*kalām wa sukhan*), and that they are all loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the divine Word' (426a).

---

[49] This second approach has been already mentioned above in this chapter, with reference to ʿAlī, and in Chapter 10 (fragment fol. 172a).

[50] Fol. 244a.

It will be recalled from Chapter 10 that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Jesus in his second coming will play the central role during the last stage of *taʾwīl*. He will open the seven seals of the apocalyptic Book mentioned in the Revelation of John. These seven seals are identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the seven lines of the divine ontological writing on the face of Mary. The opening of the sealed Book of Life will thus reveal the 'motherly' knowledge of the universal *taʾwīl,* and lead humankind back to the original human condition where everybody will possess the full knowledge of the divine Word manifested in the human bodily form, the divergences between the religions and confessions will be removed, and everybody will be able to speak the universal ontological language of God.

The prophetic cycle of the revelation of the divine Word began with Adam. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Adam was created by God as the locus of manifestation of the complete Word. The actual knowledge of the Word taught by God to Adam constituted the prototype and the contents of all the prophetic revelations that took place in the course of human history. Similarly to Adam, Jesus was the divine Word, which spontaneously took the human bodily form in the womb of Mary. This is why, of all the prophets, Jesus is the most appropriate to lead humankind to the knowledge of the innermost meaning of the human bodily form at the end of times. The cycle of the Word will thus be closed and humankind will return to the original condition of Adam:

> O Christian (*ay tarsā*), according to you, is this [bodily] form (*ṣūra*) of Mary [identical] to the form of Adam and Eve or not? Certainly, it is. The form produced by the spirit made flesh (*ṣūrat-i rūḥ-i gūshtmand*) is the form of Adam. In the Torah and [other] prophetic books it is said that God the Most High taught the names of all existents (*majmūʿ-yi mawjūdāt*) to Adam, peace be upon him. And the descendants of Adam, who speak different languages, [all] obtained the [bodily] form of Adam (*ṣūrat-i Adam*) from Adam. It is said in the Torah: 'Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air … So God created man [Adam].'[51] Jesus (*masīḥ*) has the form of Adam. And Adam,

[51] Inventory II, no. 5. The Persian paraphrase in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is: *man ki khudā-am mīkhwāstam chīzī biyāfarīnam bi-shakl-i khūd wa hayʾat-i khūd wa ṣūrat-i*

> peace be upon him, was shaped in the form of God … Whosoever reaches [the knowledge of the innermost meaning] of the form of Adam, attains [the knowledge] of God and of all prophetic [revelations]. He or she attains the Word and the Speech of God (*sukhan-i khudā wa nuṭq-i khudā*), concerning which Jesus said: 'I am the Speech of God'[52] (*man nuṭq-i khudā-am*). O Christian, according to the Torah, the form of Adam is the form of God (*ṣūrat-i Adam ṣūrat-i khudā bāshad*). The form of Jesus, produced when he became flesh in the womb of Mary, is also the form of God. Jesus became flesh and took the form of Adam in order to make visible the Word of God: 'I am the Word of God that came' (*man kalima-yi khudā-am ki āmada-am*) … Now, O Christian, be aware that, since Jesus said: 'I am the Speech of God', this [divine] Word is produced by the tongue of Jesus … When he came [in his historical mission], the 32 ['words' which compose the] Speech taught by God to Adam as counterpart of the 32 lines [of the ontological writing] on his face, and [reproduced] on the face of Jesus … [these 32 primordial 'words'] which contain all that exists in two world … were then not yet [fully] manifested in the tongue of Jesus. This is why he said: 'I go, but I will come back and complete the religion of the prophets. I have come to complete, not to abrogate'[53] (396b–397b).[54]

The language of Adam was identical to his bodily form, created as the Book of God. The revelation of the innermost meaning of this form by Jesus will thus bring the humans back to the original language of Adam, which is inherent to the human bodily form and which is the source of all particular human languages:

> If someone asks that, according to the trustworthy informer (*mukhbir-i ṣādiq*), when Jesus will come, all [humankind] will be [united] within one religion (*dīn*) and one confession (*madhhab*) … How will this be possible? How can the divergences [in approaches to the divine] Unity (*tawḥīd*), to the knowledge of God and creation of things be overcome? … The answer is in the

---

khūd ki pādhshāh-i murghān-i hawāʾ wa māhiyān-i daryā bāshad Adam-rā biyāfarīnam.

[52] Inventory II, no. 4.

[53] Inventory II, no. 8.

[54] The idea that the form of Jesus is the form of God might be inspired by the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. See p. 111 of Mingana's translation, and pp. 5–6 and 15 of Gibson's translation, which contain also the passage from Genesis cited in this fragment of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

> original nature (*khilqa*) of Adam: 'God the Most High created Adam in His form' and 'in the form of the All-Merciful.'[55] All [humans] are the children of Adam, [created] in accordance with the original nature of Adam. [The lineage of all humans goes back] to the glory, religion and nation of Adam (*buzurgī wa dīn wa millat-i Adam*), to [his rank] of vicegerent [of God] (*khilāfa*), before whom the angels bowed down, to the names that God taught Adam [according to the Qurʾān 2:31], to the original nature of Eve who is Mother … The origin (*aṣl*) of all [human] languages is the language of Adam (83a–b).

Several passages in the *Jāwidān-nāma* define Paradise as the condition of the *repented* Adam. Repentance is needed in order to overcome the consequences of the satanic suggestions that entailed the exclusion of Adam, Eve and their descendants from Paradise. This repentance will be achieved at the end of time, and only then will humankind be able to re-enter Paradise: '"*A party in Paradise, and a party in the Blaze*" [Q. 42:7]. Paradise is the station of the repented (*tawba*) Adam, when he comes back [to the condition mentioned in the verse]: "*Adam, dwell thou, and thy wife, in the Garden*" [Q. 2:35]' (165a).

> Because of Satan, who was rejected (*mardūd*) after he had refused to bow down, Adam was excluded from Paradise, and so were his children. But, on the Day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*), Adam and his descendants will return [to Paradise] by repentance (*ināba*) … Whosoever does not repent from the speech (*qawl*) of Satan remains in unbelief (176b).

According to the following fragments, the condition of repentance will be fulfilled through the sacrifice of Jesus, which most probably alludes not to the crucifixion, but to the sacrifice of the Lamb mentioned in the Revelation of John 5:6–8, the episode that is much cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma*:[56] 'The Christians (*masīḥī*) say that, as long as Jesus does not come, Adam will not be delivered from the fire and his repentance (*tawba*) will not be accepted. Since Jesus is the Word of God, as long as the Word of repentance (*kalima-yi ināba*)

---

[55] Inventory I, no. 11.

[56] On the question of Jesus' crucifixion in Islam, see N. Robinson, 'Crucifixion', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* vol. 1, pp. 487–489. For the citation of the passage from the Apocalypse mentioning the sacrifice of the Lamb, see Chapter 10, fragment fol. 394b ff., and Inventory II, no. 1.

does not come to Adam, [his] repentance (*tawba*) will not be accepted' (425b).

> Jesus said in the Gospel: 'The first thing that came from the heavens was the Word, and I am this Word.'[57] … This means: 'The Word that came to Adam and to all the prophets, I am this Word.' This is true. '*Thereafter Adam received certain words from his Lord, [and He turned towards him; truly He turns, and is All-Compassionate*]' [Q. 2:37].[58] Jesus said: 'Adam will not enter Paradise before I sacrifice myself'[59] (56b).

In Chapter 1, we have seen that Jesus symbolises in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the highest level of the divine Word, the immediate emanation of the Essence. Jesus represents the unified divine Word before the differentiation. This is why the unification of humankind within one community, speaking one language, will be accomplished by Jesus at the end of times. This unification of humankind will prefigure the Last Gathering:

> '*The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only the Messenger of God, and His Word that He committed to Mary, and a Spirit from Him*' [Q. 4:171] … It is in his quality of divine Word that Jesus, as it is said, will come at the end of time, the Word of God and Spirit of God, in order to strengthen the religion of Muḥammad. All creatures will then be [united] within one religion and one confession, and they will be delivered from death (409a).

In Part One, we also discussed the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s developments on the nature of Time. These developments are based on the central idea of identity between Time and the Word with its 28 and 32 ontological 'words'. Since Jesus represents the complete Word of the divine Imperative, he also represents the complete Time. This is one of the reasons why he will come at the end of Time, and his coming will be one of the signs of the Hour:

---

[57] Inventory II, no. 4.

[58] *Fa-tāba ʿalayhi innahu al-tawwāb al-raḥīm.* The verb *tāba* (to repent, to turn from), and the name *al-Tawwāb* (he who turns from sin, repentant), are derived from the same Arabic root as the noun *tawba* (repentance). Hence the link beween this verse and the concept of Jesus as the Word of repentance.

[59] This idea is found in the pseudo-Clementine literature which was apparently familiar to Faḍl Allāh. Cf. S. Grébaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien,* 16 (1911), p. 169.

> '*Ha Mim. By the Clear Book, behold* . . .' [Q. 43:1, 2] '*He*' – that is to say, Jesus – '*is knowledge of the Hour*' [Q. 43:61]. He is the Word of God mentioned [in the verse]: '*His Word that He committed to Mary*' [Q. 4:171]. The creation: '*He created the heavens and the earth in six days*' [Q. 7:54] was realised by the Word [of Command] '*Be, and it is*' (*kun fa-yakūn*) [Qur, 2:117 ff.]. [The command *Be!* (*kᵘn* = *kāf* + *nūn*)] contains six 'words',[60] hence the relationship with the Hour.[61] Therefore, he [Jesus = Word], is the 'knowledge of the Hour' (71a).

Jesus will also reveal the knowledge concerning Time and its structure, that is, the correspondence between the divisions of time and the 28/32 ontological 'words'.[62] During his second coming, Jesus will complete the prophetic messages revealing the ontological 'words' that remained hidden until then. He will thus restore the full divine Word with its 32 'words', such as it was taught to Adam:

> Jesus said: 'I come not to diminish the religion of the prophets, I come to complete it.'[63] He [also] said: '[I am] the Word of God. The first thing that came from the heavens was the Word, and God was with this Word, and I am this Word.'[64] Similarly, Adam and his children received the 32 [primordial] 'words', and the external form (*ṣūra*) of Adam and his children is the science (*'ilm*) of the 32 'words'. And Jesus said: 'I am this Word.' Therefore, Jesus will come [back] in order [to complete and reveal] the 32 'words' given to Adam, from which every prophet received a certain number, in accordance with his utterance: 'I will come in order to complete them and to reveal their secret, I come not to diminish them.' Since Jesus is the Word of God, he must reveal the number of the divine 'words', and how they are related to things as [their principle] of existence. He said [indeed]: 'I will come in order to explain all that I said by the means of parables and allusions' (426a).[65]

---

[60] This refers most probably either to the names of the six letters, *kāf, alif, fā', nūn, wāw, nūn,* or to the corresponding phonemes.

[61] That is, with Time represented by the six days of the creation.

[62] Cf. fol. 98b.

[63] Inventory II, no. 8.

[64] Inventory II, no. 4.

[65] Inventory II, no. 14.

The eschatological Saviour (*Mahdī*) is described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as a person who will reveal the hidden truth of all prophetic missions, that is, the 32 ontological 'words' by means of which the divine Essence and attributes disclose themselves to humankind, and by means of which are revealed all prophetic books:

> The innermost truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of the secret of all prophets is [focused] on the Saviour (*Mahdī*). The Saviour said: 'The innermost truth of all prophets is manifested (*tajallī*) through myself. I am the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of them all.' This means that the innermost reality of the prophets, which consists of the 32 [primordial] 'words', will be made manifest in him, revealing the [divine] Essence and attributes (*bayān-i dhāt wa ṣifāt*). And the innermost truth [of the 'words'] is in the single [phonemes] (*mufradāt*) (389b).

In several fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the eschatological Saviour is identified with Jesus, which is in accordance with the Sunni tradition. Other fragments obviously address Shiʿi expectations, and include the traditions according to which the *Mahdī* will be a descendant of Fāṭima, and the utterances where ʿAlī is described as the 'Speaking Word' of God.[66] Moreover, as we will see in the following citations, some fragments combine both series of apparently contradictory traditions, and propose a conciliatory point of view. Indeed, what seems essential to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of the Saviour is not the concrete identity, but the quality of the living divine Word attributed, in different scriptural materials, to both Jesus and ʿAlī and, according to the beliefs of several branches of Shiʿis, transmitted in the line of the Imāms descended from ʿAlī and Fāṭima. The parallel between Jesus and ʿAlī extends also to the function of unification that we mentioned earlier as one of the characteristic features of the Saviour. If Jesus symbolises in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the divine Word in

[66] For Sunni and Shiʿi approaches to the issue of identity of the *Mahdī*, emphasising the opposition between Jesus on the Sunni side, and the Qāʾim from the line of the Shiʿi Imāms, see G. S. Reynolds, 'Jesus, the Qāʾim and the End of the World', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 75/1–4 (2001), pp. 55–86. It should be noted that the Sunni tradition also includes the idea that the *Mahdī* will belong to the family of the Prophet and the descendents of Fāṭima and ʿAlī, but places him in the Ḥasanid line, while the Shiʿis privilege the Ḥusaynids. See Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, pp. 140, 214.

the condition of primordial Unity before differentiation, ʿAlī symbolises the primordial Point of the science, the counterpart of the undifferentiated Word.[67] Thus, the figure of the Saviour in the *Jāwidān-nāma* combines the features of both Jesus in his second coming and of the last Imām of Shiʿi eschatology:

> 'There is no Saviour except the Messiah Jesus son of Mary',[68] and 'The Saviour [will be] from my house, from the children of Fāṭima.'[69] Both [traditions] are correct. The Saviour (*Mahdī*) will be the Word of God. [And ʿAlī said]: 'I am the point under *bā.*'"[70] It is known that the 28 'words' and the 32 'words' are, in their essence (*dhāt*), one Word (319b).

Jesus and ʿAlī symbolise the divine Word present in every object and being, by means of which every object will speak at the end of time:

> '*[The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was]… His Word that He committed to Mary*' [Q. 4:171]. Jesus was therefore the Word of God, and the Writing of God. Starting with him, [the divine ontological writing spread] on all objects and beings. It is he who will come from heavens at the time of prayer: 'There is no Saviour except the Messiah Jesus son of Mary'; '*There is not one of the People of the Book but will assuredly believe in him before his death*' [Q. 4:159]. Everything [that exists] in the three worlds, apparent and hidden (*ẓāhir wa bāṭin*), in imagination and mental images (*takhayyul wa taṣawwur*) is, like him, divine [ontological] writing and the Word of God. As such, everything is speaking, as it is said: '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*' [Q. 41:21]. If the things were not the Word of God, they would not [be among those mentioned in the verse]: '*He gave everything speech.*' [And ʿAlī said]: 'I am the speaking Word of God',[71] and 'I am the point under *bā'*' (392a).

The Antichrist (*dajjāl*), the adversary of the Saviour, is described as the antagonist of the Word, an 'anti-Word': 'The Antichrist is the adversary (*muʿāriḍ*) of the Messiah [or Jesus, *masīḥ*] who is the Word of God (*kalimat Allāh*)' (387b). The purpose of the Antichrist is to hinder the realisation of the divine Word in the created world, but he

---

[67] Cf. Chapter 1.

[68] Inventory I, no. 44.

[69] Inventory I, no. 42.

[70] Inventory I, no. 1.

[71] Inventory I, no. 22.

has no power before the Word already realised. Consequently, the Antichrist has no power over humans who have attained the knowledge of their own bodily form as the locus of manifestation of the Word. Internally, the Antichrist is represented by the lower self (*nafs*), the hankerings and passions of which lead the human soul astray from the path of salutary knowledge. But the 14 'motherly features' on the human face, which are the loci of manifestation of the 14 fundamental ontological 'words', are like 14 angels that keep the lower self away from the sacred space of self-realisation and self-knowledge:

> Some of the great masters (*mashāʾikh-i kubār*) explain in their books the following verse: '*We shall show them Our signs in the horizons and in their own souls* (*fī anfusihim*)' [Q. 41:53] in the sense that the likeness (*mithāl*) of all that is in the horizons exist in the souls. For example, the power (*quwwa*) of Muḥammad and the power of Abū Jahl, the power of Moses and the power of Pharaoh, the power of Jesus and the power of Antichrist (*dajjāl*) [are represented in every particular soul]. Every time that the qualities of Jesus, peace be upon him, who is the Spirit of God, overcome the lower self (*nafs*), they say that Antichrist has been defeated. Such is the explanation of the esotericists (*tawjīh-i ahl-i bāṭin*). [Muḥammad], peace be upon him, said: 'The Antichrist will not enter Medina, for the fear of Jesus. [The city] will have on this day seven gates, with two angels over every gate.'[72] The esotericists say that, when 14 angelic powers (*quwwat-i malakī*) emerge in a being (*dar wujūd ẓāhir shawad*), the Antichrist of the lower self (*nafs*) cannot enter there, but anything outside this [condition] is subordinated to the lower self. To further extend [this discourse], they report that the Messenger, peace be upon him, said that whosoever recites three verses from the beginning of the sura 'The Cave' (*al-Kahf*) will be delivered from the evil of Antichrist,[73] either from the Antichrist of the lower self or from the Antichrist of the end of time. By the will of God, one can be delivered from the apparent and spiritual Antichrist (*dajjāl-i ṣūrī wa maʿnawī*) by means of the Qurʾān (225b).

Externally, this sacred space protected against the 'anti-Word' Antichrist is represented by the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, because they symbolise the 'mother of the cities' and the Mother of the Book, the macrocosmic analogue of the human face:

---

[72] Inventory I, no. 2.

[73] Inventory I, no. 53.

> It is said: 'The Antichrist will not enter Medina, for the fear of Jesus. [The city] will have on this day seven gates, with two angels over every gate.' The 14 angels are the counterpart of the 14 'words' of the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*).[74] Elsewhere, it is said that the Antichrist will not enter Mecca either, because Mecca is the 'mother of the cities' (*umm al-qurā*). Fourteen of the Mother of the Book in Medina, and the mother of the cities in Mecca – these two [cities] are, in reality, one and the same. These 14 ['words'] are written on the [human] face, for both Medina and the mother of the cities [represent the human face] … [All] other ['words'] are produced by [the fundamental 'words' written on the human face], in the same way as the Book [of the Qurʾān] spread everywhere, starting from the Mother [represented] by Mecca and Medina. The Antichrist cannot enter the mother of the cities or Medina, which [represent] the Mother of the Book (164a).

It was mentioned above that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Saviour is expected to reveal the knowledge of Time, referred to in this eschatological context as the 'knowledge of the Hour'. In the following few paragraphs I will discuss the textual evidence of the *Jāwidān-nāma* focusing on the eschatological aspect of the doctrinal positions related to the theory of time.

The most fundamental idea that emphasises the eschatological dimension of time in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is the essential identity of Time with other global entities created as the counterparts of the complete divine Word, namely Adam and the Universe. Therefore, the completion of Time necessarily coincides with the completion of the cycle of the Word, including its revelation in the prophetic missions (*tanzīl*) and its return to the source (*taʾwīl*). The return of the Word to the source means that the ontological 'words' will flow in the direction opposite to that which took place during the creation. They will withdraw from particular objects and gather together in the unique, original form of their comprehensive manifestation, which is the form of the cosmic Adam.

We have already seen above that the second coming of Jesus is interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the manifestation of the complete divine Word in human form.[75] This manifestation is produced by the

[74] That is, the 14 letters, disjointed and in different combinations, featured at the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras.

[75] Cf. fol. 71a.

accomplishment of the total cycle of time. Though this complete cycle is uniformly referred to as 'the Hour' in the eschatological discourse of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, its quantitative measure does not seem to be strictly determined in the text. The basic idea is that the Hour corresponds to the full Word with its 28 and 32 ontological 'words', but this correspondence can be symbolised by different numbers. The periods of time most commonly mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the counterparts of the Word are the week and the period of 40 days.[76] With regard to eschatological symbolism, the accomplishment of the full cycle of time is associated to the Resurrection, because it corresponds to the time during which the body of Adam was made: 'The Resurrection (*qiyāma*) that God promised to the descendants of Adam is called the 'Hour' because [God] kneaded the clay of Adam during 32 times 32 hours. When the Hour will be manifest, Adam will be manifest too. [And this] will be the Resurrection and the Unification (*waḥdāniyya*)' (82b).

The passage from the human to the cosmic measure of time is often made with reference to the Qurʾānic verses which mention a day equal to 1,000 (Q. 22:47, 32:5) or 50,000 (Q. 70:4) years of ordinary time. The cosmic week as the measure of the full cycle of the Word is, therefore, obtained by the multiplication of seven or 40 days by one of these multiples.[77] The period of 350,000 (seven times 50,000) or 300,000 (six times 50,000) years is probably the most often mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, but 6,000 and 7,000 years can also be found in some fragments.[78]

Let us recall that, in this regard, Adam is referred to in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as the 'Master of Time' (*ṣāḥib al-zamān*).[79] The body of Adam is equivalent to the complete cycle of time. In Chapter 5, we have also

---

[76] Cf. Chapter 5.

[77] These numbers are probably regarded in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as purely symbolic, without any relationship to physical time. A fragment fol. 177b states that 'in Arabic, 1,000 is the limit of numbers' (*nihāyat-i ʿadad hazār bī [=būd] dar kalām-i ʿarab*). Also fol. 452a: 'the limit of numbers in Arabic is 1,000' (*nihāyat-i ʿadad dar kalām-i ʿarab hazārast*).

[78] Cf. fol. 7a, 11b–12a, 37b, 38a–b, 85b, 94b, 100a–b, 103b, 449a–450a, 452a–b. Some fragments discuss the cycles of 360,000 (fol. 78b–79a, 457b), 30,000 (fol. 115a) or 600,000 (fol. 287a) years.

[79] Chapter 5, fol. 101b.

seen the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretations concerning Friday, the 'day of the Synthesis' (*jumʿa*). Friday is the day when the creation of Adam was completed, and also the day that completes the six days of creation up to six times 28 hours, symbolising the perfect correspondence between the cycle of the week and the number of the ontological 'words'. This is why the eschatological Hour is associated with Friday. Since Friday is the day of manifestation of the complete Word, by which all beings and objects were produced, it will also be the day of the final Gathering of the dead. Also, 'The seventh day is the 'master of days' (*sayyid al-ayyām*), the mirror, and the day of union (*jumʿa*), because when the spirit came into the body [of Adam], he was able to contemplate himself in the mirror of Friday (or 'of union', *jumʿa*)' (7b). This day, all that existed within time will be re-actualised, and every object and being will face the 28 ontological 'words' of the Word that encompass it from six directions. This means that at the end of time every object and being will clearly contemplate, like in a mirror, the ontological 'words' that sustain the existence of their external forms and constitute their innermost meaning. The transformation of the forms into ontological 'words' that will take place at the end of time is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, referred to in the Qurʾānic verse 14:48, which mentions a day when '*the earth will be changed to a different earth, and so will be the heavens*':[80]

> [The phrase], 'We call it Day of Resurrection, the extended day',[81] refers to Friday (*jumʿa*). When it is added to the six days [of creation], it becomes the 'extended day': '*who created the heavens and the earth, and what between them is, in six days*' [Q. 25:59]. When this 'extended day' was added to six other days, they became [equal] to six times 28 hours. Since it is said: 'The Hour will not rise but on the day of Friday', the assembling of bodies (*ḥashr al-ajsād*) will take place on the extended day, which is Friday. Upon this day, it will clearly appear that anything created – children of Adam, angels, Hell, Paradise, sensible, imaginable and mental [entities] that emerge in mind (*maḥsūsāt wa taṣawwurāt wa takhayyulāt ki dar dhihn dar mī-āyad*), and those that will emerge in the future – have six sides[82] … Everything except God has six sides, and every side of every

[80] Tr. Yusuf Ali

[81] Inventory I, no. 10.

[82] The six spatial directions: four cardinal points, zenith and nadir.

> existing thing is related to the 28 hours of time … Therefore, the Face mentioned [in the Qurʾānic verse]: '*Whithsoever you turn, there is the Face of God*' [Q. 2:115] refers to the reading of the lines [of the divine ontological writing] on the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*), [which brings forth] the names that God taught Adam [in accordance with the verse]: '*He taught Adam the names, all of them*' [Q. 2:31]. All existing [objects and beings] (*mawjūdāt*) face each other, and Adam faces all of them, and all of them face Adam, and [the synthesis symbolised by] Friday (*jumʿa*), which is the mirror [reflecting] Adam, the 'extended day'. All [objects and beings] contemplate then their shapes (*shakl-hā*) in the 'extended day', which [is mentioned in the utterance]: 'The Hour will not rise but on the day of Friday',[83] and which is the day of the assembling of bodies, like they [could] contemplate them, in the world of external forms (*ʿālam-i ṣūra*), in a mirror. '*Upon the day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens*' [Q. 14:48]: seven days, containing six times 28 hours, will be changed upon this day to other heavens and earth, which [refer to the] Word of God (101b–102b).[84]

Several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* clearly state that the 'change' mentioned in Qurʾān 14:48 means that all objects and beings will be exchanged for the corresponding ontological 'words'. The following fragments are examples of such reasoning:

> The heavens and earth and all that is between them have been divided in accordance with the number of the 32 and 28 [primordial] 'words'. Any part of them can be changed to a 'word'. This is why it is said: '*Upon the day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens*' [Q. 14:48]. Therefore, all [existing] objects and beings are the 'words' of God, and they will be changed to divine 'words', which are 32 and 28 (302a).

The eschatological 'exchange' will be operated in accordance with the divine convention that ensures the essential correspondence and interchangeability between the ontological 'words' and the sensible forms.[85] This exchange of material forms for the ontological 'words',

---

[83] Inventory I, no. 20.

[84] That is, time and space with its six directions, represented by 'heavens and earth', will be substituted by the direct manifestation of the divine Word. See the next citation.

[85] On the 'divine convention', see Chapter 2.

which will take place at the end of time, supposes that the ontological 'words' inherent into the forms of the objects will manifest themselves directly. When the Hour comes, every existing object and being will speak, in the sense that it will emit the ontological name that sustained its existence. Such is, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the interpretation of the Qurʾānic verse 41:21, where the skins speak and witness against people:

> All existing objects and beings are the 'words' of God, as it is mentioned [in the verse]: '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*' [Q. 41:21]. '*Upon the day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens*' [Q. 14:48] [means that] when the heavens and the earth will be changed to other than heavens and earth, they will be substituted by the divine Word (411a).

The 'exchange' and direct manifestation of the ontological names corresponding to all existing forms of the sensible universe are probably the most important features of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s eschatological discourse. In some passages, the Hour is defined essentially as the time when everything will speak: 'The Hour is the time when [is realised the condition of]: *"God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*" [Q. 41:21]' (85b).

The direct manifestation of the ontological names released by all existing forms will clearly demonstrate that every object and being is brought into existence as the locus of manifestation of these names. Since, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the bodily form of any existing object is composed of ontological letters, described as elementary forms corresponding to the metaphysical 'words' or phonemes of its name, every existing or even potentially possible form is essentially ontological writing. At the end of time, this quality of writing will be clearly visible in every form, because all forms will emit, or 'spell' their ontological names, in the same way as an ordinary writing can be read and spelled. This is why the eschatological Hour is also the time when the universal Book of creation will be revealed. This idea is expressed in various ways in several fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. For example, the following fragment describes how the heavens will be transformed into a Book when the degrees of the heavenly sphere will be exchanged for the ontological words:

> The heavenly Book [revealed to the prophets] (*kitāb-i āsmānī*) has 360 degrees, in accordance with the number of 12 times 28 and 32[86] [of the ontological 'words', which constitute] the Book, and in accordance with the numbers of the divine Book [referred to in the verse]: '*Upon the day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens*' [Q. 14:48] (145a).[87]

The revelation of this cosmic Book, referred to as the 'Book of the Return' (*kitāb al-maʿād*) will take place at the end of a cycle of 12 times 30,000 = 360,000 years, when the Sun will complete the tour of the 12 constellations of the Zodiac:

> The sun… completes its cycle over the 360 degrees [of the heavenly sphere], which are [six times] 32 and 28 … in one year. It is a star that transits from one constellation to another in 30,000 years[88] … and [this corresponds to the] complete Book of the Return [referred to in the verse]: '*He who imposed the Recitation (Qurʾān) upon thee shall surely restore thee to a place of homing (maʿād)*' [Q. 28:85] (115a).

But in most of the fragments, the revelation of the universal Book, which will manifest the divine ontological words in any atom of the creation at the end of time, is associated with the sealed Book from the Revelation of John, referred to as the 'Book of Life' in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Several passages suggest that the Qurʾānic expressions such as 'the Book from which nothing is omitted', 'Mother of the Book' and 'The Book that tells the truth' allude to the Book of Life, which will be opened by Jesus during his second coming as the eschatological Saviour:[89]

> '*No creature is there crawling on the earth, no bird flying with its wings, but they are nations like unto yourselves. We have neglected nothing in the Book; then to their Lord they shall be mustered*' [Q. 6:38]. [This verse] applies to the animate [creatures] (*ḥayātdār*). In what concerns [both] animate [beings] and inanimate [objects, it is said]: '*God gave us speech, as He gave everything speech*' [Q. 41:21]. The phrase '*We have neglected*

[86] I.e., six times 28 and six times 32.

[87] According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this verse refers to the direct manifestation at the end of time of the ontological 'words' and writing, which constitute the innermost truth of everything existing 'on the earth and in the heavens'.

[88] Probably a reference to the complete cycle of the gyroscopic precession of the earth, which is approximately 25,800 years.

[89] Cf. Chapter 10.

> *nothing in the Book*' [refers to the] Mother of the Book *(umm al-kitāb),* for it is said: '*with Him is the Mother of the Book*' [Q. 13:39], and '*with Us is a Book speaking truth*' [Q. 23:62]. When the Book of Life will be opened, everything will speak. The opening of the Book of Life and of all [other Books] refers to the 'opening' (*kushāda*), in the sense of manifestation of the science of the Word (*az rū-yi ʿilmiyyat-i kalima*), from minerals and animals (334a).

Unlike the books brought by all previous prophets which, as we have seen in Chapter 8, 'translated' the prophetic revelation into particular human languages, the Book of Life is written directly in the divine ontological writing. The revelation of the Book of Life reproduces the direct revelation of the 28/32 ontological 'words' of the complete Word by God to Adam. Since the human bodily form is essentially the locus of manifestation of the same Word, the Book of Life reveals the innermost truth of the human form, the 28/32 ontological 'words' that constitute the original nature of any human being. This revelation leads to the direct perception of the Word without the intermediary of the form. Since, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma,* Jesus symbolises this pure and unified divine Word, such as it existed before the creation of forms, it is Jesus who will open the ontological Book of Life of the human bodily form leading to the direct manifestation of the divine Word:

> The Book of Life (*muṣḥaf-i ḥayāt*) is so called because, unlike the Gospels and the Torah, which were written down [in human writing], it is the divine Book and divine Writing (*muṣḥaf-i ilāhī wa khaṭṭ-i ilāhī*) … Opening and reading of this Book produces eternal life (*ḥayāt-i jāwidānī*). [This Book contains] the secret of the 32 divine 'words' (*sukhan-i ilāhī*), which Adam originally received from the heavens, by means of which Adam was created, [the number of lines of] his face and of the members of his body being in accordance with the number [of these 'words']. It is with reference to these ['words'] that Jesus said: 'I am this Word.' The Lamb with seven horns (*barra-yi haft-shākh*), which will open this Book [of Life] and sacrifice himself before the Father, delivering [through his sacrifice] the servants of God from the divergence of languages[90] will be Jesus the Messiah (*masīḥ*).[91] The divine Word manifested in Adam was also Jesus, for he said: 'The first

[90] Inventory II, no. 1.

[91] An allusion to the Revelation of St. John.

> thing, which came from the heavens, was the Word, and I was this Word, and God was with this Word.[92] I will come back at the end of time in order to reveal the original nature of Adam's face, which contains the science of the divine Word.' These 32 'words' of Adam, which are the Word of God … when they are set free from the shape and form [of corresponding letters], are like Jesus [who said]: 'We do not have any length, breadth or depth', which are [the dimensions] of the bodies (*ki īnhā az shaʾn-i jism*) (323b–324a).[93]

The revelation of the ontological Book at the end of time will also reveal the innermost truth of all previous prophetic Books:

> [The Saviour] will come and say: 'I am the sum of all truth' (*majmūʿ-yi hama ḥaqīqa*). When he will reveal the innermost truth and [the true] being (*ḥaqīqa wa hastī*) of the 32 [primordial] 'words', he will simultaneously reveal [the true meaning] of all prophetic books (*kutub-i āsmānī*). The true dimension (*ḥaqīqa*) of all [that exists] is open to him (150b).

We have seen in Chapter 10 that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the Qurʾān contained, explicitly or implicitly, the full number of 28/32 phonemes corresponding to the ontological 'words' of the divine Word. This means that the Qurʾān is essentially identical to the human body, which is the original locus of manifestation of the divine Word. The idea of analogy between the text of the Qurʾān and the ontological writing of the human body and face underlies the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s literal understanding of expressions such as 'speaking Qurʾān' (applied to ʿAlī or to an anonymous Imām), or 'Mother of the Book' (when the first sura of the Qurʾān is identified with the female face). As a result of the direct manifestation of the metaphysical truth of the holy books at the end of time, the Qurʾān will take the form that corresponds to its inner meaning of the locus of manifestation of the full divine Word, which is the human form:

> All the 114 suras [of the Qurʾān] with the 14 'words' (*kalima*) that appear at the beginning [of some suras represent],[94] in a sense,

---

[92] Inventory II, no. 4.

[93] Inventory II, no. 16. The last phrase is a close paraphrase from the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. Cf. Mingana's translation, p. 106.

[94] *Kalima* apparently refers here to the disjointed letters in the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras, or to the names of these letters.

> the 14 [lines] on the [human] face. On the Day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*), the Qurʾān will be represented on the face of man (*bar rū-yi rajul*) … According to a *ḥadīth,* on the Day of Resurrection, God will make the Qurʾān appear in the form of a man (*bi-ṣūrat-i rajul*).[95] [The verse]: '*Move not thy tongue*' [Q. 75:16] refers to this [event] … The Messenger, peace be upon him, said that, on the Day of Resurrection, the Qurʾān will appear in the form of a man. All the Qurʾān is composed of 29 'words', and the true 29 'words' (*bīst wa nuh kalima-yi ḥaqīqī*) and the divine [ontological] writing (*kitābat-i khudā ʾī*) is the face of Adam. This will be shown, on the Day of Resurrection, by the appearance of the Qurʾān in the form of a man (220a–221a).

The material of tradition concerning the anthropomorphic appearance of the Black Stone at the end of time is interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* along similar lines. These interpretations have been discussed in Part Two. According to a tradition attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the primordial Covenant was enclosed in the Black Stone.[96] On the Day of Resurrection, the Black Stone will be opened and the Covenant will become manifest. The Covenant, as it is described in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, is the record of the witness produced by the prototypes of the human beings in pre-eternity, a witness based on the contemplation of the human form as the locus of manifestation of the divine Word. From this point of view, the Covenant is another symbol for the ontological apocalyptic Book. The link with the human form and face as the locus of manifestation of the ontological 'words' is further strengthened by the fact that the Black Stone is located in the Kaʿba in Mecca, in the location corresponding to the face of Adam, and the seven turns of the ritual circumambulation symbolise the seven 'motherly' lines of the human face. At the end of time, this inner meaning of the Black Stone will become manifest, and this is why it will appear then in the form of Adam, and humankind will renew the witness of the Covenant.

In this regard, the *Jāwidān-nāma* often cites the well-known maxim attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: 'He who knows himself knows his Lord.'[97] In Muslim ritual, this self-knowledge is referred to by the

---

[95] Inventory I, no. 61.

[96] Cf. fol. 10b, 458a–b.

[97] Inventory I, no. 52.

circumambulation around the Kaʿba during the pilgrimage to Mecca: 'Whosoever asks why people circumambulate around the Kaʿba … the answer is, "he who knows himself knows his Lord", and "God created Adam in His form"' (268a). As observed earlier, the Kaʿba symbolises in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the head and the face of Adam, the locus of manifestation of the complete divine writing.

> This Black Stone, which will be opened and which will produce then the divine Covenant, and have two eyes and a tongue.[98] When this Black Stone, which [represents] the original nature (*khilqa*) of Adam and Eve, is opened by the divine line of balance, the science of the 32 'words' without beginning and without end will be manifested, as well as the secret of '*Am I not your Lord?*' [Q. 7:172]. [At this moment], you will be able to see that all the members of your body are brought into existence by the Word [of the divine Command] *Be!* (*Kun*) (439b).[99]

The *Jāwidān-nāma* gives also a specific interpretation to other events associated in Muslim tradition with the end of time. In Part One, we have seen that the black smoke is interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as one of the symbols of the shadow, which announces the appearance of visible forms as the counterparts and loci of manifestation of the luminous ontological 'words'. At the end of time, during the ascending stage of the cycle of the Word, the smoke will, conversely, herald the transformation of the visible forms into the pure ontological 'words'. Since Jesus symbolises in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the pure Word free of any form, the smoke will announce the coming of Jesus and the direct manifestation of the Word:

> The advent of the Resurrection will be their advent [that is, of the primordial 'words']. This is why it is said: '*Be on the watch for a day when heaven shall bring a manifest smoke*' [Q. 44:10]. This 'manifest smoke' is one of the signs of the Hour (*ashrāṭ-i sāʿa*); it is the science [of the primordial 'words']. When the 'manifest smoke', which is their science, appears, it will lead to the true being (*wujūd*) of these ['words']. Necessarily, [the 'words'] themselves will come [following the smoke], and this will be the Resurrection, and Jesus the Messiah (*masīḥ*) will be the

[98] Inventory I, no. 35.

[99] Similar ideas are also formulated in fol. 353b and 378a.

> manifestation of the divine Word, as it is said: '*His Word that He committed to Mary*' [4:171] (65b).

With reference to the smoke and the direct manifestation of the Word, fragment fol. 102b (cited in Chapter 2), mentions also a non-identified 'Master of the (eschatological) Word' (*ṣāḥib-i kalima*).

Another 'sign of the Hour', the sun rising in the West, is also interpreted with reference to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s 'cosmic anthropology'. The West indicates, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Jerusalem, the place corresponding to the back and chest of Adam. As all the prophets were descendants of Adam, they all came 'from his back', just as the rest of humankind, i.e., from Jerusalem. The sun rising from the West at the end of time will therefore represent the luminous figures of all the prophets and herald the coming of the Saviour, 'the Master of the Perfection' as mentioned in one of the following fragments, who will synthesise and achieve the whole cycle of the Word:

> God the Most High informed the Messenger, peace be upon him, that the sun [of the Day of Resurrection] will arise from the West … Since Adam and all the prophets appeared from Jerusalem, which is the place (*maqām*) of creation of Adam's chest and back, and which is located in the West, [God] will make the sun appear from the West (285a–b).

Since all humankind comes from Jerusalem symbolised by the back of Adam, the Resurrection at the end of time will take place also in the land of Jerusalem. This is another meaning attributed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the sun rising in the West. The two following fragments are examples of *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretations concerning this eschatological event:

> 'God the Most High created the head of Adam and his forehead from the clay of the Kaʿba, his chest and his back from [the clay of] Jerusalem … his right hand from the earth of the East, and his left hand from the earth of the West.'[100] [The verse]: '*[And he (Joseph) lifted his father (Jacob) and mother upon the throne; and the others fell prostrate before them.] "See, father", he said, "this is the interpretation of my vision of long ago*" ' [Q. 12:100], refers to the prostration before Jacob, represented by the sun [in Joseph's

[100] Inventory I, no. 13.

> 'vision of long ago'].[101] According to the beliefs of old days (*bi-ṭarīq-i ūlā*), the person before whom all the angels prostrated appeared in the form of the sun (*bi-ṣūrat-i āftāb*),[102] and came from the West, which is the place (*maqām*) of the back and chest [of Adam]. The sunrise in the West means the manifestation of the back and chest of Adam, who is the father of the mankind (*abū al-bashar*), and the father of all the prophets … Before the creation of Adam, [the sun] circumambulated around the centre of the earth, [in anticipation] of the actual emergence (*tartīb*) of Adam … In the old days, they said 'sun' and meant 'Adam' (105b–106a).
>
> The *ḥadīth* [that mentions] the sun rising [in the West] … [refers to] the emergence of a Master of Perfection, a sage endowed with the knowledge of God (*ṣāḥib-i kamāl wa khudāshināsi*). Israel, represented by Jacob, appeared to Joseph, in the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i kashf*), in the form of the sun. The spiritual direction (*qibla*) of his descendant, Moses, and the Tent of Meeting (*khayma-yi mīʿād*), which is today Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*), is [located] in the West. At the time of sunrise and sunset, many thousands of prophets prostrated themselves before God and prayed with their faces turned in this direction. According to the words of the Messenger, the Truthful, this will be also the land of the assembling [of the bodies on the Day of Resurrection] (*zamīn-i ḥashr*). Since Jerusalem is the location of the chest and back of Adam, it is from there that all the prophets came, in particular [those of] Israel, whom God showed to Joseph in the form of the sun. Moses, our Messenger and [all] other prophets, who [appear] in the world of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i mukāshafa*) in the form of the greater luminary (*ṣūrat-i nayyir-i aʿẓam*), also rose from this place, and there will they be assembled (*ḥashr*) [at the end of time]. This is [the meaning of the] sun rising in the West … Necessarily, one of the signs of the Resurrection (*ashrāṭ-i qiyāma*) will be the sun rising in the West (366a–b).

Since the end of time is essentially the return to the origin, the eschatological events generally reproduce, in the inversed order, the series of events that took place at the beginning of creation. We have

---

[101] The 'vision of long ago' refers to Q. 12:4, at the beginning of the Qurʾānic story of Joseph: '*Father, I saw eleven stars, and the sun and the moon; I saw them bowing down before me.*'

[102] This is most probably an allusion to the prostration of angels before Adam, described in Q. 2:34.

already seen an example of such inversion: the smoke, which appeared at the first stage of creation, anticipating the emergence of any visible form, appears also at the end of time, as one of the signs of the Return. In addition, several passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma* express the idea that the events at the end of the time are anticipated from the outset in the entities that are created as counterparts of the complete Word, in particular in the form of the cosmic Adam and in Friday which represents the fullness of time.[103]

The direct manifestation of the cosmic Adam will, as we have already mentioned above, reproduce for humankind the conditions of the primordial Covenant. The humans will be able to recognise the theophanic appearance of the divine Word in human form. Consequently, they will be able to see their own real nature, good or evil:

> The Book of the eternal bliss (*kitāb-i saʿādat-i abad*) and that of everlasting misery (*shaqāwat-i sarmad*) will be given in the hand of the rightful (*ṣāliḥ*) and the wicked (*ṭāliḥ*) servants [respectively]. The people of the right (*aṣḥāb-i yamīn*) and the people of the left (*aṣḥāb-i shimāl*) will be made clearly visible at the time of manifestation of the dominion of the Essence of the glorious King (*ẓuhūr-i salṭanat-i dhāt-i malik-i dhū-l-jalāl*)… The veils of the human condition (*ḥujub-i bashariyya*) were removed from the God-seeing eyes (*naẓar-i khudābīn*) of the prophets, who were thus enabled to contemplate the manifestation of the pure divine Essence (*dhāt-i ḥaḍrat-i subḥānī*). By the means of signs [or Qurʾānic verses], clear proofs and distinctive marks (*bi-āyāt wa bayyanāt wa ʿalāmāt*), the servants of God will be informed about the manifestation of the world of the Essence (*ẓuhūr-i ʿālam-i dhāt*) and the imminent end of the circle of the attributes (*nihāyat rasīdan-i dāʾira-yi ṣifāt*). Therefore, while [still] in the human condition (*dar ʿālam-i bashariyya*), they will grasp the manifestation of the presence of Unity (*dark-i ẓuhūr-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*), and will be prepared for eternal bliss and everlasting life, turned towards the world of eternal existence [in God] (*mutawajjih-i ʿālam-i baqāʾ*). By the witness of the prophets, the intimates of the glorious King will [attain] the knowledge of the presence of Unity [through] the manifestation of the eternal Essence: ‘*How then shall it be, when We bring forward from every*

[103] Cf. fol. 74a, where the events of the beginning and the end are mixed together, and the figure of the cosmic Adam emerging from the waters of the Flood is accompanied by eschatological symbols. For Friday as the sum of Time see Chapter 5.

> *nation a witness, and bring thee to witness against those?*' [Q. 4:41]. The exigency of the pre-existent divine Essence, [which is] the source of the unlimited effusion (*fayyāḍ-i fayḍ-i nāmutanāhī*), is such that the circle of the attributes of the world of the [divine] Message (*dāʾira-yi ṣifāt-i ʿālam-i risāla*) arrives to its end with the most clear mark of the manifestation of the essence of the King, in the glory of the point of existence (*nuqṭa-yi wujūd*), in the most wise of wise and most eloquent of eloquent, the *ummī* Messenger prophet, the prince of the prophets and Messengers, Muḥammad the Arab, may God bless him and his family … On the Day of Reckoning (*yawm al-ḥisāb*), he and the people of the right will be … separated from the people of the left. Unlike the people of the left, the people of the right of every nation, who are the pure of God (*pākān-i ḥaḍrat-i aḥadiyya*), will be led by the eternal King … into the eternal kingdom where they will dwell under His unwavering dominion (319a–b).

The direct manifestation of the 28/32 ontological 'words' in the form of the cosmic Adam will be the manifestation of the Well-preserved Tablet of the divine ontological writing. The eschatological revelation accomplished by the Saviour will enable everyone to read immediately in the Tablet: 'At the end of the world, the 32 letters will become open, and produce a possessor of eyes and tongue. This will be the manifestation of Adam' (257a–b); 'When the [Well-preserved] Tablet [of the divine ontological Writing] is manifested, everybody will be able to read it' (268a).

Finally, let us cite the following fragment, which gives an interesting description of the end of time focused on the symbolism of horn (*qarn*) and orifice (*sūrākhī*):

> Isrāfīl will blow (*nafkha*) into the Trumpet (*ṣūr*), and the Trumpet is a horn (*qarn*). It has been established that the constellations are 12, and they have the shape of the divine Throne. Adam and his descendants were brought to life by the divine Breath (*nafkha*) [blown into them] … The 12 constellations have the form of Adam, and are divided in accordance with the original nature of Adam. One of them is Taurus, possessor of a horn … There is no tomb (*qabr*) that would not be provided with an orifice (*sūrākhī*), through which the [divine] effusion and breath reaches this tomb: '*For the Trumpet shall be blown, and whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is on the earth shall swoon*' [Q. 39:68]. [At this moment], the original nature of the

> 360 [heavenly] degrees [with their fractions, which are the counterparts of the ontological 'words'] will become visible, as well as the Throne, the Book,[104] the spelling and the writing, and a '*garden the breadth whereof is as the breadth of heaven and earth*' [Q. 57:21], and all that was promised by the prophets and God (367a–b).

The return of the prophetic cycle to the direct and immediate knowledge of the divine Word marks the accomplishment of the cycle of the Word and of the three cosmic entities expressing the fullness of the Word, that is, of the cosmic Adam, Time and Universe. The cosmic Adam will become visible, the Hour will come and the Universe will dissolve, when the ontological 'words' sustaining the existence of material forms withdraw from the things and return to their original condition in the eternal divine Word. This event is usually illustrated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to the Qurʾānic verse 14:48: '*Upon the day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens and they sally unto God, the One, the Omnipotent.*'

[104] Probably an allusion to the primordial Covenant.

Conclusion

The *Jāwidān-nāma* in the Context of Islamic Thought

The preceding study of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrinal contents inevitably raises the following question: how can this doctrine be situated in the history of Islamic religious thought? The present conclusion is intended to discuss this question and to provide observations which, hopefully, can be developed in future research.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the known sources do not contain any significant information concerning Faḍl Allāh's affiliations, such as the names of his teachers, or of any other figures who may have played a prominent role in his spiritual and intellectual education, and in the maturation of his thought. Careful identification of possible references to known authors or currents, such as specific technical terms or other borrowings in the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, could shed more light on this issue. But such a study can hardly be undertaken before an accurate critical edition of this work becomes available.

In the meantime, any effort of contextualisation will remain necessarily tentative. In the absence of direct textual evidence that would attest links with specific trends or works, such an effort can only be based on a comparison of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrines with those of similar religious trends. However, a general, indistinctive comparison with all possible similar currents risks becoming a pure (and virtually endless) exercise of erudition, which will hardly help us to better understand the real place of the *Jāwidān-nāma* in the history of Islamic religious thought. It seemed to me more useful in this chapter to focus on the literary genres and religious trends that had some kind of functional affinity with the *Jāwidān-nāma*, or which could have, with a reasonable degree of probability, influenced the author in his time and place.

Since the *Jāwidān-nāma* has some features that give it the appearance of a Qurʾānic commentary, and since Qurʾānic hermeneutics (*taʾwīl*) is at the core of this work, the first section briefly assesses the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s relationship to this major genre of Islamic religious literature. But, as we have seen in many fragments cited in the previous chapters, the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s hermeneutics is not limited to the Qurʾān, it is also extended to the biblical texts. Therefore, this section will address the issue of specific use of biblical texts in the *Jāwidān-nāma* and its possible precedents in the history of Islamic exegetical literature.

From the point of view of its intellectual orientation, the doctrine of the *Jāwidān-nāma* is part of the mystical and messianic current that has existed from the beginning of Islam, but attained some prominence in the period immediately preceding the Mongol invasion, especially in the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī and in the Ismaili doctrinal literature. In the Mongol and post-Mongol Iran, including the time of Faḍl Allāh, various elements of this current can also be found, in particular in the works of authors belonging or related to the influential Kubrawī Sufi tradition. The latter produced a messianic figure very similar to Faḍl Allāh, namely Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464).[1] On the Shiʿi side, Nizārī Ismailism constitutes arguably one of the most important channels through which the re-actualised doctrines of early Shiʿi esotericism, re-shaped in the framework of the messianic doctrine of *qiyāma*, spread in the post-Mongol mystical circles. For these reasons, it seemed to me more productive to focus on the above-mentioned trends in the second section of this chapter. This section is concluded with a brief assessment of various possible parallels to and influences on the central doctrinal themes of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*

The third section contains some remarks on the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma* that could indicate Faḍl Allāh's project of messianic reorganisation of the Muslim community. These contents situate the *Jāwidān-nāma* in line with the general tendency during the post-Mongol era towards conciliation and unification of various trends within Islam and restoration of its universal ecumenical dimension,

[1] On him, see S. Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: the Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia, SC, 2003).

which was arguably one of the most salient characteristics of the mystical and messianic pattern of religious authority in that period. In this perspective, the use of Christian apocalyptic texts, including the canonical Revelation of John and the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, is particularly notable, and provides new evidence for the reflection on the influence of these texts on the development of the Islamic messianic discourse.

This attempt at contextualisation of the kind of thought represented by the *Jāwidān-nāma* is followed by final notes, focused on the future directions and persepectives in the study of messianic movements in Islam generally, and of the Ḥurūfīs in particular.

The *Jāwidān-nāma* as Qurʾānic Commentary

In the previous chapters, we have seen how deeply the Qurʾānic text and the *ḥadīth* material are woven into the discourse of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* Muslim scriptural sources constitute the fundamental proof texts for the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrinal developments. It has also been mentioned that the principle of Qurʾānic exegesis (*taʾwīl*) is the central theme of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* This work interestingly combines some features of the traditional Qurʾānic commentary genre with the metaphysical theory of universal ontological hermeneutics, which constitutes the core of Faḍl Allāh's doctrine. Faḍl Allāh's approach to the Qurʾān commentary reflects the interaction between the Qurʾānic revelation and Faḍl Allāh's personal inspiration based on his mystical experience.[2] In a sense, the latter is presented as an extension of the former: the extensive use of Qurʾānic citations and *ḥadīth* material frames Faḍl Allāh's doctrinal views within the body of the Muslim tradition. Faḍl Allāh's concern to emphasise his adherence to the traditionist current is also discernible behind the regular references to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), one of the few prominent figures of Muslim religious thought explicitly mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.[3]

[2] To some extent, this feature is characteristic of any mystical exegesis of the Qurʾān. On the personal experience as hermeneutical principle, see L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1922), and P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et language mystique* (Beirut, 1970).

[3] On him, see C. Melchert, *Ahmad ibn Hanbal* (Oxford, 2006).

In several catalogues of manuscripts, the *Jāwidān-nāma* has been described as a Qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr*), and this description is not entirely wrong.[4] Indeed, many fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* begin with a Qurʾānic verse, or a sequence of verses, followed by the author's explanations and interpretations. In some fragments, the author's personal input is reduced to a few words, the explanatory function being fulfilled by a selection of *ḥadīth*s. The Iranian scholar Ṣādiq Kiyā, who had a thorough first-hand knowledge of Ḥurūfī texts, observed: 'This book [i.e., the *Jāwidān-nāma*] is a Qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr*), written by Faḍl Allāh. His interpretation of the Qurʾānic verses is original and reflects his vision of a particular mission that he believed to be in charge of.'[5]

The originality of Faḍl Allāh's approach to the interpretation of scriptural sources relies most probably on his claim of direct inspiration. This would explain why the *Jāwidān-nāma* contains no explicit reference to previous Qurʾānic commentaries, which is fundamental for classical works of this genre.[6] The wealth of scriptural material is used not to legitimise the proposed interpretation by a solid chain of transmission linking it to the trustworthy sources, as in strict traditionist style, but to express the intuition of Faḍl Allāh, his individual understanding, which he presumably believed to be inspired directly from the prophetic source. This direct inspiration would dispense Faḍl Allāh from concern with legitimisation through transmission and related issue of authenticity of the exegetical traditions. His selection and interpretation of the Qurʾānic verses and *ḥadīth*s is determined by his specific doctrinal views. In other words, Faḍl Allāh does not merely interpret the prophetic revelation contained in the Qurʾān and traditions deemed 'trustworthy' according to the criteria of *ḥadīth* criticism, but rather uses the rich symbolic language of the Revelation in order to convey his own

[4] See the acquisition note for the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s manuscript no. Ee.1.27 of the Cambridge University Library, acquired in Istanbul in 1601: 'Commentarius Persicus in Alcoranum dictus Jawidàn-cabìr'; and Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī,* 6 vols. (Tehran, 1349/1969), vol. 1, p. 1111: '*tafsīrīst ʿirfānī-yi ḥurūfī*'.

[5] Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāma*, p. 34 (my translation).

[6] For the origins, development and schools of Qurʾānic exegesis up to the modern period, and a detailed list of references, see C. Gilliot, 'Exegesis of the Qurʾān: Classical and Medieval', in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* vol. 2, pp. 99–124.

inspiration. The latter, and not the *ḥadīth* criticism, determines his understanding of 'authenticity' of the material of tradition that he uses in his work. This explains the amazing variety of traditions in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Sunni and Shiʿi canonical *ḥadīth*s, apocrypha, 'theophatic' utterances attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, elements from the 'stories of the prophets' and other materials, the sources of which are sometimes difficult to identify, are cited and combined most generously, so far as they corroborate the doctrinal developments of the author and provide him with eloquent symbolism.[7] Scriptural material still fulfils its legitimising function, but not exactly in the way it is understood in the traditionist approach. The legitimacy, in the sense of compatibility with Muḥammad's revelation, is based, in this case, not on the formal criteria of authenticity, but on the fact that the inspiration and mystical experience of Faḍl Allāh is perfectly compatible and authentically expressed in the language of the Islamic revelation.[8]

These particular characteristics bring the *Jāwidān-nāma* close to the mystical conception of Qurʾānic exegesis. The latter includes the idea that the Qurʾān can be understood progressively, on several levels, disclosing its ever deeper meanings as the mystic progresses in his or her effort to reproduce and to live through the prophetic experience.[9] The interaction between personal experience and Qurʾānic revelation is thus essential for mystical exegesis, as it is in the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[10]

---

[7] The central criterion for the selection of fragments included in the present volume has been clear and straightforward relevance for the understanding of the doctrinal views found in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. This reduced the presence of the fragments with a significant proportion of traditions, which are often symbolic and allusive. As noted above, a critical edition of the *Jāwidān-nāma* will hopefully provide a necessary basis for a thorough research on the sources and use of traditions in this work, thus extending the notes summarised in Inventories I and II at the end of this book.

[8] For a similar position of Ibn al-ʿArabī with regard to the material of tradition and issue of authenticity, see D. Gril, 'Le hadith dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Arabi ou la chaîne ininterrompue de la prophétie', in C. Gilliot and T. Nagel, ed., *Das Prophetenḥadīt: Dimensionen einer islamischen Literaturgattung* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 123–144.

[9] For an overview of Sufi Qurʾānic commentaries in the classical and medieval periods, see Gilliot, 'Exegesis of the Qurʾān', pp. 118–120.

[10] Several studies on particular authors and works of mystical Qurʾānic commentary are now available. See, for example, Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et*

Notwithstanding these common features, the specific nature of the personal experience supposedly claimed by Faḍl Allāh somehow sets the *Jāwidān-nāma* apart from the ordinary mystical Qurʾānic commentaries. We have seen that, according to the accounts of his followers, Faḍl Allāh received the revelation of the ultimate ontological hermeneutics, the *taʾwīl*, enabling him to operate the 'return' of the Qurʾānic revelation to its origin in the primordial divine Word. Unlike any typical work of mystical exegesis, the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not deal just with the interpretation of Qurʾānic verses from the point of view of personal enlightenment and its degrees; it is also focused on the expression of a specific doctrine of an absolute and universal *taʾwīl* in the language of prophetic revelation, that is, through interpretation of the scriptural sources.

This last feature characterises the *Jāwidān-nāma* as a work of *taʾwīl*, understood not just as a commentary, but as a counterpart and complement of *tanzīl*, of the Qurʾānic revelation regarded as the last and most perfect realisation of the 'descent' of the eternal divine Word.[11] The idea that prophetic revelation, the *tanzīl*, or 'descent' of the divine Word into a human language and its external (*ẓāhir*) manifestation, has to be completed by the *taʾwīl*, a 'return' ascending back to the original source of the revelation and disclosing its innermost (*bāṭin*) meaning, is one of the most fundamental tenets of the Shiʿi worldview.[12] The *taʾwīl* requires an inspiration close to the prophetic, but instead of 'descending' in the form of an independent prophetic book, as in the case of *tanzīl*, the *taʾwīl* operates the ultimate hermeneutics of the previously revealed prophetic book. The power of the *taʾwīl* is one of the characteristics attributed to the Shiʿi Imāms, who benefit also from a permanent link with the source of the prophetic revelation, resulting from their particular closeness to God

language mystique; G. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: the Qurʾānic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)* (Berlin and New York, 1980); P. Lory, *Les commentaires ésotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd al-Razzâq al-Qâshânî* (Paris, 1980); A. Keeler, *Ṣūfī Hermeneutics: the Qurʾan Commentary of Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī* (Oxford, 2006); M. Nguyen, *Sufi Master and Qurʾan Scholar: Abūʾl-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and the Laṭāʾif al-Ishārāt* (Oxford, 2012).

[11] Mir-Kasimov, 'The Word of Descent'.

[12] Cf., for example, Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 1, pp. XX, 171, 188; vol. 3, pp. 14, 222 ff., 225–226.

(*walāya*). This quality of the Imāms is reflected in the designation of the Imām as 'speaking Qurʾān'; in this sense, the Imām is regarded as the living book of *taʾwīl*, and his speech corresponds to the innermost meaning of the Revelation.[13]

There is some evidence in Ḥurūfī literature which suggests that the *Jāwidān-nāma* was, if not originally conceived by its author, at least perceived by his followers as a book of *taʾwīl*, in the sense described above. In the Introduction, we have seen that one of the honorific names Faḍl Allāh was referred to by his followers was *ṣāḥib al-taʾwīl*, 'Master of the *taʾwīl*'. This is mentioned in fragment of the anonymous note containing the plan of six chapters or 'beginnings' of the *Jāwidān-nāma* that has been discussed in the Introduction:

> The Master of the *taʾwīl* [i. e., Faḍl Allāh] has founded the divine *Jāwidān-nāma* upon six 'beginnings'. From the beginning to the end, the discourse of the divine *Jāwidān-nāma* is divided and contained within these six 'beginnings', and sealed by them. In the same manner, the inimitable word of the Master of the *tanzīl* [i. e., the Qurʾān revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad, the 'Seal of the Prophets'] contains 29 suras introduced by the combinations of the disjointed letters, and is divided into 29 parts, which are the treasure sealed by the disjointed letters (481b).

If, as suggested by this citation, Faḍl Allāh's followers regarded him as a 'Master of the *taʾwīl*', this would explain also a certain degree of sacredness that they apparently attributed to Faḍl Allāh's writings. However, with the possible exception of some 'extremist' Ḥurūfī groups, it is unlikely that the *Jāwidān-nāma* was regarded, either by Faḍl Allāh himself or by his followers, as the sacred text of a new prophetic dispensation. The *Jāwidān-nāma* clearly states that Muḥammad was the last of the prophets, and the 'descent' (*tanzīl*) of the revelation was completed in his mission. Even if the *Jāwidān-nāma* was regarded as an inspired text, the inspiration it conveyed and expressed concerned not any further 'descent', but the beginning of the 'ascent' of the divine Word, fully revealed in the Qurʾān, back to its divine source.[14] This explains also the absence in the *Jāwidān-nāma* of

[13] See references Chapter 13, note 5.

[14] The mystical paradigm presupposes that some kinds of inspiration are available after the last of the prophets and can be accessed at any point of history. The words of the Shiʿi Imāms are a salient example of such a sacred discourse. In fact, any discourse

any really antinomian discourse, in the sense of abrogation of the fundamental precepts of Islamic religious law. Although the accusation of antinomianism was systematically brought forth in anti-Ḥurūfī polemics, the *Jāwidān-nāma* does not advocate the abrogation of the *sharīʿa*, but provides an interpretation of its central symbols and rituals, in line with the general perspective of this work focused on ontological hermeneutics.[15]

This focus on the *taʾwīl* also explains the extensive use of non-Muslim scriptural sources in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, especially Jewish and Christian ones. It is interesting that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to Jewish and Christian texts does not seem to be determined by the conception of *taḥrīf* or *tabdīl* (change, alteration, forgery), central to

produced by some kind of inspiration could be – and actually was – regarded as possessing some degree of sacredness. This does not mean that such a discourse necessarily competed with the prophetic revelation, or that any inspired text competed with the Qurʾān. The 'theopathic utterances' (*shaṭḥ* pl. *shaṭḥiyāt*) of the ecstatic mystics, or the sayings of the 'wise fools' (*ʿuqalāʾ al-majānīn*), are another example of the inspired extra-Qurʾānic discourse in Islam. The extant collections of such utterances are *ʿUqalāʾ al-majānīn* of Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan Nīsābūrī (d. 406/1015), ed. Bassām al-Jābī (Damascus, 1985), and *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyāt* of Rūzbihān Baqlī Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209), edited with a substantial introduction by H. Corbin (Tehran and Paris, 1966). See also C. Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Ṣūfism* (Albany, NY, 1985). The works of great Persian mystical poets, such as Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, have been compared to the Qurʾān (cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London, 1902–1924, repr., 1999), vol. 2, pp. 519–520, and vol. 3, pp. 311–312 ff.), and claims of a supernatural revelation of a work were not unusual in mystical circles. On Ibn al-ʿArabī's claim to divine inspiration for his works, and its rejection by Ibn Taymiyya, see M. Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des saints: Prophétie et sainteté dans la doctrine d'Ibn Arabî,* revised and extended edition (Paris, 2012), p. 29. For the idea of divinely inspired hermeneutics of the Scriptures and for the 'inversed' structural similarities between Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* and the Qurʾān, which suggest that the *Futūḥāt* should be regarded as an 'ascension' (*miʿrāj, ʿurūj*) to the source of the Qurʾānic 'descent' (*tanzīl*), see M. Chodkiewicz, *Un océan sans rivage* (Paris, 1992), pp. 51 and 90 ff. To a certain extent, this line of extra-Qurʾānic inspiration goes back to the prophetic example, and more particularly to the extra-Qurʾānic part of the revelation arguably received by the Prophet Muḥammad, closely linked with his heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*). On this topic, see Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word.* For the relationship between *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl* in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, see Part Two and Mir-Kasimov, 'The Word of Descent'.

[15] For the central arguments of the anti-Ḥurūfī polemics, see Mir-Kasimov, 'Takfīr and Messianism'.

the mainstream Islamic anti-Jewish and anti-Christian polemical literature, according to which Jews and Christians tampered with their Scriptures.[16] On the other hand, the *Jāwidān-nāma* does include substantial elements of the second mainstream genre dealing with biblical texts, namely of the *aʿlām/dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* literature, which is focused on the search of proofs for Muḥammad's prophethood in the books of previous prophets.[17] In accordance with this second attitude, the biblical texts are generally used in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as authoritative proof-texts like the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. The biblical texts are apparently viewed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as authentic milestones in the progressive 'descent' (*tanzīl*) of the divine Word, completed by the mission of Muḥammad. Therefore, the *taʾwīl* applied to the Qurʾān can be extended also to these previous prophetic books. A similar extension of *taʾwīl* to the biblical texts can be found in the works of some Ismaili authors, such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/933–934), Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (fl. mid-4th/10th century), Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī (d. after 361/971), Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. ca. 411/1021), and Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. after 465/1072).[18] The fact that the

[16] Cf. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, 'Taḥrīf', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 111–112. To the best of my knowledge, the only example in the *Jāwidān-nāma* where the point of misinterpretation of Moses' message by the Jews is emphasised is the discussion of the Sabbath.

[17] On these two approaches in the mainstream Muslim literature, see J. D. McAuliffe, 'Qurʾānic Context of Muslim Biblical Scholarship', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7/2 (1996), pp. 141–158. We have already seen, for example, that the dimensions of the Moses' Tent of Meeting described in the Exodus are interpreted in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as an indication of Muḥammad's mission (see Chapter 9).

[18] Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa,* ed. and tr. Tarif Khalidi as *The Proofs of Prophecy* (Provo (UT), 2011); Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kirmānī, *Al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma,* ed. and tr. Paul E. Walker as *The Master of the Age: An Islamic Treatise on the Necessity of the Imamate*, (London and New York, 2007), pp. 24–26 and 96–97; and D. De Smet and J. M. F. Van Reeth, 'Les citations bibliques dans l'œuvre du dāʿī ismaélien Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī,' in U. Vermeulen and J. M. F. Van Reeth, ed., *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* (Louvain, 1998), pp. 147–160. For the interpretations of the Gospels and Christian symbolism in Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-Yanābīʿ* and their extensive incorporation in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Khwān al-ikhwān* see Paul E. Walker, *The Wellsprings of Wisdom* (Salt Lake City, 1994), pp. 93–95, 105, 177–179, 185, and H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne* (Tehran and Paris, 1961), p. 112, note 235; pp. 114–116, note 238; pp. 116–117, and p. 117, note 240. For the interpretation of the biblical texts

Jāwidān-nāma's interpretations of biblical material corroborate the same doctrinal points as the developments elsewhere supported by citations from the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* is most probably intended as a tacit argument in favour of the universal validity of Faḍl Allāh's *taʾwīl*.[19] The latter feature is also in accordance with the messianic component of Faḍl Allāh's thought. In fact, the absolute and final disclosing of the innermost levels of the Qurʾānic revelation, addressed not only to the Muslim community but to entire mankind, echoing the universality of the original message of Islam, is one of the distinctive features of the eschatological Saviour, particularly emphasised in Shiʿi eschatology.[20]

The full extent of biblical material in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, whether cited, paraphrased or alluded to, is still to be carefully analysed.[21] From the quotations in previous chapters, especially in the fragments related to Moses and Jesus, it can be concluded that Faḍl Allāh had a good knowledge of at least some sections of the Bible, from the Old as well as the New Testaments, and of some Christian apocryphal literature.[22] Particularly interesting is Faḍl Allāh's use of the Christian apocalyptic texts, namely the Revelation of John and the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, to which I will return in the last section of this Conclusion and in

---

in the works of Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (fl. mid- 4th/10th century), see David Hollenberg, 'Interpretation after the End of Days: the Fāṭimid-Ismāʿīlī *Taʾwīl* (Interpretation) of Jaʿfar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman (d. *ca.* 960)' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2006), in particular p. 299 ff., and his 'Disrobing judges with veiled truths: an early Ismāʿīlī Torah Interpretation (*taʾwīl*) in service of the Fāṭimid mission,' *Religion* 33 (2003), pp. 127–145.

[19] For examples of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, see Chapters 9–11.

[20] On Islamic eschatological beliefs, see Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*. On the Shiʿi cyclical conception of the end of time as return to the origin, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, 'Fin du Temps et Retour à l'Origine', in M. García-Arenal (ed.), *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, in *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée*, 91/4 (2000), pp. 53–72.

[21] See notes in the introduction to Inventory II.

[22] The material from the Christian sources is probably more visible in this book, because it is presented compactly in Chapter 10, while the citations from the Old Testament are scattered throughout the text, with only few episodes coming into focus in Chapters 9 and 11. To partly restore the balance, I refer to my article, 'Some Specific Features of the Ḥurūfī Interpretation of the Qurʾanic and Biblical Episodes Related to Moses'.

Inventory II. It is beyond doubt that these texts directly influenced the construction of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s messianic outlook.

That Faḍl Allāh had direct knowledge of canonical biblical texts is attested by several citations in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, which explicitly refer to the Torah or the Gospel (*Injīl*). It is noteworthy that the canonical biblical texts and apocrypha are mostly cited in Persian in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* Persian translations of at least some biblical texts should have been available at the time of Faḍl Allāh;[23] and it is perfectly possible that, during his travels, he established personal contacts with Jewish and/or Christian circles where such translations were produced. However, some citations of biblical and apocryphal texts in Arabic found in the *Jāwidān-nāma*[24] suggest that Faḍl Allāh could have translated or paraphrased these texts himself from the wealth of biblical material largely available in Arabic at his time. The question remains why he does not cite the biblical texts consistently in Arabic, as he does with the *ḥadīth*s and Qurʾānic citations.

The doctrinal lines of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, in particular the mystical theory of language and writing and mystical anthropology, have close parallels in Jewish and Christian mysticism.[25] Of course, by the time of Faḍl Allāh, such theories were fully developed in Islamic religious

[23] The oldest extant manuscript of Judaeo-Persian Pentateuch translation was apparently produced in 1319, and a harmony of the four Gospels (Diatessaron), as well as translations of individual Gospels, circulated in Persian at least from the middle of the 14th century. See W. J. Fischel, 'Judaeo-Persian. i. – Literature', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 308–312, and 'The Bible in Persian Translation: A Contribution to the History of Bible Translations in Persia and India', *The Harvard Theological Review,* vol. 45/1 (1952), pp. 3–45. See also R. Gulbenkian, *The Translation of the Four Gospels into Persian* (Uznach, Switzerland, 1981).

[24] Cf. fragment fol. 387b, citation from John 3:3 concerning the second birth; fol. 388a and 470b, citations from the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

[25] The question of mutual influence between Jewish, Christian and Muslim mystical circles, which probably integrated in various ways the same stock of Gnostic doctrines, is long debated in scholarly literature. For references to some themes of Jewish and Christian mysticism similar to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s developments see G. Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ: For Shlomo Pines', *The Harvard Theological Review* 76/3 (1983), pp. 269–288. On the similarities between Ismaili and Jewish mysticism of letters, fully valid for the *Jāwidān-nāma,* see G. Vajda, 'Les lettres et les sons de la langue arabe d'après Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī', *Arabica* 8/2 (1961), pp. 113–130. A similarity between Ḥurūfī doctrines, the Jewish Kabbala and Christian mystical currents has also been noted by several scholars. See, for example,

thought, to which I will turn in the following sections. However, the possibility that Faḍl Allāh had some direct relationships with Jewish and Christian (and possibly also Indian) mystical circles cannot be ruled out at the present stage of research. The assessment of this possibility requires a thorough study of the extra-Islamic material and references found in the *Jāwidān-nāma* and other works of Faḍl Allāh.

The *Jāwidān-nāma*, Sufism and Esoteric Shiʿism

The Mongol and post-Mongol period was marked by a significant rapprochement between various Islamic currents and the emergence of synthetic systems of thought.[26] The emergence and increasing power of organised Sufism, with its veneration for the person of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the family of the Prophet, fostered the rapprochement between Sufism and Shiʿism. This process was further accelerated by the input of the Nizārī Ismailis who, after the destruction of their strongholds by the Mongols, tended to blend in with Sufis.[27] This resulted in the emergence of forms of mysticism for which the Sunni/Shiʿi difference seems hardly relevant.

The *Jāwidān-nāma* is a work produced in this context of synthesis and eclecticism. It incorporates several intellectual and theological currents, including Sunni and Shiʿi traditionalism and mysticism. It

---

Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 3, p. 252 and note 72. However striking the parallels, the concrete evidence is difficult to pin down.

[26] On the eclectic intellectual atmosphere of the post-Mongol Iran, see M. Molé, 'Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnīsme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire', *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 29 (1961), pp. 61–142, in particular p. 69 ff.; C. Cahen, 'Le problème du Shiʿisme dans l'Asie Mineure turque préottomane', in R. Brunschvig and T. Fahd, ed., *Le Shiʿisme Imâmite* (Paris, 1970), p. 118 ff.; H. Landolt, 'Le paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu": ʿAzīz-e Nasafī (VIIe/XIIIe siècle) et le "Monisme ésotérique" de l'Islam', in *Studia Iranica* 25 (1996), pp. 163–192, in particular p. 188 (with reference to ʿAzīz-i Nasafī); M. Melvin-Koushki, 'The Quest for a Universal Science', in particular pp. 69–77, and his 'The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity,* pp. 247–276.

[27] See F. Daftary *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 452 ff., and his 'Ismāʿīlī-Sufi Relations in Early Post-Alamūt and Ṣafawid Persia', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan, ed., *The Heritage of Ṣūfīsm,* vol. 3, *Late Classical Persianate Ṣūfīsm: The Ṣafawid and Mughal Period* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 275–289.

also includes elements of 'occult' sciences, such as alchemy, astrology and, of course, the science of letters and numbers, which became the hallmark of Ḥurūfism. The Neoplatonic aspects of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s cosmology coexist with the normative discourse of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). References to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal do not exclude examples of metaphorical interpretations of the anthropomorphic vocabulary of the Qurʾān associated with the Jahmites and Muʿtazilites. The *Jāwidān-nāma* clearly formulates its position concerning such general theological issues as the eternity of divine attributes, or the createdness of the Qurʾān. But the *Jāwidān-nāma* is not *just* a synthesis: the free and creative use of scriptural sources, and an original approach to the rich intellectual and literary heritage of various currents of Muslim theology and mysticism form a unique multilayered technical language, which conveys the original doctrine of Faḍl Allāh based on his personal mystical experience.

From this point of view, the *Jāwidān-nāma* continues the tradition of eclecticism in Islam, in line with thinkers and groups such as al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. after 318/936), the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), who creatively integrated, synthesised and reworked any material useful for the development of their original outlook, disregarding inter-confessional and inter-sectarian barriers.[28]

Notwithstanding this essentially eclectic character of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, a discussion of the proportion in which elements of various religious trends have been combined and integrated to produce this specific doctrine can be useful in order to better understand the place of the *Jāwidān-nāma* in the intellectual landscape of its time. This can also shed some more light at the still relatively obsure issue of the Sufi/Shiʿi relationships during the Mongol and early post-Mongol periods, and the forms of survival of esoteric Shiʿism, in particular in its Ismaili branch, during that turbulent time. As noted at the beginning of this Conclusion, a systematic analysis of the textual markers revealing the

[28] Cf. H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris, 1986), pp. 193–197, 274–276, 285–305, 402–408, and his *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 2; B. Radtke and J. O'Kane, *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism*; I. R. Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ)* (Edinburgh, 1991); and C. Addas, *Ibn ʿArabî, ou la quête du soufre rouge* (Paris, 1989).

influence of specific lines of Islamic religious thought on the doctrinal developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* is still to be attempted. The purpose of the present section is, therefore, limited to a preliminary discussion in anticipation of a more thorough analysis.

At the beginning of this section, I will focus on the Sufi aspects of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The possible influence of esoteric Shiʿism, most probably through the Nizārī Ismaili channel, will be discussed in the second part. A short discussion of the possible Sufi and Shiʿi influences on the central doctrinal themes of the *Jāwidān-nāma* concludes this section.

Any assessment of the Sufi influence on a religious movement of the 8th/14th century cannot bypass the towering figure of Ibn al-ʿArabī. It is certainly possible that Faḍl Allāh studied Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, since almost all central doctrinal developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* have close parallels in the comprehensive thought of the Shaykh al-Akbar. However, the exact extent of Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence seems difficult to assess because only few explicit traces of the typically Akbarian technical vocabulary can be found in the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[29] We will see some examples of this vocabulary in the following pages. In addition, even if the *Jāwidān-nāma* often echoes the themes of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical thought, it rarely adopts them directly; they are cast in the mould of the specific doctrinal context of this work.

One of the most important doctrinal developments of Ibn al-ʿArabī that could have had a substantial influence not only on some particular chapters of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, but also on the general messianic orientation of this work and, subsequently, on the socio-political involvement of the Ḥurūfīs, is Ibn al-ʿArabī's theory of sainthood and its Seal (*khātam al-awliyā'*).[30] Let us note that, although not found in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* the terms 'second Seal' (*khātam-i thānī*), and 'Seal

[29] This is in line with Michel Chodkiewicz' remarks on the difficulty of assessing the exact extent of Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence. On the one hand, it is not always openly acknowledged; on the other hand, Ibn al-ʿArabī's terminology becomes a kind of *lingua franca* and does not necessarily prove an immediate and specific influence. See Chodkiewicz, *Un océan sans rivage*, p. 22 ff.

[30] On this doctrine and its development in the history of Islamic religious thought, see Chodkiewicz, *Le sceau des saints,* in particular pp. 121–150, and G.T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-ʿArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1999), pp. 131–162.

of Sainthood' (*khatm-i walāya*) are explicitly mentioned in an early Ḥurūfī work, namely the *Maḥram-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī.[31]

More particularly, Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas on the relationship between the saintly and properly prophetic quality of a prophet, in the interpretation they received in some mystical circles, could be recognised in the statement found in fol. 232a of the *Jāwidān-nāma*:

> Concerning prophecy (*nubuwwa*) and sainthood (*walāya*), the seekers of truth (*muḥaqqiqān*) and those '*rooted in knowledge*' (*rāsikhān-i ʿilm*) [Q. 3:7] uphold that the saintly quality of a prophet (*walāyat-i nabī*) is superior to his prophetic quality (*nubuwwat-i nabī*), in virtue [of Muḥammad's utterance]: 'I have a time with God when I am not attended either by any angel brought near nor by a Messenger-prophet'[32] (232a).

This passage refers to the thorny issue of superiority of sainthood over prophethood (*tafḍīl al-walī ʿalā-l-nabī*), present and much discussed in Islamic mysticism, Sunni as well as Shiʿi, from early times.[33] The focus on the saintly and properly prophetic quality of a prophet seems close to the formulations of Ibn al-ʿArabī.[34] Among the thinkers linked with the Kubrawī Sufi circles, this issue was emphasised, in particular, by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī (7th/13th century) and, probably with closer reference to Ibn al-ʿArabī's statements concerning the saintly and properly prophetic sides of a prophet, by ʿAzīz-i Nasafī (d. *ca.* 700/1300).[35] On the Shiʿi side, Faḍl Allāh's contemporary Ḥaydar Amulī maintained the superiority of the *walāya* over both *nubuwwa* and *risāla*, emphasising that this does not mean that *walī* is superior to the

---

[31] *Maḥram-nāma,* pp. 21–22 of the Persian text, in Huart, *Textes persans.*

[32] Inventory I, no. 26.

[33] On the doctrines concerning the relationship between *walāya* and *nubuwwa* in various currents of Islamic religious thought, see H. Landolt, 'Walāyah', in M. Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (London and New York, 1987), vol. 15, pp. 316–323, and Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood,* pp. 131–162.

[34] See Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood,* pp. 611–613, with reference to Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

[35] On them, see Landolt, 'Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī', in *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 703, and his 'Nasafī, ʿAzīz', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* as well as L. Ridgeon, *ʿAzīz Nasafī* (Richmond, 1998). On al-Ḥammūʾī's statements concerning the relationship between prophets and saints, see his *al-Miṣbāḥ fī-l-taṣawwuf,* ed. N. M. Harawī (Tehran, 1362 Sh./1983), pp. 137–138. On Nasafī's views, see Meier, 'Die Schriften des ʿAzīz-i Nasafī', pp. 130–139, and Landolt, 'Le paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu" ', p. 173.

Prophet because the latter possesses fully all three dimensions of *walāya*, *nubuwwa* and *risāla*.[36] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Lāhījī (d. 912/1506) felt it necessary to provide a conciliatory explanation to these developments in his *Mafātīḥ al-iʿjāz*, which closely echoes the cited fragment of the *Jāwidān-nāma*:

> Concerning the statement made by great ones: 'Sainthood is more excellent than prophethood, and sainthood is superior to prophethood', this means that the saintly quality of a prophet, which expresses his closeness to the Real One, is more excellent and superior to his properly prophetic mission, which consists of informing and bringing tidings into the created universe.[37]

An interesting point related to the topic of relationship between sainthood and prophethood is the association of sainthood with the return of the divine Word to its metaphysical Origin (*taʾwīl*), after its descent into the physical world (*tanzīl*) has been completed by the prophets. This idea is expressed, for example, in the already mentioned passage from the *Miṣbāḥ fī-l-taṣawwuf* by al-Ḥammūʾī.[38] In a work of another author belonging to the Kubrawī line, Nūr al-Dīn al-Isfarāyinī (d. 717/1317), the 'returning' part of the cycle is associated with the heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*) of the Prophet Muḥammad.[39] This implies that the divine message transmitted to, or 'descended upon' Muḥammad by the intermediary of the archangel Gabriel constitutes his properly prophetic mission, while the heavenly ascension, bringing him up to the source of the divine Word, into the region where Gabriel cannot follow him, corresponds to the saintly dimension of Muḥammad's prophethood. In Chapter 10, we have seen that exactly the same idea emerges from the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s fragments. There is only a slight shift in terminology: in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this saintly

---

[36] Cf. C. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie islamique?* (Paris, 2011), pp. 326–327.

[37] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Lāhījī, *Mafātīḥ al-iʿjāz,* ed. M.R.B. Khāliqī and ʿI. Karbāsī (Tehran, 1371/1992), p. 234: '*wa āncha dar kalām-i akābir āmada ki: "al-walāya afḍal min al-nubuwwa wa-l-walāya aʿlā min al-nubuwwa" ān maʿnā dārad ki walāyat-i nabī ki jahat-i qurb-i way ast bā ḥaqq, afḍal wa aʿlā az jahat-i nubuwwat-i ūst ki ikhbār wa inbā-yi khalq ast*' (my translation). On Lāhījī, see S. Bashir, *Messianic Hopes,* pp. 173–174.

[38] *Al-Miṣbāḥ fī-l-taṣawwuf,* pp. 137–138.

[39] See H. Landolt, *Le révélateur des mystères* (Lagrasse, 1986), p. 77, with reference to the *Kāshif al-asrār* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Isfarāyinī.

quality of prophets related to *taʾwīl* is referred to not by the term *walāya*, but by the adjective *ummī*.

It seems that Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas concerning the Seals of prophethood and sainthood inspired some latently messianic developments in the period immediately preceding the formulation of Faḍl Allāh's doctrine. For example, the writings of ʿAzīz-i Nasafī contain views close to a quasi prophetic or messianic claim.[40] This specific line of development and interpretation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine could, therefore, have contributed to the preparation of more straightforwad manifestations of messianism as that represented by Faḍl Allāh.

We have seen that the *Jāwidān-nāma* maintains a certain ambiguity as to the identity of the eschatological Saviour, the *Mahdī*, in an apparent attempt to reconcile the traditional Sunni views, which ascribe this role to Jesus, and the Shiʿi belief that the *Mahdī*/Qāʾim will be a descendant of Fāṭima in the line of the Shiʿi Imāms.[41] This ambiguity can partially be explained by the ambiguity of the Muslim eschatological traditions themselves.[42] But it can also be a result of the juxtaposition of Ibn al-ʿArabī's theories concerning the Seal of Sainthood and traditional Shiʿi beliefs.[43] It seems that a similar hesitation about the identity of the *Mahdī* can be discerned in the thought of some authors belonging to the Kubrawī Sufi tradition. According to M. Molé, Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥammūʾī maintained in one of his works that the *Mahdī* will be the 12th and the last of the *awliyāʾ*, while

[40] F. Meier, 'Die Schriften des ʿAzīz-i Nasafī', in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 52 (1953/55), article pp. 125–182, especially pp. 144–145 concerning the quasi-messianic claim with reference to the year 700; Landolt, 'Le paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu,"' pp. 172–173.

[41] On this distinction in Sunni and Shiʿi eschatological beliefs, see Reynolds, 'Jesus, the Qāʾim and the End of the World'.

[42] Indeed, it seems that the material of Muslim tradition concerning the identity of the *Mahdī* and his role is by no means univocal. The difference between the Sunni and the Shiʿi approaches to this issue can also take the form of opposition between the supporters of the Ḥasanide and Ḥusaynid lines of descendants of Fāṭima and ʿAlī, on the Sunni and Shiʿi sides respectively. See Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic,* pp. 140, 214.

[43] Ḥaydar Amūlī (d. after 787/1385) openly opposed Ibn al-ʿArabī's statement that the Seal of universal sainthood (*walāya*) is Jesus, because it contradicted the fundamental Shiʿi doctrine of the imamate. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 3, pp. 198–199.

in another work he attributed the role of the Seal of *walāya* to Jesus.[44] Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh had to find a solution to the dilemma of the *Mahdī*'s identity, in particular between Jesus and the Twelfth Imām, in order to formulate his own messianic claim.[45]

It should be noted that a combination of the canonical Sunni *ḥadīth* material and the *ḥadīth*s especially popular in Shiʿi circles and not necessarily included in the Sunni collections – in particular sayings from the sermons attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib – characteristic for the *Jāwidān-nāma*, can apparently also be found in the works of some Kubrawī authors, beginning with the eponym of the order, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221).[46]

Some more specific similarities between the Sufi doctrines (mainly those of Ibn al-ʿArabī, Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī and ʿAzīz-i Nasafī) and the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma* will be discussed further below, where we will turn to specific doctrinal topics.

Another influence clearly visible in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is that of the 'school of Persian mystical poetry' which, at the time of Faḍl Allāh, was most prominently represented by the works of such authors as Sanāʾī Ghaznawī (d. 525/1131), Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. end of the 6th/12th or beginning of the 7th/13th century), Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), Saʿadī Shīrāzī (d. 691/1292) and Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 792/1390 or 791/1389).[47] It will be recalled that, according to his biographers, Faḍl Allāh's spiritual quest began following an emotional crisis introduced by a verse of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, accidentially heard from a wandering dervish. We have further seen that the technical vocabulary of Persian mystical poetry is used extensively in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* The specific

[44] Molé, 'Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnīsme et shiisme', pp. 74–75.

[45] Bashir, *Messianic Hopes,* in particular pp. 100–102.

[46] For examples, see Molé, 'Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnīsme et Shiisme', in particular pp. 71–74, 116 ff., 129–130. The same author gives also an example of the 'relaxation' on the Shiʿi side, citing a Shiʿi author from the period preceding the Mongol invasion, who denied that the Shiʿis used to curse ʿAʾisha (See 'Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et shiisme', p. 70, with reference to the *Kitāb al-naqḍ* by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Rāzī). The *Jāwidān-nāma* similarly combines Shiʿi elements with a high esteem for ʿAʾisha b. Abū Bakr.

[47] I follow N. Pūrjawādī's thesis that Persian poetry is an expression of a particular kind of Islamic mysticism. See his series of articles under the title 'Bāda-yi ʿishq', in *Nashr-i Dānish* (1370–1371 Sh/1991–1992).

colouration this vocabulary and related symbolism receives in the context of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine represents a particular branch of its historical development, and deserves a separate study. Let us note that there seems to be a link between the school of Persian mystical poetry and the Kubrawī Sufi tradition mentioned before.[48] One example of the integration of the relevant vocabulary in the Kubrawī tradition is probably Lāhījī's famous commentary on the *Gulshan-i rāz* of Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. after 740/1339), the voluminous *Mafātīḥ al-iʿjāz,* cited above. Lahījī's interpretations contain many ideas close to the theoretical developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, which also deserve a closer examination.[49]

The *Jāwidān-nāma* could have been produced either in a Sufi milieu impregnated by Shiʿi ideas, or vice versa. In fact, the evidence pointing in the direction of esoteric Shiʿi roots of this work seems to be predominant. At the time of Faḍl Allāh, the integration of Sufi ideas and language was ongoing in both major branches of Iranian Shiʿism, the Ismaili and the Twelver. The Ismaili rapprochement with Sufism was intensified in the period following the destruction of Ismaili strongholds by the Mongols, and subsequent persecution of the Ismaili community.[50] On the Twelver side, the integration of Sufi influence, significantly fostered by the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, was accompanied by a return to the sources of early esoteric Shiʿism. At the time of Faḍl Allāh, this tendency was most eminently represented by Ḥaydar Amulī (d. after 787/1385), who was not only an older contemporary of Faḍl Allāh, but also lived and worked in the same

[48] On Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and his follower's possible relationships with the great mystical poets, see Meier, *Die Fawāʾiḥ,* pp. 43–45, and H. Landolt, ''Aṭṭār, Ṣūfism and Ismailism', in L. Lewisohn and C. Shackle, ed., *The Art of Spiritual Flight* (London and New York, 2006), pp. 3–26.

[49] For example, the link between the disjointed phonemes and *taʾwīl,* comparison of the face of the beloved to the sevenfold exordium of the Qurʾān, combination of Neoplatonic cosmology with elements of alchemy and astrology, anthropocentrism, the ontological link between name and named. On the doctrinal lines developed in Lāhījī's commentary see L. Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith and Infidelity: the Ṣūfī Poetry and Teachings of Maḥmūd Shabistarī* (Richmond, 1995), pp. 194, 197, 237 ff., 251, 254 ff., 257.

[50] See references in note 27 above.

geographical region.[51] The resurgence of early Shiʿi gnosis, including a certain focus on the science of letters, is probably still more visible in the works of another contemporary of Faḍl Allāh, Rajab Bursī (d. 843/1411), who also integrated the contemporary Sufi lore.[52]

As mentioned, the influence of Shiʿi esoteric currents, most probably through the intermediary of Ismaili doctrines, seems predominant in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* The limited use of the typically Sufi technical vocabulary related to psychological states and spiritual stations is an argument against the originally Sufi background of the work. On the other hand, the operations with disjointed letters of the alphabet, considerations based on their numerical values, and hermeneutical application of these procedures, which is most strongly associated with Ismaili literature, catches the eye even before any more detailed acquaintance with the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. It is therefore not surprising that the first Western scholars who came across Ḥurūfī texts were convinced of having discovered a specific branch of Ismaili thought. E.G. Browne included the description of the *Jāwidān-nāma* in the chapter on 'Ismaili doctrine' of his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, and began this description as follows: 'The *Jāvidān-i Kabīr*, a rare and curious work on Ismaili doctrine according to the tenets of the Ḥurūfī sect, by Faḍlullāh b. Abī Muḥammad et-Tabrīzī el-Ḥurūfī.' On the next page, Browne writes that the *Jāwidān-nāma* 'represents the doctrines of a hitherto little-known sect or school of the Ismāʿīlīs'.[53] This first impression of Browne was reinforced by the fact that the last folios of the manuscript at the University of Cambridge, which contain the record of dreams attributed to Faḍl Allāh, mention the Ismaili strongholds of Rūdbār-i Astarābād (fol. 407a and 409b) and Ḥiṣār-i Gird-i Kūh (fol. 406b), as well as a certain 'Shaykh Ḥasan' who, according to Browne, could be Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124), the famous leader of the Nizārī

[51] Amul is relatively close (about 200 km.) to Faḍl Allāh's native Astarābād (today's Gorgān). On Ḥaydar Amulī, see Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 3, pp. 149–213.

[52] See T. Lawson, 'The Dawning Places of the Lights of Certainty in the Divine Secrets Connected with the Commander of the Faithful by Rajab Bursī (d. 1411)', in Lewisohn, ed., *The Heritage of Ṣūfism,* vol. 2, pp. 261–276, and R. Bursī, *Les Orients des lumières,* tr. H. Corbin, introduced by P. Lory (Paris, 1996).

[53] Browne, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 69–70.

Ismailis.[54] These references constitute, of course, an important piece of evidence. However, they do not occur in the text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, but in a dream diary appended to it.[55] The allusive context of the dream diary does not provide any details beyond the simple mention of these names. The text of the *Jāwidān-nāma* itself does not contain any reference of this kind. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s relationship with Ismaili doctrines appears to be much more intricate than straightforward borrowing, either of ideas or of terminology. Thus, the conclusion of W. Ivanow that the *Jāwidān-nāma* '… displays many contacts with Ismailism, Alamut, even refers to Sayyidnā Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāh'[56] is, strictly speaking, inaccurate, since it is not explicitly supported by the textual evidence of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

However, even if the direct references are rather scarce, there is a fair number of other arguments that support the thesis of significant Ismaili influence. Faḍl Allāh was born and grew up in Astarābād, a city in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian sea, close to the major Ismaili strongholds of Girdkuh and Soru, in a territory where, even after the Mongol invasion, the Ismaili or crypto-Ismaili presence was still influential.[57] The presence of Nizārī Ismailis in Tabriz and Isfahan, cities that played a central role in Faḍl Allāh's spiritual itinerary, is also mentioned in the sources.[58] It is also possible that Faḍl

[54] Ibid., pp. 71–72. See also the edition and French translation of the dream diary attributed to Faḍl Allāh, 'Le "journal des rêves" de Faḍlullāh Astarābādī: edition et traduction annotée', ed. O. Mir-Kasimov, in *Studia Iranica* 38 (2009), pp. 249–304; index of geographical names, pp. 299–300.

[55] This dream diary is appended only to two of the five manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma* I was able to access: Cambridge Ee. 1.27 and Basel M.VI.72.

[56] W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature: a Bibliographical Survey* (Tehran, 1963), p. 188.

[57] Shafique N. Virani, 'The Eagle Returns: Evidence of Continued Ismāʿīlī Activity at Alamūt and in the South Caspian Region following the Mongol Conquest', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123/2 (2003), pp. 351–370; Miklos Sarkozy, 'Rivalry, Decline, and the *Qiyāma*: Circumstances and Reasons', paper delivered at The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2 October 2013, and his forthcoming monograph, *The Nizārīs and their Neighbours in the Caspian Provinces before 1257 CE*. My thanks to Kutub Kassam for bringing this detail to my attention, and to Miklos Sarkozy for sharing with me the reference to his book in preparation.

[58] On the geographical dispersion of the Ismailis following the Mongol offensive see Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs,* p. 448 ff., and Delia Cortese, 'Eschatology and Power in Medieval Persian Ismailism', Ph.D. thesis, SOAS (London, 1993), pp. 192–195. On

Allāh had a connection with the Ismailis through his family.[59] The plan of organisation of the *Jāwidān-nāma* in six chapters or 'beginnings', in accordance with six days of creation,[60] has parallels in Ismaili literature.[61] Most importantly, some central doctrinal lines of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, in particular the specific kind of the 'science of letters' used in this work, have close analogies in Ismaili thought.[62] The doctrine of *kalima* as direct emanation of the divine Essence is a strong argument in favour of Ismaili influence.[63] The same can be said concerning the ontological role of language; the distinction between metaphysical knowledge and blind imitation; the earth as the most noble element and centre of the creation; and many other topics of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[64] There are also more specific details that very probably point in the direction of Ismaili influence, such as the cyclic manifestations of prophets by the series of seven.[65] This explains why the thesis of Ismaili inspiration of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, albeit in a much more attenuated formulations than in the citations of Browne and Ivanow above, has continued to be maintained in modern scholarship. For example, Corbin regarded Ḥurūfism as one of the forms of post-Mongol Iranian Ismailism:

> En Iran même, depuis la chute d'Alamût (1257), l'Ismaélisme, tout en se réorganisant, rentre plus ou moins dans la clandestinité; son influence est d'autant plus active; elle se fait sentir dans tout le soufisme iranien postérieur; elle est

---

Ismaili castles, see Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs,* p. 339 ff., and P. Willey, *Eagle's Nest* (London and New York, 2005), especially pp. 147–162.

[59] Faḍl Allāh's family trees show that at least one of his ancestors (Muḥammad al-Yamanī) came from Yemen. See, for example, Gölpınarlı, *Katalog,* pp. 4–5.

[60] See the Introduction.

[61] Cf. the division of the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī in accordance with the number of Six Creations, plus a chapter on *tawḥīd,* discussed by Landolt in his introduction to the translation of sections from the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia,* vol. 2, *Ismaili Thought in the Classical Age,* ed. S.H. Nasr and M. Aminrazavi (London and New York, 2008), pp. 74–82.

[62] I will return to this issue further below.

[63] See Chapter 1, note 1

[64] See Abū Yaʿqūb Sijistānī, *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, tr. H. Corbin as *Le dévoilement des choses cachées* (Lagrasse, 1988), pp. 50–52, 61–62, 80–82, and Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, p. 24, with reference to the *Kitāb al-yanābiʿ* of Sijistānī.

[65] *Kashf-i anbiyā bi-haft wa bi-haft* (*Jāwidān-nāma,* fol. 99b).

> particulièrement décelable dans l'éclosion au XIVe siècle, en Iran, de l'école connue sous le nom de *horoufisme*. Ses adeptes pratiquaient une science mystique des lettres, dont la tradition remonte jusqu'aux origines du shîʿisme, et qui fait d'eux en Islam les plus proches parents des Kabbalistes.[66]

Amoretti too highlights the similarity with Ismailism but, at the same time, points out some distinctive features of Ḥurūfism:

> In substance, Ḥurūfism is still an expression of Ismaʿilism, in the sense that the theological terms defining it on the religious plane are not derived solely from Ismaʿilism, that is the doctrine that Creation is necessarily determined by the cosmic drama of which it is a pallid and imperfect reflection. Significantly, the definition of divinity was based on the absolute *taʾṭīl* of the divine attributes and on a form of *tashbīh* which proceeded in an opposite direction to the orthodox, in the sense that the term of comparison was Man and it was to Man that the divine likeness was referred. But although this concentration of interest on the human figure as representing completely the ultramundane mystery is its closest link with Ismaʿilism, Ḥurūfism differs from the latter in its recognition of the real location of the *Ḥaqīqa* in the substance of letters rather than in the person of the Imām. And hence a new type of Qurʾanic *taʾwīl* related to what might be called the material rather than the symbolic form in which the word as revealed was incorporated in the sacred text.[67]

Some doctrinal features of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, and more exactly a characteristic combination of specific features, brings it close to the doctrine developed by the Nizārī Ismaili community of Iran. For example, the understanding of *qiyāma* as direct and universal manifestation of metaphysical truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) of the original divine Word, and subsequent ecumenical tendency based on the idea that these truths, made available through messianic disclosure, are addressed to the entire humankind, seem to be in line with the doctrine developed at Alamūt immediately before the Mongol invasion; and so is the strongly emphasised anthropocentrism of the *Jāwidān-nāma*.[68] It

---

[66] Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 3, p. 234.

[67] B. S. Amoretti, 'Religion in the Timurid and Ṣafawid periods', in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 6, p. 624.

[68] For the doctrine of Alamūt see M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizârî Ismâ'îlîs Against the Islamic World* (The Hague, 1955);

should also be noted that, in addition to doctrinal similarities, the Nizārī literature, as well as the works of ʿAzīz-i Nasafī discussed in the previous section, are written mostly in Persian, a fact that significantly increases the probability of direct transmission of ideas and terminology.[69] More particularly, a comparison of the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm* attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), the main source of our knowledge concerning Nizārī doctrine such as it existed under the last lords of Alamūt, reveals sometimes striking similarities.[70] In this sense, it is possible that Ivanow's remark cited above, though formally wrong, does not totally miss the point. I will limit myself presently to some general remarks concerning the doctrinal parallels between the *Jāwidān-nāma* and the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm* before discussing selected doctrinal themes further below.

Both the *Jāwidān-nāma* and the *Rawḍa* contain doctrinal lines that can be regarded as a resurgence of early Shiʿi esoteric ideas, rather than a continuation of the predominating contemporary discourse.[71] The

Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs,* p. 386 ff.; C. Jambet, *La Grande Résurrection d'Alamût: les forms de la liberté dans le shiʿisme ismaélien* (Lagrasse, 1990), and his *La Convocation d'Alamût: Somme de philosophie ismaélienne* (Paris and Lagrasse, 1996), Introduction pp. 7–122; and Cortese, 'Eschatology and Power', in particular pp. 133–134 and 170–171.

[69] It seems that some texts attributed to the 'Lord of Resurrection' of Alamūt, Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi-s-salām*, establish a difference between *amr,* the divine Command producing the Law (*sharīʿa*), and *kalima,* the divine Word related to metaphysical truth (*ḥaqīqa*). See Cortese, 'Eschatology and Power', p. 143–145, with reference to the *Risāla-yi taḥqīq al-ḥaqāʾiq.* The word *kalima* is used in the *Jāwidān-nāma* in a very similar sense. The use of Persian as religious language by the Iranian Nizārī Ismailis echoes the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s allusions at the sacrality of the Persian, and the sacred status attributed to the *Jāwidān-nāma* itself by Faḍl Allāh's disciples.

[70] On the issue of authorship of the *Rawḍā-yi taslīm,* see S. J. Badakhchani's notes in the preface to his edition and English translation of this work, *Paradise of Submission* (London and New York, 2005), pp. xv–xvii, and Landolt's Introduction, p. 5 ff.

[71] It is possible that the early Shiʿi esoteric lore was preserved within the Iranian Ismaili tradition and developed independently from the 'mainstream' Fāṭimid line. For the relative independence of the Iranian *daʿwa* see Cortese, 'Eschatology and Power', p. 84. However, the resurgence of early Shiʿi motifs can be observed during the same period also in the Twelver branch, for example, in the works of Rajab Bursī mentioned above.

doctrine that the divine Word is the first emanation of the otherwise unknowable Godhead, and that the human being – the Perfect Human (*insān-i kāmil*) or Adam in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Imām in the *Rawḍa* – constitutes the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the complete Word, totalising divine attributes, the Supreme Name of God and the most perfect form of divine manifestation, by the means of which all metaphysical divine truths can be perceived and known, is common to both the *Jāwidān-nāma* and to the *Rawḍa.*[72] The notion that a metaphysical truth cannot be perceived and known without a visible manifestation, and that any existing being and object is essentally a form of manifestation of a particular metaphysical truth, is central to both texts, and in both texts it logically founds the doctrine of ontological hermeneutics (*taʾwīl*) as an ascension from the sensible form to the metaphysical truth that constitutes its ontological principle.[73] Common to both texts is also the comparison of *taʾwīl* with dream interpretation.[74] There are many parallelisms in the cosmological developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* and *Rawḍa*: the schema of nine heavenly spheres is exactly the same; both texts mention horoscopes, astrological houses, and the influence of the constellations and heavenly bodies on the development of the embryo, human destiny and prophetic cycle.[75] Both texts emphasise the central position of earth and its relation to the realisation of metaphysical knowledge.[76] Both texts mention the special relation

[72] These early Shiʿi esoteric conceptions were fully represented in the 'Iranian school' of Ismailism, for example, in the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* of Abū Yaʿqūb Sijistānī. In the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm,* these conceptions are revitalised in the context of the doctrine of *qiyāma.*

[73] Cf. Jambet, *La Convocation,* pp. 98, 100.

[74] Cf. Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission,* Persian text pp. 140–141; translation pp. 114–115. Similar ideas can be found in Fāṭimid Ismailism. Cf. al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974), *Kitāb taʾwīl al-sharīʿa,* ed. and tr. Nadia Eboo Jamal as *The Ark of Salvation* (forthcoming): 'The *taʿwīl* can only be communicated through the dream, as [mentioned] in His words, may He be exalted: "*This is the interpretation of my dream*" (Q 12:100).' My thanks to Nadia Eboo Jamal for sharing with me her translation.

[75] Cf. Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission,* Persian text pp. 19–25, 47–48, 50–51, 139, translation pp. 22–27, 43–44, 46, 113.

[76] Ibid., Persian text pp. 153–154, 174–175, translation pp. 124, 140 (the earth symbolises the esoteric level of religion).

between Eve and esoteric knowledge.[77] Both texts emphasise the eschatological role of Jesus.[78] Both texts contain the idea of two parallel lines of transmission of initiatory knowledge: an external, exoteric line, which corresponds to the reproduction of the external form of the human body according to the laws of heredity, and an internal, esoteric line, corresponding to the transmission of an initiatory teaching.[79] Both texts distinguish between relative languages and an absolute universal ontological language, the latter being the direct manifestation of the divine Word.[80] The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine of transformation in the food chain as a means to increase ontological knowledge has common points with the conception of 'submissions' developed in the *Rawḍa.*[81]

Another feature that points in the direction of Ismaili influence is the way in which the biblical materials are integrated in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* As noted previously, in Islamic literature, the extension of *taʾwīl* to biblical texts was undertaken mostly by Ismaili authors.

It should be noted that, in addition to the possible traces of Ismaili influence, the *Jāwidān-nāma* as well as later Ḥurūfī works contain also explicit references to Twelver Shiʿi concepts and doctrines. According to Faḍl Allāh's family tree, Faḍl Allāh was descended from the seventh Imām of the Twelver line, Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The *Jāwidān-nāma* mentions the name of the 11th Imām, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (fol. 246a), as well as the '14 Immaculate ones' (*chahārdah maʿṣūm*, fol. 190b). The works of Faḍl Allāh's close followers contain still more explicit references to 11 or 12 Imāms.[82] This is the kind of evidence that made

[77] Ibid., Persian text p. 82, translation p. 71 (Eve symbolises the spiritual meanings and esoteric principles). Jambet, *La Convocation,* p. 216. Cf. the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of the 'motherly' (*ummī*) prophets and saints.

[78] Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission,* Persian text pp. 151–152, translation p. 123. See also Jambet, *La Convocation,* p. 298 and note 45.

[79] Ibid., Persian text pp. 156–158, translation p. 125–127.

[80] Ibid., Persian text pp. 166–169, translation pp. 133–136.

[81] Ibid., Persian text pp. 128–134, translation pp. 104–109. For a similar idea in the thought of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, see *Rūmī: Poet and Mystic,* tr. R. A. Nicholson (London, 1950), pp. 81–82. My thanks to Kutub Kassam for bringing this reference to my attention.

[82] Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī cites the names of 11 Imāms of the Twelvers, from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, in his *Maḥram-nāma,* in Huart, *Textes persans,* p. 21 of the Persian text.

Browne doubt his first conclusion about the purely Ismaili affiliation of the Ḥurūfīs:

> This harping on the number 7 and its multiples, together with the prominence given to the doctrine and method of *taʾwīl*, or allegorical interpretation, disposed me to regard the Ḥurūfīs as a branch of the old Ismaʿīlīs, or 'Sect of the Seven'. But I am bound to say that a poem of Nesīmī's … devoted to the praise of the *Twelve* Imāms recognized by Shiʿites of the 'Sect of the Twelve', is a strong argument against this view.[83]

A closer scrutiny of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrines does not allow us to unambiguously identify the predominant source of its Shiʿi inspiration. It appears that the *Jāwidān-nāma* drew on an ancient stock of traditions, beliefs and doctrines of esoteric Shiʿism, common to both the Ismaili and Twelver branches. This scriptural and doctrinal material is creatively reworked, cast in original concepts and integrated into Faḍl Allāh's specific theoretical framework. In this process, traces of particular channels – Ismaili, Twelver or others – through which this material of esoteric Shiʿism reached Faḍl Allāh seem to be either lost or intentionally removed. The following pages contain, by the way of example, some preliminary notes and observations concerning Shiʿi and/or Sufi parallels to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to some central doctrinal topics.

The Science of Letters and Taʾwīl

The 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries witnessed an amazing expansion of various versions of the Islamic 'science of letters' (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*), in the Sunni and the Shiʿi intellectual circles alike.[84] As mentioned in the previous section, by the time of Faḍl Allāh, the 'science of letters' had

[83] Browne, 'Some Notes', p. 85.

[84] For a general overview of the science of letters in Islam see D. Gril's introduction to Part VIII, in Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Les illuminations de la Mecque*, pp. 385–438. For an attempt at establishing a typology of different kinds of the science of letters, see M. Ebstein and S. Sviri, 'The So-called *risālat al-ḥurūf* (*Epistle on Letters*) ascribed to Sahl al-Tustarī and Letter Mysticism in al-Andalus', in *Journal Asiatique* 299/1 (2011), pp. 213–270. More particularly, on the revival of the science of letters in post-Mongol Iran and its political uses, see Melvin-Koushki, 'The Quest for a Universal Science', in particular pp. 171–314.

been vigorously re-actualised and developed in the monumental works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, and in the Kubrawī Sufi circles starting with Najm al-Dīn Kubrā himself. These ideas were significantly developed in the works of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī and ʿAzīz-i Nasafī.[85] However, I would argue that the interpretation and use of the science of letters in the *Jāwidān-nāma* displays some specific features most developed in Shiʿi, especially Ismaili, literature. For one thing, the symbolic interpretations of the forms of individual letters of the alphabet and their explicit correspondence with the divine names and attributes, characteristic of Sufi literature, does not seem very developed in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, which emphasises instead the cosmogonical and ontological role of the letters. Though the latter aspect is also important in Sufism, its earliest formulations go arguably back to the Shiʿi and, in particular, Ismaili works.[86] The traces of the ontological function ascribed to sounds and letters can be found in early Shiʿi *ḥadīth* literature.[87] Theories concerning the ontological and cosmological dimension of phonemes and letters were particularly developed in the early Ismaili works, such as the *Kitāb al-kashf* attributed to Jaʿfar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman, and the *Kitāb al-zīna* of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī.[88] A striking similarity to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s definition of letters as primary simple forms can be found in *Kitāb taʾwīl al-sharīʿa* compiled

[85] Meier, , *Die Fawāʾiḥ,* p. 67 ff., 'Die Schriften des ʿAzīz-i Nasafī', p. 147, and 'Das Problem der Natur im esoterischen Monismus des Islams', *Eranos Jahrbuch*, 14 (1946), pp. 149–227, in particular pp. 224–226. Ibn al-ʿArabī's conception of the science of letters has many common points with that of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. On this conception see, for example, Gril's chapter in Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Les Illuminations de la Mecque,* pp. 385–438, and M. Chodkiewicz, *Un océan sans rivage,* pp. 50–51.

[86] For the difference of approaches to the science of letters in Sufi and esoteric Shiʿi literature, the latter emphasising its 'cosmogonic-cosmological' dimension, see Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy,* in particular p. 78.

[87] Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* p. 230 ff. (power of the letters of the Supreme Name).

[88] For the ontological role of sounds and letters in early Ismaili texts, see H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya* (Wiesbaden, 1978); Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf,* ed. R. Strothmann (Oxford, 1952), in particular pp. 40–51 and 90–92 (studied by Halm in *Kosmologie und Heilslehre,* especially pp. 18–31 and 38–45); Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-zīna fī-l-kalimāt al-islāmiyya al-ʿarabiyya,* ed. Ḥusayn b. Faḍl Allāh al-Hamdānī (Sanaa, 1415/1994–1995); and Vajda, 'Les lettres et les sons de la langue arabe', pp. 113–130.

by the Fāṭimid scholar Qāḍī al-Nuʿman.[89] The characteristic numbers 28 and 32 also have close analogues in Ismaili literature.[90]

Another aspect of the Ḥurūfī science of letters strongly suggesting an Ismaili influence is its link with the conception of *taʾwīl*.[91] In the Shiʿi context, *taʾwīl* refers to a particular kind of hermeneutics of the prophetic books, in particular the Qurʾān. This hermeneutics is regarded not as a purely intellectual or literary exercise but, in accordance with the etymological meaning of the word *taʾwīl*, as an operation that brings the words of the Qurʾān back to the source of the prophetic inspiration, where their original meanings belong. The same operation can be applied to any other Scripture, and even to any object or being considered as a 'word' in the great Book of the creation. The operation of *taʾwīl*, understood in this specific sense, requires a special power or knowledge, fully possessed, in the Shiʿi perspective, only by the Imāms. The link between this special power of *taʾwīl* and the knowledge of the ontological 'science of letters', suggested in the Shiʿi *ḥadīth* literature, was most thoroughly developed in Ismaili thought. The interpretation of the Qurʾān based on the symbolic meanings ascribed to the letters of the alphabet and their numerical values was regarded as one of the hallmarks of Ismaili *taʾwīl*. The *Jāwidān-nāma* contains similar theoretical developments based on letters and numbers, which could point in the direction of an Ismaili channel of transmission of the stock of ideas related to the concept of the *taʾwīl* common for esoteric Shiʿism in general.[92] As mentioned above, the

[89] *Kitāb taʾwīl al-sharīʿa*: 'The Command is the first active force gushing out from the Oneness which distinguishes the Creator. The intelligible forms, which are called the spiritual letters, are like parts of the Universal Intellect named the Pen. Whatever flows and whatever has flowed from the Pen are [the Intellect's] manifestation of the letters… These [letters], composed of intelligible forms… when collected they are called the words (*kalimāt*)… Through the Pen, which is the Intellect, Allah manifests the active letters without time' (Jamal's translation as cited in note 74 above).

[90] Vajda, 'Les lettres et les sons de la langue arabe', in particular p. 120.

[91] For a similar link in the thought of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Chodkiewicz, *Un océan sans rivage*, p. 51.

[92] The passages dealing with calculations based on the numbers of letters in a word and on the numeric value of single letters are sometimes presented as being at the core of the Ḥurūfī approach to the interpretation of the Qurʾān. However, a closer look at the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s contents shows that the manipulations with letters and numbers are not essential to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrinal discourse. Their role in this

principles of *taʾwīl* in Nizārī Ismaili doctrine, such as reflected in the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, seem to be particularly close to those of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*

The Human Being as Locus of Manifestation of the Divine Word and the Doctrine of Imamate

The idea of manifestation of the knowable aspect of the divinity in the human figure is one of the central themes of early Shiʿi esotericism. This idea is essential for the definition of the ontological status of the Imām, who is regarded, in his archetypal, cosmic dimension, as the locus of manifestation of the divine attributes or, in other words, as the representation of the revealed aspect of God, *Deus Revelatus.*[93] A similar conception in Sufi mysticism was focused on the perfect human being (*al-insān al-kāmil*), which occupied a central place in the thought of Ibn al-ʿArabī.[94] There are numerous doctrinal parallels between the *Jāwidān-nāma* and the works of such authors, already

work is at best illustrative. As we have seen in Parts Two and Three, the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine of *taʾwīl* cannot be reduced to numerology.

[93] Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* in particular pp. 73–154, and his 'Aspects de l'imāmologie duodécimaine I: remarques sur la divinité de l'Imām', *Studia Iranica* 25 (1996), pp. 193–216.

[94] On Ibn al-ʿArabī's conception of the Perfect Human see his *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam,* ed. A. A. ʿAfīfī (Cairo, 1946), tr. R. W. G. Austin, *Ibn al-ʿArabī: The Bezels of Wisdom* (New York, 1980), and T. Izutsu, *Ṣūfīsm and Taoism: A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1983). See also ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, *Al-insān al-kāmil fī maʿrifat al-awākhir waʾl-awāʾil,* analysed in R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921), French trans. T. Burckhardt, *De l'homme universel* (Lyon, 1953), and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, 'Al-insān al-kāmil', in *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt,* French trans. M. Gloton (Tehran, 1994), definition no. 246 p. 90. On the similarity between the Shiʿi doctrine of Imām and the Sufi concept of the Pole (*quṭb*) or the Perfect Human, see S. H. Nasr, 'Le shîʿisme et le soufisme. Leurs relations principielles et historiques', in R. Brunschvig and T. Fahd, ed., *Le shîʿisme imâmite: colloque de Strasbourg* (6–9 May 1968) (Paris, 1970), pp. 215–233, and Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 3, p. 199. More generally, on the idea of the Perfect Human in Islam, see H. H. Schäder, 'Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (*ZDMG*) 79 (1925), pp. 192–268; L. Massignon, 'L'homme parfait en Islam et son originalité eschatologique', *Eranos Jahrbuch 1947,* pp. 287–314; and R. Arnaldez, 'al-Insān al-Kāmil', *EI2,* vol. 3, pp. 1239–1241.

mentioned before, as Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī and ʿAzīz-i Nasafī. These include, in particular, anthropogony and anthropology, and especially the cosmological and epistemological dimension of the human being.[95]

At first glance, the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to this topic seems closer to the Sufi interpretation. The *Jāwidān-nāma* does not establish an explicit link between the perfect human being and the Imām. The former is usually represented by the original couple Adam/Eve. The thesis that the human being is the most perfect locus of manifestation of the divine Word is developed mostly with reference to 'neutral' scriptural material, including the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* used in both Sufi and Shiʿi circles. In addition, the Sufi and, more specifically, Akbarian term *insān-i kāmil* occurs in several fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*

A closer examination, however, shows several traces pointing in the direction of Shiʿi doctrines. It should be noted that a synthesis of Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine of the perfect human and the Twelver Shiʿi doctrine was realised in the works of Ḥaydar Amulī, whom Faḍl Allāh might have met in person.[96] The revelation of the divine ontological writing contained in the human form, which makes possible the perception of the latter as the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word, is realised in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the 'motherly' (*ummī*) prophets and saints, and is closely related to the operation of *taʾwīl*. In Chapters 10 and 13 we have seen that the *Jāwidān-nāma* establishes a link between *umm*is and *imām*s, two words derived from the same Arabic root *ʾmm.* These features bring the *Jāwidān-nāma* close to the views developed in Nizārī Ismaili doctrines, such as expressed in the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm.*

The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to the issue of the perfect human being and the possibility of attaining the corresponding level of knowledge is, therefore, to be located somewhere between the properly Sufi and Shiʿi interpretations.

---

[95] See Meier, 'Die Schriften des ʿAzīz-i Nasafī', p. 132, and his 'Das Problem der Natur', pp. 149–227.

[96] On Ḥaydar Amulī's ideas related to the perfect human being, see C. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie islamique?* (Paris, 2011), pp. 306–328.

The Myth of the Fall

The 'myth of the fall', including the degradation of humans from their original rank in the cosmic hierarchy and their subsequent return through salutary knowledge, is one of the central elements of the Gnostic *Weltanschauung.*[97] In Islam, the 'myth of the fall' is part of several, mostly Shiʿi, cosmological theories.[98] In particular, it plays a pivotal role in early Ismaili literature.[99] The *Jāwidān-nāma* also contains a version of the 'myth of the fall', but it is developed mostly with reference to Qurʾānic material[100] and does not contain any trace of the Neoplatonic interpretation characteristic of Ismaili works.

The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s version of the Fall is based on the alchemical relationship between earth, the element related to form and knowledge, which is also the principal component of the human body, and fire, the element associated with Satan and ignorance. Let us recall from Chapter 12 that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of the Qurʾānic story of Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise, caused by the suggestions of Satan, emphasises the role of fire covering the faces and bodies of Adam and Eve, and thus veiling from them the innermost meaning of the human bodily form and facial features. Since the human form and face constitute the locus of manifestation of the divine Word, they contain knowledge that in itself constitutes the condition of Paradise. Therefore, the fire that covers and veils this knowledge leads to Hell of ignorance.

I was unable to find close parallels to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s description of the Fall. However, the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s fragments related to the salutary knowledge by means of which it is possible to redeem the effects of the Fall and restore the original human

---

[97] See E. F. Scott, 'Gnosticism', in J. Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (*New York and Edinburgh, 1914), vol. 6, pp. 231–242.

[98] Different versions of the 'myth of the fall' and subsequent strife for redemption are present in the texts related to the early *ghulāt* tradition, such as *Umm al-kitāb* and *Kitāb al-aẓilla,* in the Nuṣayrī and Druze literature. See H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis* (Zurich and Munich, 1982), pp. 113–198 and 240–274; R. Freitag, *Seelenwanderung in der islamischen Häresie* (Berlin, 1985), p. 47 ff.; and Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawīs*, pp. 96–101.

[99] See Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre*, pp. 110–114, and H. Corbin, *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne* (Paris, 1982), p. 47 ff.

[100] For the relevant Qurʾānic material, see Johns, 'Fall of Man'.

condition, display both Sufi and Shiʿi features. The possibility of salvation through self-knowledge and love has a Sufi colouration. But we have also seen that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the most fundamental condition of redemption and return to the original condition of Paradise is the 'return to the Mother' and realisation of 'motherly' knowledge. This is achieved either through individual effort, or under the guidance of the 'motherly' (*ummī*) prophets and saints. This brings us again to the possible link between the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s *ummī*s and the Shiʿi Imāms. If the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of the 'motherly' knowledge is inspired by the Shiʿi idea of initiatory knowledge held by the Imāms, then its description of salvation can be considered as a reformulation of the Shiʿi idea of salvation through the teachings of the Imāms. The latter doctrine, though essential for Shiʿism in general, was particularly emphasised in the Nizārī doctrine of *qiyāma*, and should have remained influential in Iranian Ismailism at the time of Faḍl Allāh.

Evolution and Transmigration

In Islam, the doctrines of transmigration apparently emerged first in the Shiʿi milieus, but various kinds of transmigration theories were developed afterwards also in philosophical and Sufi circles.[101] The doctrines of transmigration, or metempsychosis, usually imply that an entity or substance, like soul, spirit, light or other, is preserved after the demise of the physical body and transmitted into the body of the next life. The *Jāwidān-nāma* contains only few scattered traces of such a kind of transmigration theory. The typical terminology used in the Islamic context regarding transmigration and its particular kinds, such as *tanāsukh*, *intiqāl*, *takrīr*, *naskh*, *maskh*, *raskh*, *faskh*, etc., is not found in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The developments closest to a theory of transmigration seem to be associated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the term *idrāk*, pl. *idrākāt*, 'aperception, impression'. The most explicit formulation of the idea that the *idrākāt* survive the death of the physical body is found in the following fragment:

[101] The most comprehensive overview of the theories of transmigration in Islam is Freitag's *Seelenwanderung*.

> It is firmly established that aperception (*idrāk*) constitutes the innermost reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of humans. The aperception is composite (*murakkab*). In the world of Recompense (*ʿālam-i jazāʾ*), to any composite (entity) [corresponds] an imperishable, indestructible and self-sufficient (*bi-nafs-i khūd qāʾim ast*) mark (*naqsh*). When [the soul? spirit? aperception?] leaves the body, it will see the marks it acquired [during its lifetime] in this [physical] world, and will be identified with them (*ān naqsh-hā-rā ki darīn ʿālam kasb karda ast khwāhad [dīd wa]*[102] *ū khūd ān khwāhad būd*).

This fragment is problematic for several reasons. First, I was unable to find it in three of the four manuscripts of the *Jāwidān-nāma* available to me.[103] In the manuscript of the British Library Oc.Or. 5957, it is placed in the folio preceding the beginning of the main text, under the title *Masʾala*, with another fragment that will be cited further below. Secondly, this fragment is written entirely in standard Persian, without any trace of the Astarābādī dialect characteristic of many fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*. And finally, it apparently alludes to a well elaborated doctrine of transmigration, which does not seem to be developed in other fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* These arguments introduce some doubt as to whether the fragment cited above is an authentic part of the *Jāwidān-nāma.*

But there are also some counter-arguments. In the manuscript of the British Library, both fragments under the title *Masʾala* begin with *Bismi-l-lāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-rahīm*, as do most of the regular fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* Another fragment included in the *Masʾala* with the fragment cited above concerns a topic discussed in many other passages of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* The *Masʾala* is followed by a short note, which says that the two fragments it contains were written 'on the back of the eternal divine book' (*īn dū nāma-yi qadīm-i jāwidānī bar ẓahr-i kitāb-i qadīm-i khudāʾī būd*). Even if the theory of transmigration related to the *idrākāt* does not seem to be systematically developed in the main text of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the term *idrāk*, pl. *idrākāt* occurs in several fragments, sometimes in the context close to that of the fragment cited above. Finally, Sayyid Isḥāq

[102] These missing words are found in the citation of the fragment in the *Maḥram-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, which will be mentioned further below.

[103] Cambridge Ee.1.27, Istanbul Ali Emiri Farsi 920, and Basel M.VI.72.

Astarābādī cites this fragment in his *Maḥram-nāma,* with an explicit reference to the *Jāwidān-nāma,* together with some notes:

> It is well-known that human consciousness (*shuʿūr*) and awareness (*agāhī*) persist (*muqarrar*) after the destruction of the [physical] body (*kharābī-yi badan*). Aperceptions (*idrākāt*) and actions (*aʿmāl*) of the humans [accumulated during their lifetime] appear [then in the other] world [as] marks (*nuqūsh*), as [it is mentioned by Faḍl Allāh], *izza faḍlah*, in the divine *Jāwidān-nāma* … [here follows the text of the fragment cited above]. Nobody among God's servants has a detailed knowledge concerning the quality of these aperceptions and actions, and the corresponding shapes and marks to which they will lead every particular person [in the Hereafter], with the exception of the Master of ontological hermeneutics (*ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*), who has a perfect knowledge [in this field].[104]

The 'stray' fragment from the *Jāwidān-nāma* and the passage from the *Maḥram-nāma* suggest a theory of transmigration, especially if it can be supposed that the shapes (*shakl*, pl. *ashkāl*) and 'marks' (*naqsh*, pl. *nuqūsh*) mentioned in these texts refer to the bodily form of the next birth. Such an extrapolation seems to be indirectly supported by the idea of correspondence between the external form (*ṣūra*) and inner ontological reality (*maʿnā*, *ḥaqīqa*), which is essential to the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Since the bodily form of human beings is, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*), or 'science', of the complete divine Word, it is possible that the term 'aperception' (*idrāk*, pl. *idrākāt*) refers, in the fragments cited above, to the degree of knowledge of the external form attained during the lifetime. The perfect knowledge of the innermost meaning of the human form corresponds then to the ontological perception of the human form in the Hereafter; but if this knowledge is not fully realised then, in the 'world of Recompense' it will be brought in balance with the corresponding formal aspect, and receive the 'mark' of a body expressing a lesser amount of knowledge than human, that is animal, vegetal or mineral. But let us repeat that such a development is only suggested, and does not seem to be clearly formulated in the *Jāwidān-nāma*.

---

[104] Astarābādī, *Maḥram-nāma,* in Huart, *Textes persans,* pp. 41–42 of the Persian text.

If a theory of transmigration of this kind was indeed part of Faḍl Allāh's doctrine, it could have been inspired by the Shiʿi gnostic currents.[105] The focus on the 'aperceptions', related to fixed 'marks' and 'shapes' in the 'world of Recompense', identified in several other fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the 'world of [archetypal] Images' (*ʿālam al-mithāl*) could also point in the direction of Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī and his followers, though the characteristic terminology of the Ishrāqī school is not apparent in the *Jāwidān-nāma.*[106] The same features bring the conception of transmigration of the *Jāwidān-nāma* in line with the doctrine of metamorphosis in the intermediary world of Images developed, in particular, under the influence of Ishrāqī thought, by Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640).[107] Significantly, the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm* mentioned above, also contains some passages on 'imaginal soul' and 'imaginal body' which survive the death of the physical body.[108]

More explicitly formulated in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is a theory of evolution and involution of forms, which has been addressed in Chapters 4 and 6. As it stands, this theory can hardly be characterised as a doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration. The fundamental idea that makes possible the tranformation of forms in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is the thesis that all created forms are essentially the loci of manifestation of metaphysical meanings or truths, which constitute the original divine Word. The correspondence between a material form and a metaphysical truth is ensured by the 'line of balance', which runs throughout the universe and is present in every existent form, from minerals to humans. The difference between the bodily forms of

[105] Such as the transmigration theories preserved in Nuṣayrī literature. On early Shiʿi doctrines of metemphychosis see Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis,* and Freitag, *Seelenwanderung*; on the Nuṣayrī conception, see Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawīs,* pp. 102–110.

[106] On the Ishrāqī discourse concerning the issue of metemphychosis, see S. Schmidtke, 'The Doctrine of the Transmigration of Soul According to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Surawardī (killed 587/1191) and his Followers', *Studia Iranica* 28 (1999), pp. 237–254.

[107] On him and his doctrines see, for example, Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 4, pp. 54–122, in particular pp. 89–93, and C. Jambet, *L'acte d'être: la philosophie de la révélation chez Mollâ Sadrâ* (Paris, 2002).

[108] See Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission,* Persian text, p. 35, translation p. 34, and Landolt's notes, pp. 8–9.

existents is therefore only quantitative: from minerals, through vegetals and animals, the capacity to express the metaphysical truths of the divine Word increases, and reaches its limit in the human bodily form, which is the locus of manifestation of the complete Word. We have seen that, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the cosmic human form is identical to the outer sphere encompassing the universe; more particularly, the body of Adam is earth, both as natural element and as planet. Therefore, all inhabitants of the earth, including the mineral, vegetal and animal realms, are literally parts of the human body, because their bodily forms express a part of the metaphysical truth that is fully represented by the human form, and because they are all generated on earth and return to earth, which is the body of Adam. It is in this sense that the *Jāwidān-nāma* states that every object and being on earth has the aptitude to become a part of the human body. It is interesting that a fragment expressing these ideas is included in the same *Masʾala* as the fragment suggesting a more explicit doctrine of transmigration that we cited and discussed above. Could this combination of fragments indicate a link between the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of transformations and a less explicit doctrine of transmigration? The text of this second fragment of the *Masʾala* which, unlike the first, expresses the ideas well developed in the main body of fragments, is as follows:[109]

> The existence (*hastī*) of anything [composed] of earth, water, air and fire, of heavens and stars, and of the physical world (*mulk*) [in general] consists of the divine Word (*kalima-yi khudāyast*). All [these entities] are created by the Word and in accordance [with the structure] of the Word (*bar-mithāl-i kalima-and*). [For this reason], in the world of dreams (*khwāb*), visions (*wāqiʿa*) and spiritual disclosure (*kashf*), they are seen as speaking, hearing, seeing and walking. [In that world], it can be seen that every atom speaks and hears. Therefore, every atom from the circles of existence (*dawāʾir-i wujūd*) has the possibility to become a human being (*insān*). At the moments of inspiration (*wāqiʿa*), it is possible to see that the body members of a person speak to this person, [as if every member] were a separate human being. Since, from the perspective of their innermost reality (*az rū-yi ḥaqīqa*), every existing thing is a part of Adam, and Adam [encompasses]

[109] In fact, this fragment is the first one, preceding the fragment on the *idrākāt* cited above.

> all [that exists], in the world of spiritual disclosure it is possible to see that any particular [object or being] is the body (*wujūd*) of Adam, and it is possible to see Adam [in] everything.

We have seen in Chapters 4 and 6 that this capacity to constitute a part of the human body is realised through the food chain, when a mineral, plant or animal is consumed by a human being. Similar developments concerning the transformations in the food chain can be found in the *Risāla al-jāmiʿa*, included in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, and in the works of the Yemenite Ismailis.[110] A hint on transmigration can be seen in the fragments that specify the transformation of food into sperm. By the intermediary of sperm, minerals, plants and animals can acquire a human bodily form and be reborn as humans. A particularly interesting aspect of this theory of transformation in the food chain is its link with the sacrifice of animals. In Chapter 4, we have seen that, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, animal sacrifice is a means by which human beings integrate animals into human bodily form, thus giving them access to the superior knowledge of the divine Word and, therefore, to salvation. The link between transformations in the food chain and progress in salutary knowledge can also be found in the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, the primary source on Nizārī Ismaili doctrine mentioned several times in the preceding pages. The *Rawḍa*'s doctrine concerning the different kinds of 'submissions' seems particularly close to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of transformation and related theme of salutary knowledge.[111]

Further connections made in the *Jāwidān-nāma* between animal sacrifice and sacrifice of the lower self (*nafs*) have a Sufi colouration. In addition to the work of Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī mentioned above, the

---

[110] Cf. Y. Marquet, *La philosophie des Ihwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Alger, 1975), p. 385, and Sayyid-nā al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd (d. 667/1268), *Risālat al-mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād,* ed. and tr. H. Corbin, in *Trilogie ismaélienne,* Arabic text pp. 100–130, translation pp. 131–200, in particular, passages relevant for the link between transformation and food pp. 118–120, translation pp. 177–178, concerning souls of the true believers transformed into fine food preserved for the Imām and his spouse, the absorption of which gives birth to their pure descendants, and pp. 127–129, translation pp. 192–195, concerning the link between food and transmutations into animals, plants and minerals.

[111] Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission,* Persian text pp. 128–134, translation pp. 104–109.

Jāwidān-nāma's doctrine of transmigration apparently was also developed by another of his followers, Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī, founder of the Nuqṭawī offshoot, which was particularly active in Mughal India.[112] This is also reflected in the fact that the Nuqṭawīs were referred to as the 'adepts of transmigration' (*ahl-i tanāsukh*). However, a detailed study of Pasīkhānī's writings is still to be done.

With the exception of the role attributed to the food chain, the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theory of evolution and involution of forms seems to share many common features with similar views of ʿAzīz-i Nasafī.[113] As in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, Nasafī's ideas concerning the topic of transformation and transmigration are based on the affirmation of the unity of existence.[114] This parallelism is emphasised by the choice of proof texts. In his reflection on the unity of existence, Nasafī refers to an utterance from the *Nahj al-balāgha* attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: 'God is with everything but not linked to anything; He is unlike anything but not separate from anything' (*maʿa kull shayʾ lā bi-muqārana wa ghayr kull shayʾ lā bi-muzāyala*).[115] In a similar context, the *Jāwidān-nāma* refers to the saying of Jesus that sounds very close: 'I am the Word, I am with everything and without everything' (*man kalima-am wa bā hama ashyāʾ wa bī hama ashyāʾ hastam*).[116] Common to both Nasafī and the *Jāwidān-nāma* is also the idea that the unity as a whole is not subject to evolution or involution; only parts of the whole (cf. 'parts of Adam's body' in the *Jāwidān-nāma*) can rise or fall in the hierarchy of existents. Nasafī's seven-step cosmic hierarchy, stretching from minerals to the sphere of spheres, with humans in the middle position, matches closely that of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* We have seen that, in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* the cosmic human

[112] See Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān*.

[113] Studied by Meier in 'Das Problem der Natur', pp. 149–227, and 'Die Schriften des ʿAzīz-i Nasafī', pp. 125–182, and summarised by Freitag, *Seelenwanderung*, pp. 246–252.

[114] Let us recall that the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s approach to the unity of existence is the idea that the original Word with its 28/32 phonemes or 'words' constitutes the ontological principle of all existents: 'nothing [really] exists except the Word (*ghayr az kalima chīzī dīgar nīst*)' (fol. 464a).

[115] Cited by Landolt in 'Le paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu', citation p. 177 and note 71 (my translation).

[116] Fol. 323a.

form is identical to the sphere of spheres – the location of the Lote-tree of the Boundary contemplated by Muḥammad during his heavenly ascension – and the sphere of spheres is also the furthermost limit in Nasafī's hierarchy.

In the absence of explicit references, the question of origins of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrine remains open. In the present state of our knowledge, and basing myself on what has been said earlier, I think that there are two lines particularly promising for a further research on the possible sources of the *Jāwidān-nāma*: the Kubrawī Sufi tradition (including the transmission of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas) and thinkers associated with it on the one hand, and esoteric Shiʿism, most probably conveyed through the literature of Nizārī Ismailis, on the other. The extent of interrelation between these two currents has still to be elucidated,[117] and the *Jāwidān-nāma* could be one of the forms where they converged and mixed together.

In the meanwhile, it is probably more productive to regard the *Jāwidān-nāma* as essentially an eclectic work, combining elements taken from various sources within an original theoretical construct. From this perspective, it is not the origins and influences, but parallelisms in the contemporary dynamics of eclecticism that are brought into focus. In other words, leaving aside the question of where the different strata of doctrines could be taken from, it is more fruitful to see if the way these doctrines and ideas are brought together pursues a specific aim, either at a purely theoretical level or at a level of social and political action. This brings us to the last section of this Conclusion, where we will examine whether some features and conceptions of the *Jāwidān-nāma* are in line with the general tendencies developed in mystical and messianic circles of its time.

[117] Cf. Landolt's observation on the relationship between the Nizārī Imām ʿAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad III and a disciple of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jīlī, in his Introduction to Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission,* pp. 2–3 and note 5, p. 245.

The Messianic Project of the *Jāwidān-nāma* and the Use of Christian Apocalyptic Texts

As discussed in the Introduction, Faḍl Allāh's doctrine had some socio-political implications related to the issue of religious authority. One of the central doctrinal positions of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the principle of *taʾwīl* – a universal authoritative hermeneutics of Scriptures based on the knowledge of the metaphysical meanings of the letters of the alphabet – provided the messianic paradigm of religious authority with an elaborate theoretical basis supporting the idea of direct access to the source of prophetic revelation.[118] In addition, some developments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* can be regarded as a preparation of the ground for the unification of the Muslim community beyond the old confessional divisions, and for interreligious dialogue open to the integration of Jewish and Christian communities.

It should be noted that the latter tendencies are fully in line with the Islamic description of the eschatological Saviour. Both Shiʿis and Sunnis agree that the Saviour will restore the pristine purity of Islam and the unity of the Muslim community. It is true that the points of view on what constituted that pristine purity and the ways of its restoration vary significantly between Shiʿis and Sunnis, as well as their views concerning the identity of the Saviour.[119] The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s emphasis on *taʾwīl* certainly brings it closer to the Shiʿi standpoint. However, concerning the identity of the Saviour, the *Jāwidān-nāma* seems to seek a conciliation between the Shiʿi and the Sunni positions.

---

[118] Among Iranian messianic movements of the 8th/14th–9th/15th centuries, the scholarly level of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s doctrinal developments can arguably be compared only to those of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. The doctrinal basis of such movements as the Sarbadārs or Mushaʿshaʿ seems to be much less developed. On them, see J. Aubin, 'La fin de l'état Sarbadār du Khorassan', *Journal Asiatique* (1974), pp. 95–118, and his 'Aux origines d'un mouvement populaire medieval'; Y. Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi sarbadārān* (Tehran, 1363/1984); A. Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i pānṣad sāla-yi Khūzistān* (Tehran, 1313/1934); P. Luft, 'Mushaʿshaʿ', *EI2,* vol. 7, pp. 672–675; M. Mazzaoui, 'Mushaʿshaʿiyān: A Fifteenth Century Shīʿī Movement in Khūzistān and Southern Iraq', *Folia Orientalia* 22 (1981–1984), pp. 139–162, and his *The Origins of the Ṣafawids,* pp. 139–162; J. M. Smith, *The History of the Sarbadar Dynasty, 1336–1381 A.D. and its Sources* (The Hague, 1970).

[119] For the beliefs associated with the eschatological Saviour in various currents of Islamic religious thought see Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic.*

Whereas the former believe that the Saviour will belong to the line of Shiʿi Imāms, the latter emphasise the eschatological role of Jesus in his second coming. In Chapter 13, we have noted that the *Jāwidān-nāma* cites both kinds of traditions and downplays the contradiction between them by pointing to the ontological similarity of Jesus and an Imām from the descendants of Fāṭima, since both figures represent the living Word of God. Another idea associated with the figure of eschatological Saviour is the restoration of the universal message of Islam, addressed to the entire humankind. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s use of biblical texts in parallel with Qurʾānic quotations is consistent with this ecumenical dimension of the Islamic messianic expectation.

In this regard, the use of Christian apocalyptic literature in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is particularly remarkable. As we have seen on several occasions, the main source of Faḍl Allāh was apparently the Arabic pseudo-Clementine literature, in particular the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* referred to as the '*Book of Peter/Simon*' (*Kitāb-i Fiṭrūs/Shamʿūn*) in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* The *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* is a long text, which existed in several recensions. Some manuscripts apparently begin with the text known as the *Cave of Treasures*, followed by a substantial continuation. There are two editions of the Arabic version of the *Cave of Treasures*: by Carl Bezold, who also edited the Syriac version and translated it into German, and by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, who edited the Arabic version with an English translation. The text following the *Cave of Treasures* has been translated by Alphonse Mingana and published together with the Karshūnī text.[120] The *Jāwidān-nāma* incorporated in its doctrinal discourse several concepts from this Christian apocalyptic text, such as a specific

[120] See Chapter 1, note 13. On the popularity of this text among the Syriac-speaking Christian communities, and its possible role as one of the main channels through which the biblical lore was transmitted to the Arabic-speaking Christians in the pre-Islamic period, see S. H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: the Scriptures of the "People of the Book" in the Language of Islam* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford, 2013), pp. 92–93; and G. S. Reynolds, *The Qurʾān and its Biblical Subtext* (Abingdon and New York, 2010), in particular note 61, pp. 49–50. See also chapters by E. Grypeou, 'The Re-Written Bible in Arabic: the Paradise Story and its Exegesis in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*', and by B. Roggema, 'Biblical Exegesis and Interreligious Polemics in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* – the *Book of the Rolls*', in D. Thomas, ed., *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), pp. 113–129 and 131–150.

concept of Trinity (Father, Holy Spirit and Son being respectively identified as Power without beginning, Voice and Word). It is almost certain that the presence of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is not limited to direct citations; traces of its specific vocabulary can be also found in the fragments that do not contain explicit references to the '*Book of Peter*'. Clearly recognisable citations from the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* and their integration into the *Jāwidān-nāma*, along with Muslim scriptural sources and canonical biblical texts, provide important new evidence concerning the circulation of this Christian apocalyptic text in Islamic milieus and, more broadly, the mutual influence between the Christian and Islamic messianic and apocalyptic traditions.[121]

The *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* contains fragments close to the text of the canonical biblical books. It is therefore possible that some of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s citations from the Old and New Testaments could have been received by the intermediary of this apocrypha. However, while examining the sections of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* published by Gibson and Mingana, I was unable to find some of the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s citations, explicitly referred to as the '*Book of Peter*'. This concerns essentially the citations close to the canonical Revelation of St John, such as the episode of the opening of the sealed Book and the sacrifice of the Lamb. But the name of John is not mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* at all, which suggests that this episode could have been in Faḍl Allāh's version of the *Apocalypse of Peter.*[122]

In the light of what has been said in the previous chapters concerning the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of *taʾwīl* and the eschatological role of Jesus during his second coming, the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s use of the Christian apocalyptic texts, though unusual in the

[121] The pseudo-Clementine literature in Arabic, apparently including the *Cave of Treasures* and *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* was known to historian Aḥmad al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897), and to the Ismaili scholar Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī. See S. H. Griffith, 'The Gospel, the Qurʾān, and the Presentation of Jesus in al-Yaʿqūbī's *Taʾrīkh'*, in J. C. Reeves, ed., *Bible and Qurʾān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality* (Atlanta, 2003), pp. 133–160, in particular p. 147; De Smet and Van Reeth, 'Les citations bibliques', pp. 147–160, and al-Kirmānī, *Al-Maṣābīḥ,* pp. 24–26 and 96–97.

[122] It is also possible that Mingana omitted these passages from his translation, or that Faḍl Allāh had a translation of the canonical Revelation of John erroneously attributed to Peter.

Islamic context, seems perfectly logical. It is consistent with ecumenical dimension inherent to the messianic outlook, and represents an example of the synthesis of scriptural material and symbolism belonging to various religious traditions in Islamic messianic milieu. The Seven Twofold of the Qurʾān and the seven seals of the apocalyptic Book mentioned in the Revelation of John point, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, to the same event of disclosure of the original divine Word, to the ultimate *taʾwīl* that constitutes the goal of all religions, and to the subsequent unification of the entire humankind beyond all linguistic and religious divisions.

The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of 'motherly' (*ummī*) knowledge and the 'motherly' prophets and saints, associated with the doctrine of *taʾwīl*, is particularly important from the point of view of Shiʿi/Sunni conciliation. This conception arguably preserves the principal features of the Shiʿi doctrine of the Imām as possessor of esoteric initiatory knowledge, and expresses them in a form, if not smoothly compatible with, at least not directly contradicting the mainstream Sunni views on prophecy and sainthood. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s conception of 'motherly' saints can, therefore, be arguably regarded as an attempt at elaborating a configuration of religious authority acceptable to all factions of the contemporary Muslim community.

The period immediately preceding Faḍl Allāh's lifetime was marked by a dramatic evolution of the doctrines concerning the nature of sainthood, associated with more or less expressed messianic expectations. On the Sufi side, Ibn al-ʿArabī revitalised the reflection on the issue of 'Seal of the Sainthood' formulated earlier by Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, and the relationship between legislative and non-legislative prophecy in Islamic mysticism.[123] Notwithstanding the fact that Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to explicitly demarcate the functions of the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood from those of the Seal of general sainthood identified with Jesus in his second coming, Ibn al-ʿArabī's conception of the Seal of Sainthood still implies a tremendous religious authority

[123] On Ibn al-ʿArabī's conception of two Seals of sainthood, see Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des saints,* in particular pp. 121–150.

that exerted a significant influence upon the later reformist and messianic developments.[124]

On the Shiʿi side, the major contribution along the same line was the doctrine of *qiyāma* formulated in Alamūt. This doctrine evolved, in the Nizārī Ismaili tradition, from a radical to a moderate messianic worldview, the latter being reflected in the works such as *Rawḍā-yi taslīm*, attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. Previously, we have mentioned the parallelisms between the ideas developed in the *Rawḍā* and the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* More generally, the Nizārī doctrine appears to have offered a mature theoretical framework for later messianic developments. The idea of disclosure of universal metaphysical truths, essential to the doctrine of *qiyāma*, in association with the strict observation of religious law, emphasised in its reformed version,[125] provided a powerful basis for doctrinal developments aiming at the unification of the Muslim community beyond sectarian divisions, and for the re-vitalisation of the ecumenical dimension of Islam. These tendencies strongly marked the intellectual and socio-political atmosphere of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and were shared by several messianic groups of that time.

These messianic doctrines present in both Sufi and Shiʿi currents emphasised the high, quasi-prophetic religious authority which could be achieved by a Sufi saint, who would obtain direct access to the source of divine inspiration, or manifested in a Shiʿi Imām. Both the Sufi and Shiʿi forms of messianism and related conceptions of sainthood could be a source of inspiration for the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s theoretical constructions, which seem to prepare the foundations of a

[124] On Ibn al-ʿArabī's developments on the relationship between the legislative and non-legislative prophecy implying the continuation of the latter after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the impact of these ideas on the movements with a strong messianic component, such as the Mujaddidiyya, founded by Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624), and the Ahmadiyya, founded by Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad (d. 1908), see Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal and London, 1971), in particular p. 30, and his *Prophecy Continuous,* in particular pp. 71–75, 89–90, 106, 110, 142–145 and 182. On Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence on Sufi orders, including some Mahdist movements, see Chodkiewicz, *Un océan sans rivage,* especially, pp. 22–34.

[125] On the historical evolution of the *qiyāma* doctrine, see Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* especially, pp. 143–262.

new configuration of religious authority together with an ecumenical dimension ensured by the integration of the Jewish and Christian scriptural sources. Such a configuration had a good prospect of being eventually adopted as official ideology by any of the numerous clans competing for power in Iran and Anatolia in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

At this point, after the study of the textual evidence from the *Jāwidān-nāma*, it will be useful to return to the set of ideas discussed in the Introduction. We have seen that Faḍl Allāh most probably claimed a saintly status for himself, based on his knowledge of *taʾwīl,* and sought an alliance with political leaders of his time. We do not know precisely how close Faḍl Allāh and his followers came to the realisation of their political projects. But we do know that they were not alone. The Ḥurūfīs apparently entertained difficult and contradictory relationships, including mutual influence and fierce competition, with similar contemporary currents of thought developing the 'science of letters' as a path of direct access to the source of prophetic inspiration, in particular with reference to the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī. The prominent Iranian thinker Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (d. 835/1432), and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bistāmī (d. 858/1454) from the Ottoman capital of Bursa, very probably had first-hand knowledge of Faḍl Allāh's doctrines and vehemently rejected them, while advocating essentially similar ideas.[126] Already in the Tīmūrid period, a doctrine combining mystical and messianic ideas with the 'science of letters', like Faḍl Allāh's works, attracted the interest of the ruling elites.[127] The unification of Iran was eventually achieved not by the Ḥurūfīs, but by a movement similarly relying on mystical and

[126] On Ṣāʾin al-Dīn's and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bistāmī's relationship to the current founded by Faḍl Allāh, see Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* vol. 3, pp. 252–257; Āzhand, *Ḥurūfiyya,* pp. 80–81; Melvin-Koushki, *The Quest for a Universal Science*, in particular pp. 235–247; D. Gril, 'Esotérisme contre hérésie: ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Bistâmî, un représentant de la science des lettres à Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle', in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris 2005), pp. 183–195.

[127] On Mīrzā Iskandar b. 'Umar-Shaykh's (d. 818/1415) interest in such ideas, see İ. E. Binbaş, 'Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mīrzā Iskandar, Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī, and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī in 815/1412', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity,* pp. 277–303.

messianic conception of religious authority, the Ṣafawids, whose alliance with the Turkic Qizilbash proved more successful than the political enterprise of the Ḥurūfīs. The impact of Faḍl Allāh's ideas on the Ṣafawids and their presence in the Qizilbash milieus, though highly probable, seems difficult to trace in the actual state of research. The influence of Ḥurūfī ideas on the ruling elites is more visible in Mughal India, where the Nuqṭawīs, an offshoot of the Ḥurūfis, arguably played an important role in the reforms of Emperor Akbar.[128] It will be recalled that Ḥurūfī ideas circulated widely among the Ottoman Sufi orders, and had particularly solid roots in the influential Bektāshī milieus, where Ḥurūfī works, including the *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr,* were preserved, studied, copied, translated and interpreted.

It can, therefore, be concluded that, although Ḥurūfism as such did not achieve any political success, the messianic project of the *Jāwidān-nāma* was a significant contribution to the elaboration of a new paradigm of religious authority that contributed to the emergence and consolidation of a new socio-political order in the eastern part of the Islamic world. Produced in the mystical and messianic milieus as an answer to the radical crisis of religious authority intoduced by the Mongol invasion, this paradigm, in conjunction with other factors, eventually led to crystallisation of the mystical and messianic ideal of unification of the Muslim community under the rule of a divinely inspired leader, combining both religious and political power.[129] In various ways and in various proportions, this ideal played a significant role in the emergence and consolidation of three great Muslim empires: Ottoman, Ṣafawid and Mughal. And the *Jāwidān-nāma* was arguably one of the earliest advocates of this ideal in the post-Mongol era.

---

[128] On the Nuqṭawīs in Ṣafawid Iran and Mughal India, see K. Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2002), pp. 57–117. More particularly, on the possible Nuqṭāwī influence on Akbar's reforms, see A. Amanat, 'Persian Nuqtawis and the Shaping of the Doctrine of "Universal Conciliation" (*ṣulḥ-i kull*) in Mughal India', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity,* pp. 367–391.

[129] On the role played by the concept of sacred kingship in the Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid and Mughal context, see Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, and on the application of messianic and millenarist ideas by Ottoman rulers, see Fleischer, 'The Lawgiver as Messiah'.

Final Notes

As discussed in the Introduction, the primary goal of the present book has been to provide an accurate and coherent reconstruction of the central themes and concepts of the original Ḥurūfī doctrine, and to serve as a starting point for a more systematic study of its further evolution. It also allows us to see what is definitely *not* in the *Jāwidān-nāma* and revise critically doctrinal positions and claims attributed to Faḍl Allāh either by his followers or by external sources. The familiarity with Ḥurūfī technical vocabulary, the most important terms of which are summarised in the Glossary, will, it is to be hoped, be useful for a better understanding not only of Ḥurūfī doctrinal texts but also of the symbolism used in Ḥurūfī poetry. Of course, the reconstruction attempted in this book should be completed by a sound critical edition of the *Jāwidān-nāma.* It can be expected that a thorough assessment of the authenticity of other texts attributed to Faḍl Allāh, and a subsequent comparison of his authentic works with the contents of the *Jāwidān-nāma* will provide material for more or less significant adjustments to the present reconstruction.

The next step would be the identification of significant Ḥurūfī doctrinal works produced by Faḍl Allāh's followers. In the first generation, the works of such authors as ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Astarābādī, seem particularly important. Ideally, the works of every individual Ḥurūfī author should be studied separately, against the background of available biographical information about his intellectual and socio-political environment. The results of such individual studies on Ḥurūfī authors could be then compared between them and with Faḍl Allāh's original doctrine. To this should be added important anonymous works.[130] I believe that such an approach can provide an accurate reconstruction of the intellectual history of the Ḥurūfīs, avoiding the shortcomings involved in conclusions based on random selections of Ḥurūfī works and external sources.

A systematic study of Ḥurūfī intellectual history should be completed by the study of the historical, bio-bibliographical and

[130] For example, *Sharḥ-i Jāwidān,* an anonymous commentary of the *Jāwidān-nāma* used by K. M. al-Shaybī. See references in *al-Ṣila,* p. 156, note 6.

hagiographical works of Ḥurūfī authors. Several of these works have been described by A. Gölpınarlı in his *Hurufilik metinleri kataloğu*, and fragments from some of them have been used in scholarly literature on the Ḥurūfis.[131] A thorough exploration of this category of sources can significantly extend our knowledge concerning Faḍl Allāh's intellectual and political relationships and sources of inspiration, as well as the actual links between the Ḥurūfis and other Islamic movements and individual thinkers. The contribution of Ḥurūfī literature on Persian and Turkic poetry and visual arts, especially calligraphy, is another and still very little explored field of study.

A careful identification of Jewish and Christian canonical and apocryphal materials used in Ḥurūfī texts is another interesting and promising field of study. The presence of citations from the Old and New Testaments in the *Jāwidān-nāma* and, in particular, the use of such texts as the Revelation of St John and the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* provide important new evidence for the reflection on the mutual influence and exchanges between Muslim, Christian and Jewish messianic circles and literatures and, on a still deeper level, between the material of tradition of the three great monotheist religions. As already noted above, the *Jāwidān-nāma* provides examples of a coherent, non-polemical integration of the Jewish and Christian sources in an Islamic messianic discourse on a par with Islamic scriptural material. This demonstrates that the messianic outlook, integrating the idea of ecumenical unity of mankind, possessed a significant potential for a deeper dialogue among the intellectual and mystical circles of the three religions.

In a broader socio-political perspective, further research of Ḥurūfī history and doctrines will enable a better understanding of an important stratum of mystical and messianic ferment, which played an important role in the reconfiguration of the concepts of religious and political authority in the Muslim East in 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and had a lasting and multifaceted influence on the subsequent evolution of Muslim societies.

---

[131] These include such works as the *Khwāb-nāma*'s of ʿAlī Nafajī and of Sayyid Isḥāq, the *Maḥram-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāq, the *Kursī-nāma* of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, the *Istiwāʾ-nāma* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Astarābādī, the *Bayān al-wāqiʿ* of Mīr Sharīf, and several other works.

Glossary of Key Technical Terms

28/32: A reference to the dual number of the primary ontological 'words' (*kalima*, pl. *kalimāt*), which constitute together the original Word (q.v.) of God. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the 28/32 are present within the unified divine Essence, and appear as separate simple sounds, or phonemes, after the differentiation (q.v.). The 28/32 phonemes are the basis of all existing words and sounds: no sound in the world, produced by humans, animals or inanimate objects, can exceed their number. The relationship between the series of 28 and 32 can be 'complementary', when they sum up to 60 (28+32=60). In this case, 60 is described as a number expressing fullness or perfection. For example, according to the well-known *ḥadīth*, Adam's body measures 60 cubits, an hour contains 60 minutes, and the heavenly sphere contains six times 60 degrees. The relationship can also be 'inclusive', when the series of 28 is contained in the series of 32. In this case, it is the number 32 that expresses the idea of fullness. For example, at the beginning of the prophetic cycle, the full number of the 32 ontological 'words' was revealed to Adam. In the process of revelation (*tanzīl*) (q.v.), 28 of these 'words' were progressively disclosed to mankind. After the closure of revelation with the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad, four remaining words will be disclosed in the hermeneutic process of the 'return to the origin' (*taʾwīl*) (q.v.), at the end

of which the original number of the 32 'words' of the divine Word will be attained. The identification of the 28 with the number of letters of the Arabic alphabet, and of the 32 with the number of letters of the Arabo-Persian alphabet, is certainly alluded to in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, but does not seem central to the set of ideas related to these numbers. The conclusions that Faḍl Allāh's intention was to emphasise the supremacy of Persian over Arabic should, therefore, be approached carefully. First, the *Jāwidān-nāma* states that the four additional 'words' are contained implicitly already in the Arabic of the Qurʾānic revelation, and were explicitly shown to Muḥammad during his heavenly ascension. Second, the number 32 is not necessarily related to the number of letters of the Persian alphabet. For example, in the Jewish esoteric tradition, the *Sefer Yetsirah* mentions the 32 'ways of wisdom', constituted by the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the 10 numbers. The number 33 is also mentioned by the Ismaili thinker Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī in his *Kitāb al-zīna*, with reference to a tradition from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, as the total number of letters in human languages, of which the Arabic is the most perfect.[1]

Adam and Eve: According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the human bodily form (*ṣūra*) (q.v.) has been created as the locus of manifestation (q.v.) of the complete set of the 28/32 original 'words' (q.v.). It is therefore the most perfect form in the universe, the only form that contains the 'science' (q.v.) of the complete divine Word. The human form is the form of the supreme Name of God. According to

[1] Cf. Vajda, 'Les lettres et les sons de la langue arabe', especially p. 120. According to M. K. al-Shaybī, Abū-l-ʿAbbās al-Būnī, in his *Shams al-maʿārif,* similarly mentions that the number of letters is 32. See al-Shaybī, *Al-Ṣila,* vol. 2, p. 173.

the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of Qurʾān 2:31, after having created the body of Adam as the locus of manifestation of His Word, God taught Adam the metaphysical meaning (q.v.) of this form. While Adam's bodily form is given unconditionally to all his descendants, the teaching concerning its metaphysical meaning is transmitted only in the line of prophets (see 'Descent'). The purpose of Eve's creation is to make accessible the knowledge of the divine Word contained in the human form. Female facial features and bodily lines, originally represented by Eve, represent the most basic, fundamental elements of the divine ontological writing, without which the complete divine book of Adam's form could not be deciphered. These fundamental lines, symbolised by the line of hair, two eyebrows and four eyelashes (see 'Seven Twofold'), are called 'motherly' (*ummī*) (q.v.) lines in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* Additional 'fatherly' lines (symbolised by the seven lines of beard and moustache) appear only later on the faces of adult men. Since these lines are twofold, the female bodily form contains 14 fundamental lines corresponding to the 'disjointed letters' (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*) appearing at the beginning of some Qurʾānic suras. These 14 lines make it possible to discern the complete set of 28 lines written on the male bodily form. Another reasoning, applied in some fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, suggests that the ontological writing on the male bodily form has only one line added to the seven fundamental 'motherly' lines, namely the line of balance (q.v.). These lines are multiplied by the number of four natural elements, which gives 28 and 32 lines, for female and male bodily forms respectively. Thus the dichotomy of genders would be an

additional aspect of the duality represented by the series of the 28 and 32. If Adam is compared to the Qurʾān, Eve is the 'mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*), 'she who opens the Book' (*fātiḥatu-l-kitāb*), the first sura which summarises all meanings contained in the rest of the Qurʾān. Eve represents the part of the human being most closely related to the idea of form and visible manifestation. Indeed, the drop of sperm issued from the loins of Adam is formed in the womb of Eve. Both men and women receive their bodily forms from their mothers. Until they attain the adult age, both young women and young men have the 'motherly' forms, corresponding to the manifestation of the most fundamental lines of the divine ontological writing. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the well-known *ḥadīth* describing the appearance of God to the Prophet Muḥammad in the form of a beardless youth refers to these fundamental lines and means the revelation to Muḥammad of the 'mother of the Book'. Since the fundamental lines revealed on the face and the bodily form of Eve are the key to deciphering the complete divine ontological writing contained in the form of Adam, the female form reveals the fundamentals of the knowledge concerning the 'return to the origin' (*taʾwīl*) (q.v.). The 'return' therefore begins necessarily by going back to the mothers, to the basic human form and the 'motherly' knowledge of the fundamental divine writing contained in this form and revealed in the missions of the 'motherly' prophets and saints. The realisation of this knowledge leads to the condition of Paradise. This is symbolised by the fact that all inhabitants of Paradise, including Adam, have the bodily form of Eve, that of youth. The royal way of *taʾwīl* is the way of love,

when two lovers discern the 'science' of the divine Word in the beauty (q.v.) of the beloved. In this case, the union of two lovers, each of whom represents the 'Seven Twofold' inherent to the facial features and bodily form of youth, brings together the two halves of the original divine Word and leads to the realisation of the complete set of the 28/32 (q.v.) ontological 'words'. On the cosmic level, the human body is closely associated with earth, as both planet and natural element. As a natural element, earth is the only element that has the aptitude to receive and maintain a given form. It is therefore the only element that has the capacity to preserve the 'science' of the divine Word. In this quality, the earth of Adam is opposed to the fire of Satan which, though the most subtle of the four elements, is the less appropriate for the preservation of form. As a planet, the earth represents the cosmic body of Adam, the most perfect locus of manifestation of the divine Word, placed at the centre of the universe. All planets and heavenly spheres perform a permanent circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) around the earth of Adam, moved by their love of its beauty and by their desire to attain the complete knowledge of the divine Word contained in it.

Balance (*istiwā*'): The principle of balance ensures the correspondence between the invisible ontological meanings (q.v.) or truths (q.v.) and visible forms (q.v.). It is the principle of balance that communicates to the visible forms the quality of loci of manifestation (q.v.) of the invisible 'words' (q.v.) and names (q.v.). It also makes possible the 'return' from any visible form to its metaphysical meaning (see 'science' and 'return to the origin'). The balance originates from the divine attributes

of Balance, Justice (*ʿadl*) and Equity (*qisṭ*), and emanates from the divine Throne (*ʿarsh*). From the Throne, identified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with the human bodily form represented by Adam (see 'Adam and Eve'), the 'line of balance' (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) is extended to the rest of creation. Together with the principle of Measure (q.v.), the Balance structures the universe and every particular form. These two principles govern the conformity of the differentiation (q.v.) and division of the visible universe to the undifferentiated and undivided divine Reality. Like measure, balance is linked to the Imperative, and its most important function is to convey the science of the divine Word to all levels of the creation.

Beauty (*jamāl*): A quantitative concept in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Beauty is the external manifestation of the metaphysical knowledge contained in any visible form (q.v.). According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, any visible form is the locus of manifestation (q.v.) of its ontological name (q.v.), composed of a limited number of primary 'words' (q.v.) or phonemes, taken from the complete set of the 28/32 'words'. Any visible form can lead to the metaphysical knowledge contained in its name, and measured by the number of 'words' that this particular name contains, but it cannot lead any further. The 'epistemological potential' of the visible forms is thus variable: it is lowest in rocks and minerals, increases through the vegetal and animal realms, and attains its maximum in the human bodily form which, as the locus of manifestation of the complete set of the 28/32 'words', contains the entire metaphysical 'alphabet'. The attribute of beauty corresponds to this 'epistemological potential' of visible forms.

For this reason, human beings are the most beautiful among all forms of the created universe, and the human form is situated at the centre of the universe. The heavenly spheres and planets are eternally moved by their love and desire to attain the perfection of the human form.

Break-up (*shikastan*, *kasr*, *pāra-pāra kardan*): is, in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the necessary condition of *taʾwīl* (see 'Return to the origin'). The 'break-up' is applied to the compound lexical units, such as the words of human languages, which are used to express conventional meanings. These conventional meanings, arbitrarily attributed to certain combinations of sounds and transmitted from one generation to another by blind imitation (q.v.) veil their real, metaphysical meanings. In order to remove any interference by the arbitrary conventions proper to human languages, the words must be 'broken' into phonemes, that is, primary elements of sound and meaning, named 'words' (q.v.) in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* and corresponding letters (q.v.), that is, primary elements of form. These phonemes and letters have no conventional meaning and are associated with no rational concepts; they are therefore the most appropriate to reveal the link with the corresponding metaphysical truths. The break is exemplified in the *Jāwidān-nāma* by the broken Tablets of Moses. Since the Tablets are written by the divine Hand, they represent, in a sense, the prototype of any prophetic book. It was in order to prevent the divine words, bearing metaphysical realities, from being mixed with conventional meanings of the human languages related to the physical world, that Moses broke the Tablets. This action revealed the complete set of 28/32 (q.v.) primary letters.

Convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*):[2] The *Jāwidān-nāma* seems to distinguish between two types of convention. Divine convention (*iṣṭilāḥ-i ilāhī*) governs the correspondence between, on the one hand, the invisible ontological 'words' (q.v.) and meanings (q.v.) and, on the other, visible forms (q.v.). Divine convention is linked to the divine attribute of Will, and closely connected with the principle of balance (q.v.). It creates an absolute, ontological link between an invisible entity and a visible form. Unlike divine convention, conventions proper to human languages are relative and arbitrary, without any ontological link between the name and the named. That is why names attributed to the same objects and beings vary from one human language to another. Since they are not supported ontologically, the conventions of human languages can only be transmitted and preserved through blind imitation (q.v.).

Descent (*tanzīl*): The descent constitutes, with the 'return to the origin' (*taʾwīl*) (q.v.), the full cycle of the divine Word. The 'descent' corresponds to the revelation of the Word through its differentiation into the 28/32 ontological 'words' (q.v.) and consecutive manifestation of the ontological names (q.v.), composed of these 'words', in the visible forms (q.v.) of the created universe. Since any existing form is a combination of some number of primary letters (q.v.), the universe is essentially divine ontological writing, the great Book reflecting the divine Word, which is also revealed in the prophetic books. Unlike the

[2] For the discussion of *iṣṭilāḥ* and the related term *waḍʿ*, also used in the *Jāwidān-nāma,* in a broader context of the Arabic linguistic tradition, see C. H. M. Versteegh, *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 139–140 and 174–175. For a general definition of these terms, see ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-taʾrīfāt,* French trans. M. Gloton (Tehran, 1994), p. 72 (*iṣṭilāḥ*) and pp. 438–439 (*waḍʿ*).

physical universe, which merely reflects the divine Word, being its 'locus of manifestation' (q.v.), the prophetic books are specifically addressed to mankind. They not only reflect the original Word, but also provide the means of access to its innermost meaning. The prototype of any prophetic revelation is the creation of Adam and subsequent revelation of names to him, as described in Qurʾān 30–34. According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s interpretation of this passage, God not only created the body of Adam as the most complete locus of manifestation of the complete set of 28/32 ontological 'words' (see Adam and Eve), but He also taught Adam the innermost meaning of his bodily form. Adam was taught that the human bodily form is a copy of the complete ontological 'alphabet' of the 28/32 primary letters, and he was initiated into the correspondence between these letters, written in the book of his own body, and the elements of metaphysical meaning (q.v.). Therefore, any prophetic book reproduces, in a sense, the complete Book of the human bodily form, which is the Well-preserved Tablet (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*); and the disjointed letters of alphabet, which symbolise the primary letters revealed to Adam, are at the core of any prophetic message. Implicit within the compound lexical units in all previous prophetic books, the disjointed letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*) are explicitly revealed at the beginning of some suras of the Qurʾān, the last prophetic book, which completes the revelation and contains all the 28/32 'words' of the original Word initially revealed to Adam.

Differentiation and division (*taqsīm*): The first differentiation of the originally unified divine Word is produced by the two consonants of the Imperative *K^{u}N*, *kāf* and *nūn*. The

differentiation makes visible the 28/32 (q.v.) aspects, eternally existing within the divine Essence and Word as 28/32 separate sounds, which are the primary ontological phonemes, or 'words' (q.v). This differentiation sets the standard measure (q.v.) for the subsequent organisation of the created universe and of time (q.v.). Differentiation is central to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s epistemology. Undifferentiated entities, that is, those existing at the level of the divine Unity, are beyond human grasp. Differentiation is thus the necessary condition of human perception and understanding. Only after differentiation do the metaphysical truths contained in the divine Word become knowable.

Form (*ṣūra*, also *hayʾa*, *shakl*, *paykar*): According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the forms of all existing objects and beings are composed of the basic forms, that is of 28/32 primary letters (q.v.). The letters are the loci of manifestation (q.v.) of the primary phonemes or 'words' (q.v.), basic elements of ontological meaning, produced by the differentiation (q.v.) of the divine Word. Therefore, as a product of differentiation, every existing form is the locus of manifestation of a particular combination of the primary phonemes, which constitute the ontological name (q.v.), the principle of existence of this form. The correspondence between the form and its ontological name is guaranteed by the principle of balance (q.v.). In the alchemical symbolism of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the form is linked to the element earth, which is the only element that has the aptitude to receive and to preserve a given form. The purpose of forms is to make the metaphysical names knowable. Every form represents the 'science' (q.v.) of a particular combination of the primary phonemes, and

ultimately provides access to the supreme metaphysical meaning of these phonemes. The rank of any given form in the universal hierarchy is determined by the measure of science contained in it, that is, by the number of primary phonemes in its ontological name. The highest point of this hierarchy is the form of the human body, which is the sum of the complete set of the 28/32 primary letters. The human form is therefore the locus of manifestation of the complete divine Word. The forms can be transformed in the food chain; they can also evolve depending on the knowledge realised during a human lifetime. For example, a plant eaten by a human will be transformed into sperm, and therefore has a chance to be reborn in the human condition. Conversely, a human being who does not realise, during his or her lifetime, the complete knowledge of the divine Word contained in the human form, will be downgraded into an animal, vegetal or mineral form corresponding to his or her actual level of metaphysical knowledge.

Imām: Some fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* maintain that the term *imām* should be regarded as plural of *umm*, 'mother' (q.v.). The Imāms therefore belong to the category of 'motherly' (*ummī*) (q.v.) saints (see also 'Witness'), responsible for the 'return to the origin' (*taʾwīl*) (q.v.) of the revelation (*tanzīl*) (see 'Descent') completed by the Prophet Muḥammad. The *Jāwidān-nāma*'s concept of Imām seems to synthesise Shiʿi and Sunni points of view.

Imitation (*taqlīd*): This is the principal means by which social convention (q.v.) is preserved and perpetuated. The social convention attributes arbitrary concepts to the words of human languages, thus

veiling the real ontological meaning of these words directly associated with their phonetic aspect (see 'meaning' and 'truth, reality'). Since the link between words and concepts attributed to them by convention has no ontological basis, and varies from one human language to another, it can only be maintained through blind imitation. Children learn the conventional rules of language from their parents and take the concepts attributed to words for their real meanings. But the true meanings of words are beyond relative conventions of human languages. In order to discover the ontological link between words and sounds on the one hand, and the metaphysical meanings of the divine Word on the other, it is necessary to abandon the concepts learnt through blind imitation, and discover the universal 'divine convention', by means of which God taught Adam the names of all things.

Letter (*ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf*): In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the letters are essentially the loci of manifestation (*maẓhar*, pl. *maẓāhir*) of the primary ontological 'words' (q.v.). In parallel to the latter, which are the basic elements of meaning composing the ontological names of all that exists in the universe, the letters are the basic elements of form composing the bodies (q.v.) of objects and beings corresponding to these names. Every primary 'word' has a particular locus of manifestation, or letter, as a counterpart. There are therefore 28/32 (q.v.) letters corresponding to the 28/32 'words'. The letters of the human alphabets symbolise these primary forms, directly related to the metaphysical 'words'. They are therefore tokens of the supreme knowledge and the starting point of *ta'wīl* (see 'Return to the origin'), the universal 'return' from the visible forms to their original ontological truths, applied

in the first place to the exegesis of the divine Word revealed through the prophetic messages.

Locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*, pl. *maẓāhir*): According to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the form (q.v.) of any existing or possible object and being is essentially the locus of manifestation of an ontological name (q.v.), composed of some number of primary 'words' (q.v.). The first and most simple differentiated loci of manifestation are the 28/32 primary letters (q.v.), each letter being the locus of manifestation of a primary 'word'. Every ontological name represents a part of the metaphysical truth of the divine Essence manifested through the original Word. The loci of manifestation, linked to their ontological names by the principle of balance (q.v.), make the corresponding metaphysical truths perceptible to the human intellect and therefore knowable. In this quality of sign leading to metaphysical knowledge, the 'locus of manifestation' is synonymous with 'science' (q.v.) in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* The most perfect locus of manifestation is the human bodily form (see 'Adam and Eve'), which embodies the full set of the 28/32 primary 'words', and leads to knowledge of the original divine Word in its entirety.

Meaning, signification (*maʿnā*): This term is used both in technical and ordinary senses throughout the *Jāwidān-nāma.* In its technical use it refers to the metaphysical meaning of the divine Word. After differentiation (q.v.), the hitherto unified meaning of the Word is divided into 28/32 simple elements of meaning, expressed by the 28/32 primary phonemes or 'words' (q.v.). These basic 'words' are the basis of all divine names and attributes, as well as of the ontological names (q.v.), which constitute the principle of existence of any created object or being. In the divine universal language of

creation, the ontological meaning is simultaneous and identical to the corresponding 'lexical unit' (see 'Name and named'). This metaphysical meaning can be carried by disjointed phonemes as well as by their combinations constituting compound lexical units, that is, words or names. This semantic working based on a link between metaphysical meaning and sound, proper to the universal language, remains valid also in the phonemes and sounds of human languages. But in human languages, this original and universal relationship between meaning and sound is veiled by concepts arbitrarily attributed to words. In this case, the semantic link between the discursive concept and the corresponding lexical unit is conventional and not ontological, unlike the link between the metaphysical meaning and its corresponding phonetic expression in the universal language of creation. Consequently, the same concept is expressed by different lexical units in different human languages, depending on local conventions (q.v.). Unlike the ontological meanings, the concepts of human languages can only be expressed by compound lexical units, not by simple phonemes. Therefore, the only means to eliminate the interference of conventional meanings and arbitrary agreements is to break-up (q.v.) the compound lexical units of human languages, to disintegrate words into letters and phonemes, which cannot be associated with any conventional concept. Such a break-up lays bare the original phonetic basis of human languages, independent of any social convention; it also exposes the ontological link of phonetics with primary metaphysical meanings, the knowledge of which is essential for the hermeneutical operation of *ta'wīl* (see 'Return to the origin').

Measure (*andāza*, *miqdār*): All levels of the universe share a common 'measure' due to the fact that the differentiation and division (q.v.) at any level of the universe is made in conformity with the number of 28 and 32 primordial 'words' (q.v.). The heavenly sphere is divided into 360 degrees, that is six times 28 and 32; Time is measured by hours, each of which is composed of the sum of 28 and 32 minutes; the human body contains 360 bones which is again six times 28 and 32, etc. This homology makes possible the correspondence between all levels of the creation, and links them all to the primordial 'words', which are the basic elements of the creation. Some fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma* state that the verbs 'to measure' (*andāza kardan*) and 'to create' (*khalaqa*, *āfarīdan*), and the substantives 'measure' (*andāza*) and 'creation' (*ījād*), are synonymous.

Mother (*umm*), 'motherly' (*ummī*): In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, these terms refer to the most fundamental elements of the divine ontological writing manifested in the original form of the human body, which is that of Eve, or Mother (see 'Adam and Eve'). The revelation of the 'motherly' knowledge constitutes the mission of the 'motherly' (*ummī*) prophets and saints (see 'Return to the origin'). The 'motherly' prophets of the *Jāwidān-nāma* are Jesus and Muḥammad. Since the 'motherly' knowledge is essentially relevant to *taʾwīl,* the 'return to the origin', the missions of the 'motherly' prophets combine features related to both 'descent' (q.v.) of the revelation (*tanzīl*), which is the principal task of all prophetic missions, and *taʾwīl*, which can only be fully developed after the completion of the *tanzīl*. In the case of Jesus, the tasks of *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl* correspond to his historical mission and to his second coming as the

eschatological Saviour, respectively. In the case of Muḥammad, the *tanzīl* corresponds to the Qurʾānic revelation, while the *taʾwīl* is prefigured by his heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*). The *ummī* saints responsible for the completion of *taʾwīl* after Muḥammad are rather vaguely outlined in the *Jāwidān-nāma* (see 'Witness' and 'Imām'). Interpretations of the epithet *ummī* as referring to a direct link with the divine Word without regard to human conventions is common in Islam, and has been developed, in particular, in the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī.[3] The special spiritual link of Jesus with his mother does not seem to have been particularly conceptialised in the mainstream Muslim exegetical literature,[4] but it can be found in some Ismaili works, where Mary is described as *Ḥujja* (Proof) of Jesus.[5] However, I am not aware of any work by a Muslim author where these elements associated with the epithete *ummī* are brought together in the way similar to the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s synthesis.

Name and named (*ism wa musammā*): The *Jāwidān-nāma* asserts the fundamental identity of the name and the named in the universal ontological language. In other words, the ontological name, composed by a group of primary 'words' (q.v.) or phonemes is simultaneous and identical to the named object,

[3] Chodkiewicz, *Un océan sans rivage,* pp. 53–55. See also Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith and Infidelity,* p. 128 (*ummī* Sufi shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Tabrīzī (d. 655/1257)).

[4] See, for example, T. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2001), and R. Arnaldez, *Jésus fils de Marie, prophète de l'Islam* (Paris, 1980).

[5] Cf. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre,* p. 24, with reference to the *Kitāb al-kashf* attributed to Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman; and also the remark of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī in his *Kitāb al-maqālīd al-malakūtiyya,* ed. I. K. Poonawala (Tunis, 2011), p. 306, concerning the meaning of the letter *mīm* of the Qurʾānic combination *alm*: *wa-l-mīm ʿalā ḥadd ʿIsā al-mansūb ilā ummih.*

which is brought into existence by its ontological name. This principle of identity characterises the working of the universal divine language before the differentiation (q.v.). But the differentiation and appearance of forms (q.v.), and subsequent superposition of their true ontological meanings (q.v.) by concepts arbitrarily attributed to words in human languages introduces an ambiguity in the relationship between the name and the named. This is due to the fact that the names attributed to things in human languages are not ontological, but purely conventional (see 'Convention'). This becomes evident when one considers how the name of the same object varies from one language to another. Therefore, in general, the identity of the name and the named cannot be directly observed at the level of compound lexical units of human languages. Still, a trace of this principle is discernible in one particular case, namely in the names of phonemes of the alphabet. Indeed, the name of every phoneme usually begins with the named object, which is this phoneme itself. This means that, even if the ontological identity between the name and the named is veiled by the arbitrary names of human languages and concepts associated to them, it is still fully valid at the level of disjointed phonemes. The phonemes of any human language are identical to the primary 'words', even if the full set of 28/32 is not used in all languages. The identity of the name and the named is therefore inherent to the phonetic aspect of any human language, and can be most clearly observed if attention is focused on sounds and not on conventional meanings attributed to words. This is realised by 'breaking' (q.v.).

Perfect human (*insān-i kāmil*): In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, this is a person who has fully realised the knowledge of the divine Word, that is, the knowledge of the metaphysical meaning (q.v.) of the full set of 28/32 primary 'words' (q.v.) manifested in the human bodily form. Such a person attains the original human condition, that of Adam, to whom this knowledge was taught directly by God (see 'Adam and Eve', 'Descent'). The perfect human being is therefore fully human, in the sense that his or her knowledge fully corresponds to the metaphysical meaning of his or her bodily form. The expression *insān-i kāmil* is relatively rare in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* Though it is part of Ibn ʿArabi's technical vocabulary, it is difficult to determine the immediate source that inspired its use in the *Jāwidān-nāma.* It could as well be another trace of the Kubrawī Sufi influence.

Point (*nuqṭa*): At the eve of the differentiation (q.v.), a black point appears, in accordance with the principle of balance (q.v.), as the visible counterpart of the undifferentiated divine Word. From this perspective, the point is an undifferentiated equivalent of the human form (see 'Adam and Eve'), which is a differentiated counterpart of the complete Word. In the process of differentiation, when the 28/32 individual 'words' (q.v.) are manifested from the original Word, the 28/32 individual letters (q.v.) emerge from the original point. The subsequent creation of the universe is realised by the combinations of 'words' constituting the ontological names (q.v.) of all things, and parallel combinations of letters constituting their bodily forms. The point is therefore the origin of all possible forms (q.v.) in the visible universe. Since it is undifferentiated, it is related to the element water, which symbolises

the undifferentiated condition. In several fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the original point is likened to the drop of sperm which, though without definite shape itself, is the source of all possible shapes. It is also likened to ink, with which the form of any particular letter can be written. Since the visible forms are loci of manifestation (q.v.), or 'sciences' (q.v.) of corresponding ontological names (q.v.) and metaphysical truths (q.v.) related to them, the point is the source of every science. In this quality, the original point is personified by the figure of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Return to the origin (*taʾwīl*): Essentially the realisation of the knowledge of the divine Word revealed through prophetic missions in the course of the 'descent' (*tanzīl*) (q.v.) of revelation. The Word, having 'descended' into visible forms, has been made knowable, and the prophetic books provide mankind with the means to a realisation of this knowledge. This realisation is therefore essentially a return, an 'ascent', from the visible forms perceived as loci of manifestation (q.v.) of the primary ontological 'words' (q.v.), to these 'words' themselves and the metaphysical truths (q.v.) of the original divine Word expressed by them. The ontological hermeneutics of the prophetic books is, therefore, a particular case of *taʾwīl*. The *Jāwidān-nāma* suggests that all prophets were initiated in *taʾwīl*, but the universal realisation of *taʾwīl* began in the missions of the two last prophets, Jesus and Muḥammad. These prophets have a specific link with the most basic elements of divine Speech and Writing, that is, with the 28/32 ontological 'words' and letters (q.v.). Since these basic, fundamental elements are characterised in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as 'motherly' (*ummī*) (q.v.),

constituting the Mother of the divine Book (*umm al-kitāb*), Jesus and Muḥammad are both qualified as 'motherly' prophets. Their missions combine *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl*. The completion and closure of *tanzīl* with the mission of Muḥammad is followed by the period of the *ummī* saints, whose mission is to complete the *taʾwīl*. These saints are only vaguely outlined in the *Jāwidān-nāma* (see 'Imām', 'Witness'). In some fragments, *taʾwīl* is described as the explicit revelation of the four letters that were only implicitly represented in the Qurʾān by the ligature *lām-alif* (which contains four non-repeated letters, *lām*, *alif*, *mīm* and *fāʾ*). The revelation of these four letters connects the Qurʾān, written with the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet, to the 32 letters originally revealed to Adam. The primary dichotomy of the 28/32 elements (q.v.) of the divine Word is thus restored, and the cycle of 'descent' and 'return' completed. The connection between the Qurʾān and the Book of Adam written, according to the *Jāwidān-nāma*, in the human bodily form (see 'Adam and Eve'), is also expressed with reference to beliefs concerning the anthropomorphic appearance of the Qurʾān at the end of time. Since the human form contains the full set of primary letters (q.v.), and is therefore a copy of the complete divine Book, any human being can, potentially, realise the full knowledge of the divine Word and its metaphysical truths (q.v.) by practising the *taʾwīl* of his or her own body, that is, through self-knowledge. Unlike this individual enlightenment, the universal *taʾwīl* is closely related to the cosmic cycles and cannot be fully realised before the end of time (q.v.). The direct manifestation of the 28/32 primary 'words' and related metaphysical truths of the divine Word means that, on their way of 'return to the origin',

these 'words' will be actually extracted from the bodily forms of visible objects and beings. Deprived of the ontological 'words' and names (q.v.) which sustained their existence, all objects and beings of the material universe will disappear in the Unity of the original Word, where they were contained before the creation. *Taʾwīl* is probably the most central concept of the *Jāwidān-nāma*. According to the works of his followers, Faḍl Allāh's own spiritual career culminated in a revelation of the innermost meaning of the disjointed letters, which enabled him to operate the *taʾwīl*. He is also often mentioned by the epithet 'Master of *taʾwīl*' (*ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*), a title usually applied to the Shiʿi Imāms. Even if Faḍl Allāh may not have explicitly claimed this title for himself, it could suggest that he regarded himself as one of the initiators of the universal *taʾwīl*.

Science (*ʿilm*): In the *Jāwidān-nāma*, the term 'science' designates the locus of manifestation (q.v.), by the means of which a metaphysical truth becomes perceptible and therefore knowable. 'Science' is a mark or visible shadow by means of which the corresponding metaphysical reality can be accessed and known. Any visible form (q.v.) is therefore a 'science'. The science results from the differentiation (q.v.). It is the basis of *taʾwīl* (see 'Return to the origin') leading to the knowledge expressed in the visible forms of objects and beings. The science is usually associated with black colour, often symbolised by the lines of dark hair on the human head and face, the blackness (*siyāhī*) of soot (*dūda*) of which is made the ink used for writing, or dark smoke (*dukhān*). The science is personified in the figure of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Seven Twofold (*sabʿ mathānī*): A Qurʾānic expression interpreted in many ways in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, essentially with reference to the seven basic lines of the divine ontological writing appearing on the human face, symbolised by the hairline, two eyebrows and four eyelashes. They are 'twofold' because of being counted with the corresponding parts of the face. Seven becomes eight with the addition of the line of balance (q.v.). Multiplied by the number of four natural elements, seven and eight produce respectively 28 and 32, the number of primary 'words' (q.v.). 'Seven Twofold' also refer in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the seven days and nights of the week, and the seven heavenly spheres with seven planets.

Time (*zamān*), hour (*sāʿa*): Unlike the human form (see 'Adam and Eve') or the universe, which are the counterparts of the complete divine Word by the intermediary of form (q.v.), time is a counterpart of the Word that corresponds to the complete set of the 28/32 primary 'words' (q.v.), but it has no visible form. However, as counterparts of the complete Word, time, the human form and universe are identical to each other. Time is defined in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as a 'container' (*ẓarf*), in which the whole creation is contained (*maẓrūf*). The six days of creation mentioned in the Qurʾān correspond to the six letters contained in the names of the two consonants of the divine Imperative *Kᵘn* (*kāf* + *nūn*). Since the original Word contains 28/32 ontological 'words' (q.v.), through the combinations of which the creation was realised, the 'ontological' time of the six days is calculated as six times 28 hours, and corresponds to the week of physical time, composed of seven days of 24 hours. Alternatively, the six days of the creation can be presented as four times 28 plus

32 hours. Because of their fundamental identity, the cycle of time, the cycle of revelation of the innermost meaning of the human form corresponding to the cycle of prophecy, and the cycle of universe determined by the movements of the heavenly spheres, are closely interrelated. The end of the full cycle of time marks the full realisation of the divine Imperative. For this reason, the universal manifestation of the complete divine Word is only possible at the end of time. And this manifestation is actually realised through the completion of the prophetic cycle, the ultimate goal of which is precisely the revelation of the divine Word. The end of time also necessarily coincides with the consummation of the full cycle of the physical universe, originally brought into existence by this same divine Word. The events of the end of time therefore reproduce, in the inversed order, the events of the first stages of the creation. The completion of the full cycle of time makes possible the manifestation of the complete divine Word, which is produced in the form of the primordial human being, Adam. In the movement of universal *taʾwīl* (see 'Return to the origin'), the primary ontological 'words' withdraw from their visible loci of manifestation (q.v.) and return to the Unity of the original Word, causing thus the disappearance of the visible universe.

Truth, reality (*ḥaqīqa*, pl. *ḥaqāʾiq*) and metaphor (*majāz*): This couple of terms describes in the *Jāwidān-nāma* the relationship between ontological meanings and concepts of human languages (see 'meaning'). The former constitute the ontological reality of the universe, in the sense that they generate and sustain the existence of any entity, either actually created or only possible (see 'form'). The latter are associated with the words

of human languages not on the basis of any ontological link, but depending on an arbitrary social convention (q.v.), which varies from one human language to another. However, in the ordinary human perception determined by experience of the material world, the arbitrary concepts tend to substitute the metaphysical meanings, and are then regarded as real, while the metaphysical reality is perceived as a 'metaphor'. This inversed perspective is corrected by the operation of *taʾwīl* (see 'Return to the origin'), which reveals the primary link between the metaphysical truths of the divine ontological Word and the forms of the visible world. From the perspective of *taʾwīl*, the conventional concepts appear, or rather disappear, as 'metaphors' void of any real ontological foundation.

Witness (*shahīd*, pl. *shuhadāʾ*): One of the categories of saints responsible for the period of 'return to the origin' (*taʾwīl*) (q.v.) following the mission of Muḥammad (see also 'Imām'). This concept is developed in the *Jāwidān-nāma* with reference to Qurʾān 2:143: '*Thus We appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people.*' The link with 'motherly' (*ummī*) (q.v.) knowledge essential for *taʾwīl* is provided by the word 'nation' (*umma*) in the cited verse.

Word/words (*kalima*/ *kalimāt*): As singular, *kalima* usually refers in the *Jāwidān-nāma* to the primordial divine Word, the first manifestation of the unknowable divine Essence. The *Jāwidān-nāma* states that the Word has 28/32 (q.v.) aspects, named 'words' (*kalimāt*). Before the differentiation, the Word is situated at the level of divine Unity. It is described in the *Jāwidān-nāma* as an undifferentiated Voice or Sound (*ṣawt*), a primordial echo (*ṣadāʾ*) of the

Essence. The undifferentiated Word is beyond human perception and therefore unknowable. At the beginning of creation, the Word undergoes differentiation (q.v.), represented by the two consonants of the divine Imperative *Kun!* ('Be!'). The immediate result of the differentiation of the Word is the emergence of its 28/32 aspects as the 28/32 separate simple sounds or phonemes, also referred to as 'words'. These 'words' are ontological principles of the creation. They constitute the ontological names (q.v.), which represent the archetypes, metaphysical truths (*ḥaqīqa* pl. *ḥaqāʾiq*, q.v.), ontological meanings (*maʿnā* pl. *maʿānī*, q.v.) of all existing entities, from the heavenly spheres down to individual atoms. Due to the special technical sense attached to the term 'word' in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, it is consistently displayed in the text between single quotation marks.

Inventory I: *Ḥadīths* and Sayings

The purpose of this invertory is to identify, to the extent possible, the most recurrent *ḥadīth*s and sayings cited in Arabic and Persian in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. The text often only alludes to the traditions by citing short fragments from the *ḥadīth*s, or translating and paraphrasing them in Persian, or mixing together the pieces of different *ḥadīth*s instead of quoting the full and accurate Arabic text. As it is not always possible to indicate the numbers of pages where a *ḥadīth*, its fragment, translation, or an allusion to it is contained, this appendix takes the form of an inventory, organised in alphabetical order, not an index. The references below include not only primary sources, but also academic monographs and articles where the relevant tradition has been identified and studied extensively. In this case, the references to the original *ḥadīth* compilations or *tafsīr* works contained in these secondary sources are not reproduced. The same principle is applied to the use of Wensinck's *Concordance*, that is to say, the reference is given to the volume and page numbering where the sources of the *ḥadīth* are indicated. For the references found in the databases *Jāmiʿ al-aḥādīth* and *Jāmiʿ al-tafāsīr* of Noorsoft, I have also reproduced bibliographical information, volume and page numbering such as they are indicated in the corresponding database. It is interesting that some of the *ḥadīth*s cited in the *Jāwidān-nāma* have close parallels in the Christian apocryphal texts that we have cited in several fragments (see Inventory II), namely the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. In some cases, when traditional material, albeit clearly recognisable, is paraphrased in the *Jāwidān-nāma*, it is difficult to indicate which variant of tradition was used by the author. The references to the important symbols used in such context are given in the section 'Indirect References'. The following abbreviations are used in this inventory:

AAP = *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, ed. and tr. Alphonse Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1931).

Amir-Moezzi = Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali. '"Le combattant du *taʾwīl*": un poème de Mollā Ṣadrā sur ʿAlī', *Journal Asiatique* 292/1–2 (2004), pp. 331–359.

Āmulī = Āmulī, Ḥaydar. *Tafsīr al-muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam wa-l-baḥr al-khiḍamm*, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1422/2001–2002).

Anawati = Anawati, G.C. *Etudes de philosophie musulmane* (Paris, 1974).

Anwār al-tanzīl = Bayḍāwī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-taʾwīl*, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1418/1997–1998).

ʿArāʾis = al-Thaʿlabī, Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *ʿArāʾis al-Majālis fī Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, or Lives of the Prophets*, tr. William M. Brinner, (Leiden, Boston and Köln, 2002).

ʿAwālī = al-Aḥsāʾī, Ibn Abī Jumhūr. *ʿAwālī al-Laʾālī*, 4 vols. (Qom, 1405/1984–1985).

Bayān = al-ʿĀnī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥuwaysh b. Maḥmūd Āl Ghāzī (= Mullā Ḥuwaysh). *Bayān al-maʿānī* (Damascus, 1382/1962–1963).

Beobachtungen = van Ess, Josef. *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 2011).

Biḥār = al-Majlīsī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *Biḥār al-anwār*, 110 vols. (Beirut, 1404/1983–1984).

Burūsawī = Burūsawī, Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī. *Rūḥ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, 10 vols. (n.d., n.p.).

Corbin = Corbin, Henry. 'La configuration du temple de la Kaʿba comme secret de la vie spirituelle', in *Form als Aufgabe des Geistes, Eranos Jahrbuch 1965*, Zürich 1966, pp. 79–166.

Chodkiewicz = Chodkiewicz, Michel. *Un océan sans rivage* (Paris, 1992).

Cook = Cook, David. *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton, NJ, 2002).

Durr al-manthūr = Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Al-Durr al-manthūr fī tafsīr al-maʾthūr*, 6 vols. (Qom, 1404/1983–1984).

Friedmann = Friedmann, Yohanan. *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Aḥmadī Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background* (Los Angeles and London, 1989).

Gardet = Gardet, Louis. 'Djanna', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 447–452.

Ghurar = Tamīmī Amudī, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad. *Ghurar al-ḥikam wa durar al-kalim* (Qom, 1366 Sh./1987–1988).

Gimaret = Gimaret, Daniel. *Dieu à l'image de l'homme: les anthropomorphismes de la sunna et leur interprétation par les théologiens* (Paris, 1997).

Goitein = Goitein, S.D. 'Beholding God on Friday', *Islamic Culture* 34 (1960), pp. 163–168.

Graham = Graham, William A. *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* (The Hague and Paris, 1977).

Guide = Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali. *Le guide divin dans le shî'isme originel* (Lagrasse, 1992).

Ibn Babawayh = Ibn Babawayh, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī. *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu-l-faqīh*, 4 vols. (Qom, 1413/1992–1993).

Ibn Qutayba = Kister, Meir J. 'The Interpretation of Dreams: An Unknown Manuscript of Ibn Qutayba's "*Ibārat al-Ruʾyā*"', *Israel Oriental Studies* (*IOS*) 4 (1974), pp. 67–103.

Irshād = Daylamī, Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, 2 vols. (n.p., 1412/1991–1992).

al-Kāfī = al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb. *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, 8 vols. (Tehran, 1365 Sh./1986–1987).

Kashf al-ghumma = Irbilī, ʿAlī b. Isā. *Kashf al-ghumma*, 2 vols. (Tabriz, 1381/1961–1962).

Ḳarya = al-Wohaibi, A. N. 'Ḳarya', *EI2*, vol. 4, p. 708.

Kister = Kister, Meir J. 'Adam: a Study of Some Legends in *Tafsīr* and *Ḥadīth* Literature', *IOS* 13 (1993), pp. 113–174.

KM = *Kitāb al-maǧāll, or the Book of the Rolls*, ed. and tr. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Studia Sinaitica VIII, Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901).

Lory = Lory, Pierre. *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris, 2003).

Madelung = Madelung, Wilferd. 'al-Mahdī', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 1230–1238.

Miʿrāj = Gimaret, Daniel. 'Au coeur du *miʿrāǧ*, un hadith interpolé', in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam. Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels* (Leuven and Paris, 1996), pp. 67–82.

Miṣbāḥ = al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* (Beirut, 1411/1990–1991).

Mustadrak = Nūrī Ṭabarsī, Mīrzā Ḥusayn. *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, 18 vols. (Qom, 1408/1999–2000).

Rubin = Rubin, Uri. 'Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad', *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 62–119.

Rūḥ = al-Alūsī, Shihāb al-Dīn. *Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, 16 vols. (Beirut, 1415/1994–1995).

Schöck = Schöck, Cornelia. *Adam im Islam* (Berlin, 1993).

Shahrastānī = al-Shahrastānī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm. *Livre des religions et des sectes*, 2 vols. tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot (vol. 1), J. Jolivet and G. Monnot (vol. 2), (Leuven, 1986).

Sunan = Ibn Māja, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd. *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1952–1953).

Tao = Murata, Sachiko. *The Tao of Islam: a Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought* (Albany, NY, 1992).

Tafsīr = al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 26 vols., (Riyadh, 1424/2003).

Taʿrīfāt = al-Jurjānī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt*, tr. Maurice Gloton, (Tehran, 1994).

TG = van Ess, Josef. *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. Und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, 6 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1991–1997).

Wasāʾil = al-ʿAmilī, Shaykh al-Ḥurr Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. *Wasāʾil al-shīʿa*, 29 vols. (Qom, 1409/1988–1989).

Wensinck = Wensick, Arent Jan et al. *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 8 vols. (Leiden, 1936–1979).

Zawāʾid = al-Haythamī, Nūr al-Dīn. *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭāʾ, 12 vols. (Lebanon, 2009).

1. ʿAll the secrets of God the Most High [are contained] in prophetic books; all prophetic books are [contained] in the Qurʾān; all that is in the Qurʾān [is contained] in the Opening chapter; all that is in the Opening chapter [is contained in the formula] *In the name of God* (*bismiʾllāh*); all that is in *bismiʾllāh* [is contained in the letter] *bāʾ* of the *bismiʾllāh*; all that is in the *bāʾ* of the *bismiʾllāh* [is contained] in the [diacritical] point under *bāʾ*; and I am the point under *bāʾ*.'[1] (Āmulī, vol. 1, p. 211, no. 14)
2. 'The Antichrist will not enter Medina for the fear of Jesus. [The city] will have on this day seven gates, with two angels over every gate.'[2] (Cook, pp. 107–108)
3. 'The believer is a mirror of the believer.'[3] (*Biḥār*, vol. 71, pp. 268, 270 ff.; Wensinck, vol. 2, p. 206)

---

[1] *Qāla amīr al-muʾminīn karrama Allāh wajhah jamīʿ asrār Allāh taʿālā fī-l-kutub al-samāwiyya wa jamīʿ mā fī-l-kutub al-samāwiyya fī-l-Qurʾān wa jamīʿ mā fī-l-Qurʾān fī-l-fātiḥati-l-kitāb wa jamīʿ mā fī-l-fātiḥati-l-kitāb fī bismiʾllāh wa jamīʿ mā fī bismiʾllāh fī bāʾ bismiʾllāh wa jamīʿ mā fī bāʾ bismiʾllāh fī nuqṭa taḥt al-bāʾ wa anā nuqṭa taḥt al-bāʾ.*

[2] *Lā yadkhul al-madīna ruʿb*^{an} *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl lahā yawmaʾidhin sabʿa abwāb ʿalā kull bāb malakān.*

[3] *Muʾmin mirʾāt-i muʾmin.*

4. 'The child is the secret of his father.'[4] (*Kashf al-ghumma*, vol. 2, p. 65)
5. 'The divergence of opinion in my community is an act of divine mercy.'[5] (*TG*, vol. 4, pp. 659 ff.; *Biḥār*, vol. 1, p. 227; vol. 74, p. 166; *Anwār al-tanzīl*, vol. 2, p. 32)
6. 'Do not insult time, for I am the Time.'[6] (Graham, pp. 212–214; *Biḥār*, vol. 57, p. 9)
7. 'Everything returns to its origin.'[7] (*Biḥār*, vol. 64, p. 106)
8. 'The first thing created by God was the Pen. God said: "Write!" [The Pen asked]: "What should I write?" [God] answered: "That what was and what will be." '[8] (*Biḥār*, vol. 54, pp. 313, 363, 366, 371; Wensinck, vol. 1, p. 135)
9. 'The first thing that God the Most High created was my Light.'[9] (*Biḥār*, vol. 1, p. 97)
10. 'Gabriel came to me and in his hand he held something like a white mirror, with something like a black spot on it. I said: "O Gabriel, what is this?" He said: "This is Friday." … I asked: "And what is this spot on it?" He said: "This is the Hour, and it will come on a Friday. For us, it is the master of the days. We call it the Day of Resurrection, the day of increase." '[10] (*Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 6, p. 17)
11. 'God created Adam in His form and in the form of the All-Merciful.'[11] (Shahrastānī, vol. 1, p. 222, note 8; Gimaret pp. 123–142)

---

[4] *Al-walad sirr abīh.*

[5] *Ikhtilāf ummatī raḥma.*

[6] *Lā tasubbū al-dahr fa-anā al-dahr.*

[7] *Kull shayʾ yarjiʿ ilā aṣlihi.*

[8] *Awwal mā khalaqa Allāh taʿālā al-qalam qāla Allāh taʿālā uktub qāla mā aktubu qāla mā kāna wa mā yakūnu.*

[9] *Awwal mā khalaqa Allāh nūrī.*

[10] *Atānī Jibrīl wa fī yadihi ka-l-mirʾāt al-bayḍāʾ fī-hā ka-l-nuktat al-sawdāʾ qultu yā Jibrīl mā hadhihi qāla hadhihi al-jumʿa … qultu lahu wa mā hadhihi-l-nukta fī-hā qāla hiya al-sāʿa wa hiya taqūmu yawm al-jumʿa wa huwa ʿindanā sayyid al-ayyām wa naḥnu naduʿūhu yawm al-qiyāma yawm al-mazīd.* See also Goitein, pp. 163–168. The mirror almost centainly refers, at least in the context of the *Jāwidān-nāma,* to the beatific vision of God on Friday.

[11] *Khalaqa Allāh taʿālā Adam ʿalā ṣūratih wa ʿalā ṣūrat al-raḥmān.* The first and the second half of this phrase are, in fact, two separate *ḥadīth*s (or two versions of the same *ḥadīth*) often cited together in the *Jāwidān-nāma.*

12. 'God created the creatures. When He finished with them, the womb stood up and seized the All-Merciful by the waist. The All-Merciful said: "What is this?" It replied: "This is the station of whosoever seeks refuge from being cut off." God said: "Indeed it is. Will you not be satisfied that I join him who joins you and cut him off who cuts you off?" The womb replied: "Yes, I will." God said: "Then that is yours." '[12] (*Tao*, p. 347, note 39; Graham, pp. 136–137; Gimaret, pp. 229–232)

    'God said: "I am God and I am the All-Merciful. I created the womb and I gave it a name derived from My own name. Hence if someone cuts off the womb, I will cut him off, but if someone joins the womb, I will join him to Me.'[13] (*Tao*, p. 347, note 38; Graham, pp. 134–135; Gimaret, p. 232; *Mustadrak,* vol. 15, p. 242; *Biḥār*, vol. 47, pp. 187 and 211; *ʿAwālī*, vol. 1, p. 362)

    'The womb is attached to the Throne and says: "If someone joins me, let God join him, but if someone cuts me off, let God cut him off." '[14] (*Tao*, p. 347, note 40; Gimaret, p. 229, note 4; *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 151 ff.)

    'The womb is a branch of the All-Merciful. [God said to it]: "When a person joins you, I will join him, but when he cuts you off, I will cut him off." '[15] (*Tao*, p. 347, note 41; Graham, pp. 135–136; Gimaret, p. 230, note 2; *Kashf al-ghumma*, vol. 1, pp. 553, 581)
13. 'God the Most High created the head of Adam and his forehead from the clay of the Kaʿba, his chest and his back from [the clay of] Jerusalem … his right hand from the earth of the East, and his left

---

[12] *Inna Allāh khalaqa al-khalq ḥattā idhā faragha minhum qāmat al-raḥim fa-akhadhat bi-ḥaqwā al-raḥmān qāla mā hadhā qālat hadhā maqām al-ʿāʾidh bik min al-qaṭīʿa qāla naʿam a-mā tarḍayn an ʾaṣal man waṣalak wa aqṭaʿ man qaṭaʿak qālat balā qāla fa-huwa laka.* For this group of *ḥadīth*s I reproduce Murata's English translation from *The Tao of Islam,* pp. 215–216, sometimes slightly modified.

[13] *Anā Allāh wa anā al-raḥmān khalaqtu al-raḥima wa shaqaqtu lahā isman min asmāʾī fa-man waṣalahā waṣaltuhu wa man qaṭaʿahā qaṭaʿtuhu.*

[14] *Al-raḥim muʿallaqa bi-l-ʿarsh taqūl man waṣalanī waṣalahu Allāh wa man qaṭaʿanī qaṭaʿahu Allāh.*

[15] *Al-raḥim shijna min al-raḥmān fa-qāla Allāh lahā man waṣalaki waṣaltuhu wa man qaṭaʿaki qaṭaʿtuhu.*

hand from the earth of the West.'[16] (Kister, pp. 133–135; Rubin, p. 97, note 78; see also *KM*, pp. 5–6)

14. 'God the Most High has a choicest part in every book, and the choicest part of this book [i.e., the Qurʾān] are the letters of the alphabet.'[17] (*Biḥār*, vol. 88, p. 9)
15. 'God the Most High has a secret in every [revealed] book, and His secret in the Qurʾān is in the [disjointed letters] at the beginning of the suras.'[18] (*Biḥār*, vol. 88, p. 9)
16. 'He ordered to me 50 prayers.'[19] (*Miʿrāj*, p. 68)
17. 'He (the *Mahdī*) will fill the earth with equity and justice as it was filled with injustice and oppression.'[20] (*Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 65; Madelung, pp. 1230–1238)
18. 'The hearts are between the two fingers of the All-Merciful.'[21] (Wensinck, vol. 5, p. 460; *Biḥār*, vol. 67, p. 53; vol. 72, p. 48)
19. 'His height [in the heaven] is 60 cubits.'[22] This is included in some variants of no. 11. (Gimaret, p. 123; Kister, pp. 137–140)
20. 'The Hour will not rise but on the day of Friday.'[23] (*Biḥār*, vol. 86, p. 274; Wensinck, vol. 5, p. 485)
21. 'I am the city of knowledge, and I am the abode of wisdom, and ʿAlī is its gate.'[24] (Amir-Moezzi, p. 347; *Guide*, p. 175)
22. 'I am the speaking Word of God, and this [the Qurʾān] is the silent Word of God.'[25] (*Biḥār*, vol. 30, p. 546)

---

[16] *Khalaqa Allāh taʿālā raʾs Adam wa jabhatah min turbat al-Kaʿba wa ṣadrah wa ẓahrah min bayt al-maqdis... ilā yadah al-yumnā min arḍ al-mashriq wa yadah al-yusrā min arḍ al-maghrib.*

[17] *Li-llāh taʿālā fī kull kitāb ṣafwa wa ṣafwa hadhā al-kitāb ḥurūf al-tahajjī.*

[18] *Inna li-llāh taʿālā fī kull kitāb sirr wa sirruhu fī-l-Qurʾān fī awāʾil al-suwar.*

[19] *Faraḍa ʿalayy khamsīn ṣalāt.* A fragment from the story of Muḥammad's heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*).

[20] *Huwa al-Mahdī alladhī yamlaʾu al-arḍa ʿadlan wa qisṭan ka-mā muliʾat jawran wa ẓulman.*

[21] *Inna al-qulūb bayna iṣbaʿayni min aṣābiʿi al-raḥmān.*

[22] *Ṭūluhu sittūn dhirāʿan [fī-l-samāʾ].*

[23] *Lā taqūmu al-sāʿa illā fī yawm al-jumʿa.*

[24] *Anā madīna al-ʿilm wa anā dār al-ḥikma wa ʿAlī bābuhā.*

[25] *Anā kalām Allāh al-nāṭiq wa hadhā kalām Allāh al-ṣāmit.*

23. 'I and [other] prophets, we are like a building with perfect foundations… with me, the foundations are sealed.'[26] (Friedmann, pp. 53–54; Gimaret, p. 18)
24. 'I fought for the descent (*tanzīl*) [of the Word], while ʿAlī will fight for its return (*taʾwīl*).' (Shahrastānī, vol. 1, p. 543, note 231; Amir-Moezzi, p. 341, note 30)
25. 'I have prepared for my faithful servants that which no eye has seen, no ear heard, no human heart ever felt.'[27] (Graham, pp. 117–119; Wensinck, vol. 1, p. 47; see also *AAP* 110)[28]
26. 'I have a time with God when I am attended neither by any angel brought near nor by a Messenger prophet.'[29] (*Tao*, p. 350, note 44; *Biḥar*, vol. 79, p. 243)
27. 'I kneaded the clay of Adam with My two hands during 40 days.'[30] (*ʿAwālī,* vol. 4, p. 98; Shahrastānī, vol. 1, p. 343, note 32)
28. 'I received the Qurʾān and its like with it.'[31] (Graham, pp. 35, 44, note 66)
29. 'I was a prophet when Adam was between water and clay.'[32] (Rubin, pp. 69–70; *Biḥār*, vol. 16, p. 402 ff.)
30. 'In the night of my heavenly ascension, I saw my Lord in the form of a beardless youth in the most beautiful form.' (A superposition of two *ḥadīth*s. First half,[33] Gimaret, p. 159; second half,[34] Gimaret, pp. 143–153)

---

[26] *Mithlī wa mithl al-anbiyāʾ ka-mithl al-qaṣr aḥsan bunyānah… khatama bī al-bunyān.*

[27] *Aʿdadtu li-ʿibādī al-ṣāliḥīn mā lā ʿayn raʾat wa lā ʾudhn samiʿat wa lā khaṭara ʿalā qalb bashar.* English translation is quoted from Gardet; derived from 1 Corinthians 2:9.

[28] Also included in the text of no. 10. Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* vol. 18, pp. 616–617) cites a *ḥadīth* where this expression is described as a Torah parallel to Q. 32:17: '*No soul knows what comfort is laid up for them secretly, as a recompense for what they were doing.*'

[29] *Lī maʿa Allāh waqt lā yasaʿunī fih malak muqarrab wa lā nabī mursal.*

[30] *Khammartu ṭīnat Adam bi-yadayya arbaʿīn ṣabāḥan.*

[31] *Innī ūtītu al-Qurʾān wa mithlahu maʿahu.*

[32] *Kuntu nabiyyan wa Adam bayna al-māʾ wa-l-ṭīn.*

[33] *Raʾaytu rabbī laylat al-miʿrāj fī ṣūrat amrad qaṭaṭ.*

[34] *Raʾaytu rabbī fī aḥsan ṣūra.*

31. 'Knowledge is a Point, it is the ignorant who multiplied it.'[35] (*ʿAwālī*, vol. 4, p. 129)
32. 'My community will be divided into 73 sects, [of which] all will go to Hell with the exception of one.' (*Beobachtungen*, vol. 1, pp. 7–64)
33. 'O *kāf hāʾ yā*' '*ayn ṣād*, I seek a refuge with you. O *ḥm ʿsq,* I seek a refuge with you!'[36] (*Biḥār*, vol. 88, p. 9; Anawati, p. 390)
34. 'O my God, turn my heart into light, and my hearing into light, and my tongue into light … '[37] (*Miṣbāḥ*, p. 180; Chodkiewicz, p. 142)
35. '[On the Day of Resurrection, the Black Stone will have] two eyes to see and a tongue to speak.'[38] (*Sunan, K. al-manāsik*, chapter 27, no. 3057; *ʿAwālī*, vol. 1, p.185)
36. 'Paradise lies at the feet of mothers.'[39] (*Mustadrak*, vol. 15, p. 180)
37. 'The paths leading to God the Most High are as many as the souls of existents.'[40] (*Biḥār*, vol. 64, p. 137)
38. 'Poverty is the blackness of the face in two dwellings.'[41] (*Biḥār*, vol. 69, p. 30; *ʿAwālī* vol. 1, p. 40; *Taʿrīfāt*, p. 227)
39. 'Prayer is heavenly ascension of the believer.'[42] (*Biḥār*, vol. 79, pp. 247, 303, and vol. 81, p. 255)
40. 'The Qurʾān has an exoteric and an esoteric [level], and its esoteric [level] has another esoteric [level], and so on up to seven esoteric [levels].'[43] (*ʿAwālī*, vol. 4, p. 107)
41. 'The Qurʾān is my *Imām*.'[44] (*Biḥār,* vol. 6, p. 237)
42. 'The Saviour [will be] from my house, from the children of Fāṭima.'[45] (*Biḥār*, vol. 36, p. 368 ff.)

---

[35] *Al-ʿilm nuqṭa kaththarahā al-jāhilūn.*

[36] *Yā kāf hāʾ ʿayn ṣād, aʿūdh bika wa yā ḥm ʿsq aʿūdh bika.*

[37] *Allāhumma ijʿal fī qalbī nūran wa fī baṣarī nūran wa ʿalā lisānī nūran.*

[38] *Lahu ʿaynāni yubṣir bihā wa lisān yanṭiqu bihi.*

[39] *Inna al-janna taḥt aqdām al-ummahāt.* Similar versions of this *ḥadīth* can be found in Sunni sources. See *Sunan*, no. 2771: 'Stay at her [your mother's] foot. Underneath lies Paradise' (*ilzam rijlahā fa-thamma al-janna*).

[40] *Al-ṭuruq ilā Allāh taʿālā bi-ʿadad anfās al-khalāʾiq.*

[41] *Al-faqr sawād al-wajh fī-l-dārayn.*

[42] *Al-ṣalāt miʿrāj al-muʾmin.*

[43] *Inna li-l-Qurʾān ẓahiran wa baṭinan wa li-baṭinih baṭinan ilā sabʿat abṭun.*

[44] *Al-Qurʾān imāmī.*

[45] *Al-mahdī min ʿitratī min awlād Fāṭima.* Numerous occurences in the *tafsīr* literature.

43. 'Serve God as if you are seeing Him … because He sees you.'[46] (Wensinck, vol. 4, p. 104)
44. 'There is no Saviour except the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary.'[47] (*Biḥār*, vol. 51, p. 93)
45. 'This [the Qurʾān] is the silent Book of God, and I am the speaking Book of God.'[48] (*Wasāʾil*, vol. 27, p. 34)
46. 'The Time turns according to its [or his] shape.'[49] (*Ghurar*, p. 161; Wensinck, vol. 2, p. 158)
47. 'The true vision is one out of 46 parts of prophecy.'[50] 'There remains nothing of the prophecy but the good tidings.'[51] (Lory, pp. 44–45; Ibn Qutayba, pp. 70–71)
48. 'The Trumpet is a horn in which Isrāfīl will blow.'[52] (*Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 54; *Biḥār*, vol. 6, pp. 318, 321)
49. 'Upon the day when God will come down upon His Footstool.'[53] (Wensinck, vol. 5, p. 559)
50. 'What is the subject of the dispute in the Supreme Assembly?'[54] (Gimaret, pp. 143–153)
51. 'Whosoever dies without having known the Imām of his time dies the death of the ignorant.'[55] (Shahrastānī, vol. 1, p. 553, and *Guide*, p. 301)
52. 'Whosoever knows himself knows his Lord.'[56] (*Biḥār*, vol 2, p. 32; vol. 57, p. 324; vol. 58, p. 90)
53. 'Whosoever recites three verses from the beginning of the sura "The Cave" (*al-Kahf*) will be delivered from the evil of the Antichrist.'[57] (Cook, p. 108)

---

[46] *Taʿbudu Allāha ka-annaka tarāhu... fa-innahu yarāka.*

[47] *Lā mahdī illā ʿĪsā ibn Maryam.* Numerous occurences in the *tafsīr* literature.

[48] *Hadhā kitāb Allāh al-ṣāmit wa anā kitāb Allāh al-nāṭiq.*

[49] *Qad istadār al-zamān ka-hayʾatih yawm khalaqa al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ.*

[50] *Al-ruʾyāʾ al-ṣāliḥa juzʾ min sitta wa arbaʿīn juzʾ min al-nubuwwa.*

[51] *Lam yabqā min al-nubuwwa illā al-mubashsharāt.*

[52] *Al-ṣūr qarn yanfakh fīh Isrāfīl.*

[53] *Yawm yanzil Allāh ʿalā kursiyyih.*

[54] *Fī-ma yakhtaṣim al-malaʾ al-aʿlā?* Fragment of the same *ḥadīth* as no. 30.

[55] *Man māta wa lam yaʿrif imām zamānih faqad māta mayta jāhiliyya.*

[56] *Man ʿarafa nafsahu faqad ʿarafa rabbahu.*

[57] *Qāla ʿalayhi al-salām man qaraʾa thalath āyāt min awwal al-kahf ʿuṣima min fitnati-l-dajjāl.*

54. 'Whosoever saw me in a dream saw the truth.'[58] (Wensinck, vol. 2, p. 200; Ibn Qutayba, pp. 73–74, note 27)
55. 'Whosoever saw me in a dream will see me in reality.'[59] (Wensinck, vol. 7, p. 53; *Bayān*, vol. 4, p. 81; *Rūḥ*, vol. 16, p. 163; Ibn Qutayba, pp. 73–74)
56. 'With Me there is neither morning nor evening.'[60] (Āmulī, vol. 3, p. 334)

Indirect References

57. 360 bones, articulations, nerves, parts of flesh, fat and skin of Adam's body. (Wensinck, vol. 2, p. 410)
58. 124,000 prophets. (Ibn Babawayh, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu-l-faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 680; Schöck, pp. 155 ff.)
59. ʿAlī is 'touched by the Essence of God'.[61] (*Bihār*, vol. 39, p. 313; vol. 107, p. 31)
60. Divine beverage consumed by the saints. When they drink it, 'they seek, and when they seek, they find', and 'they attain the union, so that there is no more difference between Him and them'.[62] (Āmulī, vol. 1 p. 266; vol. 3, p. 62)
61. 'During the Resurrection the Qurʾān will appear in the form of a man.' (*Zawāʾid*, vol. 7, p. 240, no. 11636; *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 601)[63]
62. The gates of Hell will be opened, and nobody will remain there when the All-Merciful will put his foot in Hell. (*Tao*, p. 338, note 22; Shahrastānī, vol. 1, p. 222, note 9; Gimaret, pp. 242–257)
63. In the beginning, Muḥammad and ʿAlī were one and the same light, which was then divided into two lights. (*Guide*, p. 75 ff., 105; Rubin, p. 98 ff.)

---

[58] *Man raʾanī fī-l-manām faqad raʾā al-ḥaqq.*

[59] *Man raʾānī fi-l-manām fa-sa-yarānī fī-l-yaqẓa.*

[60] *Lā ṣabāḥ ʿindī wa lā masāʾ.*

[61] *Mamsūs fī dhāt Allāh.*

[62] *Ṭalabū wa idhā ṭalabū wajadū ilā ākhir waṣalū wa ittaṣalū lā farq baynahu wa baynahum.*

[63] This tradition is cited in Persian in the *Jāwidān-nāma*; the original Arabic wording is therefore difficult to reconstruct. A meeting with the Qurʾān personified in the form of a youth was a crucial event in Ibn al-ʿArabī's spiritual career. See Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des saints,* pp. 50–51.

64. A market in Paradise where the forms [of created beings and objects] are sold. (Āmulī, vol. 2, p. 130; Gardet, pp. 447–452)
65. Mecca called 'mother of the cities' (*umm al-qurā*). (Rubin, p. 97, note 79; Ḳarya p. 708)
66. Moses heard the divine Word (*kalām*) [simultaneously] from all directions. (*ʿArāʾis*, p. 301)[64]
67. The pearl (*durr*, *jawhar*) from which was produced water/sperm (*āb*, *māʾ*, *nuṭfa*), steam (*bukhār*), smoke (*dukhān*) and seven heavens.[65] (Rubin, pp. 111, 115–116; *ʿArāʾis*, pp. 6, 20)
68. The primordial Covenant, enclosed inside the Black Stone and preserved in the Kaʿba, will be extracted at the end of time in order to remind humans of the Covenant when they witnessed God as their Lord. (Corbin, p. 130 ff.; *Biḥār*, vol. 6, p. 96; vol. 10, p. 158 ff.)
69. When *khyʿṣ* [the combination of letters at the beginning of Qurʾān 19] was revealed, Gabriel said to Muḥammad: 'How did you know that which I know not?'[66] (Burūsawī, vol. 1, p. 28)

[64] 'Someone said to Moses, "How did you know that it was God who spoke to you?" He replied, "Because the speech of a creature is heard from only one direction and by means of one sense, namely hearing. I, however, used to hear God's words from all directions and with all my limbs, so I knew that it was the speech of God."'

[65] Paraphrased in Persian in fol. 74a and 101a–b.

[66] *Kayfa ʿalimta mā lam aʿlam? fī waqt nuzūl khyʿṣ.*

Inventory II: Biblical Citations

This appendix provides references for the citations and paraphrases from the Bible and apocryphal literature that occur most frequently in the *Jāwidān-nāma*'s fragments quoted in this book. Like the previous inventory, the citations below do not represent the fullness of the biblical material used in the *Jāwidān-nāma*. Like Inventory I, and for the same reasons, the biblical material is organised as an inventory, in alphabetical order, not as an index. The biblical text in the *Jāwidān-nāma* is mostly cited or paraphrased in Persian.[1] Some of the citations are very close to the canonical text of the Bible; others look more or less like free paraphrases or extrapolations. The sources of these citations mentioned in the *Jāwidān-nāma* include the Torah (*Tawrāt*), the Gospel (*Injīl*) and the *Book of Peter* (or Simon) (*Kitāb-i Fiṭrūs/ Shamʿūn*). The latter refers to the text known as the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. As previously mentioned, sections from various recensions of this text have been edited and translated by Bezold, Gibson (the Arabic version of the *Cave of Treasures*) and Mingana (the text following the *Cave of Treasures*).[2] The references to the canonical biblical texts are provided in accordance with the King James Bible.

In the listing below, the abbreviation *KM* stands for *Kitāb al-maǧāll*, or the *Book of the Rolls*, ed. and tr. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Studia Sinaitica VIII, Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901); and *AAP* stands for the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, ed. and tr. Alphonse Mingana, in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1931).

---

[1] For the Persian translations of biblical texts available at the time of Faḍl Allāh see Conclusion, note 23. Even if Faḍl Allāh used the Persian translation of the Diatessaron, which seems unlikely, he was aware of the existence of several Gospels. See, for example, fol. 396a: 'what Jesus said in the beginning of one of the Gospels … (*ānki masīḥ dar awwal-i yak Injīl āwarda ast ki …*). As for the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, it is almost certain that Faḍl Allāh translated it into Persian himself, since in some fragments this text is cited in the original Arabic (cf. fol. 388a, 470b).

[2] See references in Chapter 1, note 13.

1. The Book of Life (*muṣḥaf-i ḥayāt*) sealed with seven seals, the Lamb with seven horns, who receives the Book and is sacrificed before the Father, 'and all the angels (*firishtagān*) of the heavens and earth, and the prophets, prostrated themselves and said: "By your sacrifice before the heavenly father you delivered us from the divergence of languages." '[3] (Revelation 5)[4]
2. The broken tablets of Moses. (Exodus 32:19, and *ʿArāʾis* 348)
3. 'Except a man be born again,[5] [he cannot see the kingdom of God].' (John 3:3)
4. 'The first thing that came from the heaven was the Word, and God was with this Word, and I was this Word.'[6] (Apparently a free paraphrase of John 1:1–2)
5. 'God said in the Torah: "Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air … So God created man [Adam]." '[7] (Genesis 1:26–27, and shorter form *KM*, p. 5)[8]
6. 'I am going to my heavenly Father.'[9] (John 14:12, 28; 16:16, 28; 20:17)
7. 'I came in [the form of] Adam.'[10] (*KM*, p. 15)[11]
8. 'I go, but I will come back and complete the religion of the prophets. I came to complete, not to abrogate.'[12] 'I will come in

---

[3] *Tū mā-rā ba-ān ki khūd-rā pīsh-i padar-i āsmānī fadā kardī az zabānhā-yi mukhtalif wa lughatha-yi mukhtalif bi-rahānīdī.*

[4] Though the *Jāwidān-nāma* explicitly refers to the *Book of Peter*, I was unable to find corresponding passages in *KM* or *AAP*. Perhaps they were included in the copy of the *Apocalypse of Peter* available to Faḍl Allāh.

[5] *Man lam yūlad marratayn.*

[6] *Awwal chīzī ki az āsmān āmad sukhan būd wa khudā ba-ān sukhan būd wa man ān sukhan būdam.*

[7] *Man ki khudā-am mīkhwāstam chīzī biyāfarīnam bi-shakl-i khūd wa hayʾat-i khūd wa ṣūrat-i khūd ki pādhshāh-i murghān-i hawāʾ wa māhiyān-i daryāʾ bāshad Adam-rā biyāfarīnam.*

[8] 'God said: 'Come, let Us create a Man in Our likeness and form and image.'

[9] *Pīsh padar-i asmānī mī-rawam.*

[10] *Dar Adam āmada būdam.*

[11] 'O Adam … I will come down to thee … and with thy body will I be clothed.'

[12] *Bi-rawam wa bi-yāyam tā dīn-i anbiyāʾ-rā tamām kunam barā-yi itmām kardan āmada-am na az barā-yi nuqṣān.*

order to complete them and to reveal the secret of their fullness. I will not come to make them deficient.'[13] (Cf. Matthew 5:17)[14]

9. 'I want to see Your Face' [Moses speaking to God].[15] (A paraphrase of Exodus 33:18, see also *ʿArāʾis* 332–333)
10. 'It is said in the *Book of Peter*: "We are with everything and we are without everything; nothing encompasses us but we encompass everything." '[16] (Cf. *AAP*, pp. 106, 107, 121)[17]
11. 'The Jews said that the Messiah [whose coming] is promised by the prophets, will be born from a virgin, and the boy will be named Emmanuel, which means "God with us".'[18] (Matthew 1:23)[19]
12. The measurements of the Tent of Meeting (synonymous with the Tabernacle in the *Jāwidān-nāma*). (Exodus 26, and *ʿArāʾis* 388–391)
13. 'No one may see Me and live.' (Exodus 33:20, and *ʿArāʾis* 333)
14. 'O apostles! I spoke to you by symbols, signs and allusions. I will come again and explain their meaning.'[20] (A paraphrase of John 16:25)
15. The Ten Commandments. (Deuteronomy 10:4, and *ʿArāʾis* 337–343)

---

[13] *Kwāham āmadan ki ān-rā tamām kunam wa sirr-i tamāmī-yi ān-rā āshkār kunam wa nayāmadam ki nuqṣān-i ān kunam.*

[14] 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.'

[15] *Mī-khwāham ki rū-yi to-rā bi-bīnam.*

[16] *Dar kitāb-i Fiṭrūs āmada ast ki bā mā hama [bā hama shayʾ?] māʾīm wa bī hama shayʾ māʾīm wa kasī bar mā muḥīṭ nashawad wa bar hama shayʾ muḥīṭ bāshīm.*

[17] 'We contain everything and nothing contains us … No heaven contains us, and no earth encompasses us'; 'We are inside all created things and outside them'; 'We are in all places, and no place is deprived of us, and we are not that place.' A similar saying is attributed to ʿAlī in the *Nahj al-balāgha*: 'God is with everything without being linked to it, and He is different from everything without being separated' (*maʿa kull shayʾ lā bi-muqārana wa ghayr kull shayʾ lā bi-muzāyada*). Landolt, 'Le paradoxe', p. 177, note 71.

[18] *Yahūd mīgūyad ki ān masīḥ ki anbiyāʾ waʿda karda būdand ki dukhtar bi-zāyad wa pasarī bi-yāward ki nām-i ūʾImmānūʾīlbāshad ki bi-maʿnā-yi khudā bā-mā bāshad.*

[19] 'Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and will bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.'

[20] *Ay ḥawwāriyūn man bā shumā sukhan bi-ramz wa ishārat wa kināyat guftaam īn bār bi-yāyam wa maʿnā-yi ān-rā bayān kunam.*

16. 'We do not have any length, breadth or depth.'[21] (*AAP*, p. 106)[22]
17. 'Where was [Jesus] before the creation of the heaven and the earth? He said: "I [was] in the Father [and] the Father [was] in me. The Father is power without beginning, I am His speech, and the Holy Spirit is His voice" ';[23] 'Jesus said: "I am His speech" ';[24] 'Jesus said: "I am the Speech of God." '[25] (*AAP*, pp. 105,[26] 106,[27] 107)[28]

---

[21] *Mā-rā ṭūl nīst wa ʿarḍ wa ʿumq nīst.*

[22] 'And we have neither length nor breadth … We have no depth …'

[23] *Pīsh az ānki āsmān wa zamīn-rā biyāfaridī kujā būdī guft man dar padar wa padar dar man wa padar quwwat-i azalī ast wa man nuṭq-i ū-yam wa rūḥ al-qudūs ṣawt-i ūst.*

[24] *Anā nuṭquh.*

[25] *Man nuṭq-i khudā-am.*

[26] 'Before you created heaven, earth, angels and men, where was your abode? … My abode was in my Father before the created beings were created … The Father was in me, glorifying me, and I in the Father …' The phrase 'I [was] in Father [and] the Father [was] in me' echoes John 14:10 and 17:21.

[27] 'The Father is Majesty and eternal Power, I am His Word and the Spirit is action and procession …'

[28] 'My Father is Mind, I am its Word and the Spirit is its Voice.'

Index of Qurʾānic Citations

2:1–3 233
2:30 102, 199, 208, 208–9, 218, 221, 337
2:31 50n2, 57, 97n3, 102, 121n13, 135, 150, 152n17, 168, 176, 181, 211, 218, 219, 220, 221, 225, 232, 233, 238, 241, 256, 275n5, 282n21, 287, 297, 300, 326n9, 357, 361, 362, 365, 374, 439
2:32 221
2:33 103n13, 208, 219, 221, 222
2:34 207–8, 208, 302n69, 382n102
2:35 111, 112n1, 322n2, 323, 365
2:37 261, 366
2:106 295
2:115 84, 147, 195, 374
2:124 121n13, 308, 311, 312, 346
2:143 91, 294, 351, 352, 353, 355, 355n33, 356, 357, 359, 460
2:255 123n20, 149, 359
3:7 261, 352, 401
3:18 353, 354, 354–5
3:41 135
3:96 97, 307
3:119 312
3:133 107, 337
3:169 338
3:169–170 338
4:1 122, 126
4:41 384
4:47 148, 326, 327
4:82 56
4:121 248
4:125 255, 310
4:159 369
4:164 220, 362
4:171 97, 275, 278, 278n11, 284, 342, 343, 366, 367, 369
6:1 82
6:12 101
6:38 87, 106, 119, 189, 195, 357, 376
6:52 157
6:59 206, 289
6:75 308
6:76 308
6:79 308
6:95 204, 225
6:115 300
6:154 314–5
7:12 180, 186, 235, 321, 322, 324, 326
7:20 207
7:46 203, 270
7:50 324
7:52 126
7:53 349
7:54 146, 148n12, 367
7:128 233
7:142 157
7:143 83, 84, 157, 264, 265
7:145 87, 91
7:150 266–7
7:156 127, 190
7:157 143, 345, 356n35
7:172 222, 223, 224n13, 229, 230, 311, 312, 332, 355, 380
7:179 327
7:180 57
10:45 162
10:64 153
11:7 147, 147n11, 148n12, 149, 158, 184, 185, 307
11:37 306
11:41 307
11:44 307
11:56 203, 204
11:114 357
12:4 134, 202, 235, 261, 262, 382n101
12:6 263
12:24 134, 135, 136
12:31 135
12:36 202
12:37 261

12:50 224
12:53 134
12:100 261, 262, 262–3, 381, 411n74
12:101 135, 138, 259, 261
13:39 207, 377
13:43 91, 119, 171, 338, 352, 356, 357, 358–9, 359
14:4 244
14:24 106, 111, 186n30, 290, 297, 337
14:26 323–4, 323n4
14:48 88, 139, 373, 374, 375, 376, 385
14:50 325, 326
15:17 357
15:17–18 358
15:29 78, 187, 248
15:43–44 330
15:87 143n5, 144, 296n54
16:120 351
17:1 289, 312, 314
17:44 200, 202
17:60 323
17:71 124, 131, 278, 340
17:72 334
17:110 255
18:51 223, 321, 322, 332, 336
18:65 220, 357
19:40 233
19:56 306
20:5 85, 91, 107, 108, 130, 136, 268
20:14 138
20:25–26 312
20:77 91
20:108 58
21:30 71, 183
21:105 233
21:107 190
22:47 372
23:27 306, 307
23:29 307
23:62 88, 284, 347, 377
24:35 97
24:41 271
25:44 204
25:59 143, 147, 161, 373
25:74 346
26:63 91
27:18 267
27:30–31 269, 270
27:38 268
27:40 268, 269
28:85 376
28:88 102, 108, 157, 277
29:49 312
30:22 244
30:30 147, 187, 293, 326
31:27 91
32:5 372
33:53 201
33:56 300
35:10 303, 323, 334
35:34–35 350
35:35 331
36:1 166
36:12 87, 106, 120, 195, 342, 343
36:39 109, 172, 306
36:51 248
36:82 144, 244
37:6 358
37:8 176, 322
37:10 322
37:48 137
37:102 311
37:107 311
39:68 176, 384
39:69 89
40:7 268
41:11 68, 86
41:11–12 68
41:12 86, 89
41:21 87, 118, 198, 202, 208, 369, 375, 376
41:53 370
41:54 193, 200
42:7 365
43:1–2 367
43:61 367
43:85 154
44:10 358, 380
44:54 136
44:56 248, 320, 331, 335
46:12 343
48:29 87, 354
51:22 135
51:58 85, 220
53:5 220
53:5–6 289
53:7–8 289
53:8–9 290
53:10 290, 358
53:13–14 290
53:14 106, 302n68
53:15 107
55:29 143n5, 145, 148, 149, 158
55:41 137
55:56/74 137
55:72–74 277
56:75 171, 172n12
56:75–78 167
57:21 262, 301, 327, 332, 334, 385

58:4 361
62:1 202
62:2 339
68:42 54
69:17 268
70:4 146, 372
72:8 172, 176
75:3 228
75:16 379
78:29 120
83:18 167
83:25–26 129
83:28 129
85:1 109, 162, 166,305
85:21–22 224
85:22 265
91:8 81
95:4 102, 108, 139, 204, 348
95:4–5 327
96:1 349
96:1–2 78
96:3–5 78, 252
96:4 75, 78, 119
96:4–5 80, 252
96:5 316
96:19 354

Persian Text of the Citations

Anonymous Note concerning the Thematic Organisation of the Fragments of the *Jāwidān-nāma*

481b

ابتدا ابتدا ابتدا ابتدا ابتدا خلقت ازینجاست الّا نه از اوراق دیگر که آنها مبنی بر سؤآلات که جای دیگر نیست * اوّل جاودان نامهٔ الهی را صاحب تأویل جلّ عزّه بشش ابتدا بنیاد نهاده اند * و کلام جاودان نامهٔ خود را از اوّل تا بآخر دران شش ابتدا منقسم و مندرج کردانیده اند و مهر بدین شش ابتدا کرده اند همچنانکه صاحب تنزیل در کلام خویشتن بیست و نه سورهٔ مقطّعاترا از بهر معجز آورده و بیست و نه قسم کردانیده و کنز خود را بدان حروف مقطّعات مهر نهاده که کلام خود را بیست و نه قسم کرده و این شش ابتدا بمثابهٔ شش خانه است که هم جاودان نامهٔ الهی دران شش خانه گرد آمده باشد که در هر خانه بیان خلقتی از اشیا

482a

کند بدین صورت اوّل ابتدا خانهٔ ساعت شش شبانروز دویم ابتدا خانهٔ سموات و زمین و ما بینهما سویم ابتدا خانهٔ آدم و حوّا چهارم ابتدا خانهٔ معاد و جزاء حشر اجساد پنجم ابتدا خانهٔ انبیا و شرایع ششم ابتدا خانهٔ بیان صاحب تأویل اوّل ابتدا خانهٔ خلقت ساعت شب و روز و سه شبانروز و شش شبانروز و هفت شبانروز و ده شبانروز و چهل شبانروز و ماه و سال و ازمنه و قرون و خمسین الف سنة بما لا نهایت از اوّل جاودان نامهٔ الهی تا بآخر هر چه در بیان ساعت و ایّام و زمان میگذرد داخل درین خانه باشد ساعت را در جاودان نامه آلهی خود را برای آن مقدّم داشتند که هر چه موجود میشود از مخلوقات و موجودات در ساعت موجود می آید و این بیان را مبنی بر سؤآلات دیگر دیدند زیرا که سؤآل وقتی لازم می آید که منازع فیه دران مسئله باشد و هیچ گروهی را از اهل ادیان و ملل اختلاف در شش روز و هفت روز و ماه و سال ندارد و همه متّفق اند بدین حساب برین مبحث مبنی بر سؤآلات نشد و در محلّ دیگر میفرماید که ابتدا داخل ابتدا ابتدا ابتدا برین یک ابتدا که داخل همه ابتدا است و در آخر بیان خواهد شد که کدام است و دویم ابتدا خانهٔ سموات و زمین و ما بینهما زیرا که سموات که هفت آسمان و نه فلک و دوازده برج و سیصد و شصت درجه و دقیقه و ثانیه و ثالثه تا عشره با ملائکه که ساکنان سموات و سیّارات و زمین و شجر و مدر و جبال و اقوات و وحوش و طیور و هر چه متولّد بر انسان از عناصر اربعه که خلق السموات و الارض و ما بینهما که زمین و ما بینهما عطف است بسموات درین باب از اوّل جاودان نامهٔ الهی تا بآخر هر بیان که میکند داخل

482b

این خانه بوده باشد سوم ابتدا خانهٔ آدم و حوّاست که کعبه و بیت العتیق و بیت المعمور و بیت العزّة و بیت المقدس و خیمهٔ میعاد و عرش و کرسی و فلک البروج و لوح و قلم و لوح محفوظ و الواح موسی و ید بیضاء و قرآن عظیم و اسم اعظم و اسماء کلّ و مسجود ملائکه و معلّم ملائکه و امّ القری و حروف 32 و عرفات و وجه الله و ید الله و رجل الله و جنب الله و روح الله و دابّة الارض و مهدیٔ موعود و کلام ناطق و بیٔ بسم الله و کتاب مبین و صراط مستقیم و اب و قوّت و حرف و لفظ و نفخة و صیحة و مبداء و معاد و ابو البشر و [...] و ریح رحمان و شهاب ثاقب و سبع المثانی و امّ الکتاب و فاتحة الکتاب و موجود کلّ و بیان انکه همه اشیا متّصل بوجود ایشان [اند و پرورش؟] کنندهٔ ایشان و رو بدیشان دارند و فیض خود را بدیشان میرساند و شیوهٔ عشق عاشقی و معشوقی و نوح و کشتی و خطّ خواندن و نوشتن و اسم و مسمّا و عشق [...] و زمین و باد و آب و آتش مع متولّد او [همه؟] درین باب آمده است داخل این خانهٔ آدم و حوّاست * چهارم ابتدا خانهٔ معاد است بیان عالم مثال و خواب و خیال و جزاء اعمال و افعال و قیامت و حشر و نشر و صراط و حساب و کتاب و اصحاب یمین و اصحاب شمال و میزان اعمال بنی آدم و جنّت و دوزخ و سعادت و شقاء و [...] و بهشت و لقاء و مدرک و مدرک و اسم و مسمّا و عاقل و معقول و اهل بهشت و حور [...] و رضوان و آسمانها از نور و زبرجد و یواقیت و [...] و مروارید و جنّات و فواکه و زمین از مشک و زعفران و لباسهای سندس و خضر و [...] و ظلال

483a

و گلهای رنگارنگ و ریحان و لحم طیور و الحان و شیر و عسل و خمر و آب روان و صورت خدائی و پاذشاهی و اهل دوزخ را عذاب الیم و اغلال و صفات غضب و قهر و مکر و شید و سجده نکردن شیطان که مانع سجود فرزندان آدم بودن و هر چه درین باب آمده است داخل این خانهٔ معاد است پنجم خانهٔ ابتدا شرایع انبیاست صد و بیست و چهار هزار انبیا امّة آن همه فرزندان آدم [...] و همه انبیا صاحب وحی و کشف و الهام و نبوّت و ولایت و کتابت و کلام تنزیل و معراج و احکام شریعت از صلات و صوم و خمس و زکات و وضوء و غسل و حجّ و طواف احرام و جهاد و امر و نهی و اذان و قامت [...] و توحید و وحدانیّت و [...] خلقت [...] و ناسخ و منسوخ [...] و عید و تقلید و تحقیق و علم و حکمت و نجوم و رمل و [...] و متّقی و تقوی و طهارت و عبادت و پرستش و [عدل؟] و ظلم و مفرد و مرکّب و امور و معاش و مصالح دنیوی [...] و محکم و متشابه و شناختن ذات و صفات و تلقین و [...] در اعمال و افعال بندگان و دین و ملّة و قانون و قاعده و میراث و مرگ و ذبح هرچه درین باب در جاودان نامهٔ الهی از اوّل تا بآخر آمده است داخل خانهٔ شرایع انبیاست ششم ابتدا خانهٔ بیان حقیقت این خانه است که محیط است بر خانه های دیگر بحکم یوم تبدّل الارض غیر الارض والسماوات تبدل 28 و 32 کلمه کردن است که چه [...] احدیّت است و [...] ازلی و ابدیست و قدیم و [...] همه اشیا و موجودات [...]

483b

بوجود آمده است داخل این بیان خانهٔ تأویل است * و دیگر این شش ابتدا بتکرار آمده است زیرا که یک ابتدا آصل است و باقی فرع آن و آن ابتدا که آصل است همه در ضمن اوست و او بر همه و متجلّی بر همه است که همه مقام مراتب آن یک مقام است و این ابتداست که داخل همه ابتداست والسّلام علی من اتّبع الهدی.

Citations from the *Jāwidān-nāma*

4a *Mas'ala*

بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحیم چون هستئ همه چیز از خاک و آب و باد و آتش و ملک [=فلک؟] و ستاره و ملک کلمهٔ خدایست و بکلمه آفریده شده اند و بر مثال کلمه اند در عالم خواب و واقعه و کشف ایشانرا گویا و شنوا و بینا و آینده و رونده می بینند پس هر ذرّهٔ از ذرّات گویا و شنوا توان دید و چون چنین است هر ذرّهٔ از دوائر وجود ایشان امکان دارد که انسان دیگر باشد پس در واقعه توان دید که هر اعضاء یک شخص با او در سخن آید و هر عضوی ازو انسان دیگرست و چون همه چیز از روی حقیقت جزو آدم اند و آدم کلّ توان دید که همه یک وجود آدم است و آدم را همه اشیا توان دید در عالم کشف.

بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحیم ثابتست که حقیقت آدمی ادراکند و ادراک مرکّبست و هر مرکّبی را در عالم جزا نقش است که محو نمیشود و نیست نمیگردد و به نفس خود قائم است چون از بدن بیرون رود آن نقشها را که درین عالم کسب کرده است او خود آن خواهد بود و السّلام.

Note on the margin:

این دو نامهٔ قدیم جاودانی بر ظهر کتاب قدیم خدائی بود بخطّ ید الله فوق ایدیهم.

6b–7a

خلقت آدم در روز جمعه که هفتم بو پس آن جمعه مزید ببو بره شش روز [...] و اژ را ین نیز خلقت آدم که حاصل کونین [...] بو که آدمه درین روز بو و لقاء الله درین روز و استعارهٔ خدا که وجه الله و ید الله و اصابع الله که کرد از صاحب جمعه روز کرد که آدم بو براء آ سیّد الایّام بو و در صورت مرآت که نمایندهٔ وجه آدم ببو بو.

7b

پس ناچار روز هفتم سیّد الایّام بو و مرآت بو و جمعه بو که روح در بدن چون دراسه خوشتنه مشاهده در مرآت جمعه بکره.

8a–b

زمین حشر انبیا زمین بیت المقدس است بواسطهٔ صدر و ظهر که همهٔ انبیا و اولیا و کفّار ازانجا متولّد شده اند و عهد گرفته و آنجا اعاده کرده و باز آنجا حشر شوند که کلّ شیء یرجع الی اصله.

8b

انسان در احسن تقویم مخلوق بی و بحکم انّی جاعل فی الارض خلیفة و خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورة الرّحمان قایم مقام خدا بو و مخلوق بصورت و صفات خدا بو و مظهر جمیع اسماء الله بو [...] پس ناچار استعاره از خو بکره.

8b–9a

پس عند الله خو صورت آدم بو و هفت کوکب سیّار سیر در صورت آدم کردند و جمیع افلاک که در تحت فلک البروج و فوق فلک البروج باشند همه در موازی آن منقسم باشند بفلک بروج پس همه صورت آدم داشته بند و چهار طبایع در صورت آدم به 28 و 32 قسمت کرد [...] و ازین جهت تقسیم افلاک است و فلک بروج که بدحالی و نیک حالئ ایشان مؤثر است در آدم و آدمی زاد.

9a

شکّ نی که با رسول که با خدا واتی اذا اراد شیئا ان یقول له کن فیکون خدا هزانه که با عیسی معنئ کن که امری بلفظ کن نواتی بلفظ دیر واتی و اَ لفظ دیره متضمّن معنئ آن امر کن کردانید با هر نبیّ که و ما ارسلنا من رسول الاّ بلسان قومه لیبیّن لهم برین نهج که اختلاف السنتکم و الوانکم الآیه [...] تا چه فائده بو تا آن فائده بو که همازن که کن متضمّن معنئ امری غیر کاف و نون هم متضمّن معنئ امری و غیر درینجا بجهت فهم و اصطلاح است تا هر کلمه بجهت وحدانیّت متضمّن معنئ جمیع کلمه باشد که خدا متکلّم است بیک کلام.

11b

همازن که کلام قدیم آلهی که با سائر انبیا و ملائکه گفت و خلقت از شش حروف کاف و نون کن بیرون نیست ایجاد مخلوقات و ما سوی الله و بظهور آمدن مکوّنات و مکتوبات از کتم عدم بصحراء وجود از شش روز و هفت شبانروز که شش بار 28 ساعت بو بوجهی چهار بار 28 ساعت و هی بار 32 ساعت بو بیرون نیست و نخواهد بود از ازل تا ابد لا تبدیل لکلمات الله.

12a

اگر سائل سؤآل کره که سبب چه بو هفت روز و هفت شوه تو هوی که سبع مثانی بو و ظرف قرآن بو بمحمّد هادی و بدیر پیغمبران ندی جواب اوی که سبع مثانی که هفت شب و روز بو شش بار 28 ساعت بو که کاف و نون که شش کلمه بو و هر که متضمّن 28 کلمه بو و جمیع اجسام خداوند شش جهت بند بمحمّد هادی و بخو برشوی جمیع ازمنه و ساعات و لیالی و ایّام در ضمن هفت روز و شب بو و کلّ یوم هو فی شأن درین هفت روز پس زمان و هرچه درین هفت روز و شب است شش بار 28 ساعت بو که آصل کلام 28 کلمه بو که خدا با خو بآ تکلّم کی بحکم کن.

12a–b

و مدار حساب مکوّنات و مکتوبات اشیا در هفت شب و روز است مثلا چون هفته تمام شد باز آن کس بسر شمار اوّل رفت باز چون هفته تمام شد بسر شمار حساب اوّل رفت چنانکه صلوت در شش روز هفته و در روز جمعه پانزده باز شنبه که برسه هفته باز بجمعه پانزده تا انقراض جهان جمیع شهور و سنین و قرون مرکّب اند از جمعه و جمعه از یوم و یوم از ساعت و ساعت و تقسیم ساعت و قطع شمس و قمر از بروج معلوم میشود که شبانروزی چند درجه و دقیقه و ثانیه و ثالثه تا عاشره باشد.

21b

و نفخت فیه من روحی همچنانکه ظاهرا اسما بهمهٔ اشیا و ظاهر و باطن اشیا برسی بحسب اسمیّت در باطن همه اشیا برسی و تجلّی کی و همه اشیا مظاهر خنانند.

24a–b

بر در بهشت که هشت دری بر هر دری چهار کلمه مکتوبی که 32 بو که صورت آدمی که واسطهٔ بهشت خوی و بر در دوزخ که هفت دری[...] بر هر دری سه سطری که بیست و یک بو که صورت حوّا و کتابت وجه حوّا بو همازن که دوزخ هفت در دارد و بیست و یک سطر دارد الحمد که مثال حوّا بو هفت آیه بو و بیست و یک کلمه که واسطهٔ دوزخ تارک خو بو [...] انّ جهنّم لموعدهم اجمعین لها سبعة ابواب لکلّ باب منهم جزء مقسوم / انّ الجنّة تحت

اقدام الامّهات / سبع مثانی براء اَ امّ الکتابی که مادر همه معانی بو و همه در بطن خو بو و اژ خو بژاید.

24b

سبع مثانی براء اَ امّ الکتابی که مادر همه معانی بو و همه در بطن خو بو و اژ خو بژاید.

24b

الحمد لله ربّ العالمین [...] که در صلوت هیخوانی و صلوت بی خو درست نی براء اَ او را امّ الکتاب خواند که بحقیقت صورت امّی که حوّا بو بجهت آنکه بیست و یک کلمه است و اهل بهشت در بهشت برین صورت بند و ولدان و غلمان برین صورت بند و رأیت ربّی فی صورت امرد قطط برین صورت که مبداء قسمت وجه و کتابت وجه آدمی براء آن امّ الکتابی.

25b

و بجهت آن که خاک بقیّهٔ وجود آدم است و قابلیّت آن دارد خاک و چهار عنصر که همه وجود یک مار یا یک مور یا یک شیر شود یا یک حیوان شود از جمیع حیوانات در انسان قوّت حیوانات و صفت حیوانات ظاهر میشود / امّا چون مظهر تمامئ نطق و اسما شد و صورت خدائی گرفت مکرّم شد مکرّم شد و خلیفه شد.

25b

همه اشیا را معلوم شد که ناطق اند و خواهند بود که بقیّهٔ جزو آدم اند انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء دالّست که همه اشیا ناطق خواهند شد بوحدانیّت او و یک وجود [...] و در صورت آدم نظر کن و در نظم اشیا و هرکه را مشاهده کنی و توحید را و آدم مظهر نطقی پس بالقوّه در اشیا و همهٔ اشیا نطق آدم موجود بو که انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء باین معنی گفت که نطق مخصوص بآدم است.

25b

و هر فیض که آسمان و اجرام سماوات را بود نثار خاک و عنصر آدم شد و شب و روز گرداگرد عناصر آدم در طواف و در سجود و در رکوع اند و جزو بدن اویند و او بحقیقت کلّ که خلق الله آدم علی صورت الرّحمان.

26b

تعبد الله کانّک تراه هرگاه که آدم بر صورت خدا بو چون خو بوینی کانّک تراه است فانّه یراک علی صورت آدم یعنی اسم الله صورت خو بو که ... که اسم الله است.

27b

وقتی که حضرت عزّت تعلیم اسما بآدم هکی آن اسما کلمهٔ چند بی بو بی شکل و پیکر و هیئات که تعلیم کتابت علّم بالقلم و صورت دادن آن اسما بعد ازان بیبو تا منقطع ببو بکتابت.

28a

و حوّا و آدم را چنانکه مظهر کلمه و کلام کی وجود خنانه و وجه خنانه خطّ کلمهٔ خویشتن بکی و لوح محفوظ که ما فرّطنا فی الکتاب من شیء خنانند و عنده امّ الکتاب خنانند.

28a

باجماع همه انبیا حضرت عزّت متکلّم است بخلیفه بلغت آدم که علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها و تکلّم او بحقیقت است نه بمجاز که روان نباشد که باجماع انبیا سخن بمجاز گویند و شکل آدم و خدا

متکلّم است بحقیقت بکلامی که آدم بآن ناطق است بجهت اَ در شب معراج در احسن صورت محمّد عم خدا را دید که بصورت آدم.

28b

کلّ شیء هالک الاّ وجهه له الحکم و الیه ترجعون [...] وجه و ید و جنب و اصابع الله استعاره و مجاز از آدم کرده است که از وجه آدم و جنب و اصبع او به 32 کلمهٔ او توان رسید چنانکه از دهن و خلق او بیرون آید کلمهٔ خدا اگر ناطق نشود از وجه او باشارت خدائی آن کتابت را باید خواند باذن خدا / استعاره از وجه آدم و اصبع او بجهت آن کرد که از وجه آدم و اصبع آدم و جنب آدم بحضرت عزّت ره توان برد.

36a–b

اگر تصوّر کری که همه یک آدمه یا یک حوّا یا یک تار موی آدم و حوّا یا یک عضوی از اعضا حوّا و آدم راست است و قابلیّت وجود هر حیوان شدن که موجودست هست زهی کمال و قدرت عالم خاک اگر گوئی که همه یک برگ درخت یا یک دانهٔ نار یا یک جوهر از جواهرند همه راست است و هست.

37a

هیچ شکّ نی که ید و سمع و بصر و جنب و وجه و ساق و رجل و اصابع که خدا خویشتن را اثبات کی استعاره از آدم که خلیفهٔ خو بو که مسجود ملائکه بو نه از ید و جنب و سمع و بصر ملائکه خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورة الرّحمان پس یوم یکشف عن ساق هم استعاره از ساق خو بو و کشف حجاب از ساق خو کره و یدعون الی السّجود.

40b–41a

چون از 28 پیغمبر یکی ادریس که صاحب علم آسمانی و کواکب و بروجی که و السّماء ذات البروج و القمر قدّرناه منازل [...] کما قال الله تعالی و اذکر فی الکتاب ادریس انّه کان صدّیقا نبیّا خو از عالم کشف بروج را بدوازده قسمت کرد و هر قسمی سی درجه کرد بجهت آنکه کواکب که بهر درجه که می رسند فیض بنوعی دیگر میدهند و در دقیقه همچنان جمیع افلاک را بسیصد و شصت درجه یافت که هر بار که شصت شصت قسمت کنند شش شصت باشد بعدد شش جهات تا 32 و 28 باشد و هر شصتی بوجهی دوازده بار قسمت کرده است گاهی 32 و گاهی 28 تا دوازده بار باشد و منازل ماه را 28 قسمت کرد و هر دوازده برج را به 28 قسمت کرد بسبب منازل ماه تا دائم چهارده ظاهر باشد و چهارده در زیر زمین مخفی و از تقسیم سیصد و شصت دقیقه و ثانیه و ثالثه و رابعه و خامسه را شصت شصت میدان و میرو و از قسمت سیصد و شصت درجهٔ فلک ثابتان تقسیم فلک الافلاک لازم آید و تقسیم زمین که سیصد و شصت بو لازم آسه.

42a

چون کلام حضرت احدیّت 32 کلمه است ازلی ابدی است که بحکم و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها آدم مظهر آنست و کتب همه انبیا مرکّب از ایشان است.

42b

نبوّت را سه بار 32 هزار و یک بار 28 هزار تمام کرد تا شرف 28 کلمه و جلالت 32 کلمه همچنان برو ظاهر گردد چنانکه طینت انبیا و جمع کردن اشیا از چهار عنصر بود چهار بار خنانه جمع بکی سه بار 32 هزار و یکبار 28 هزار پس معلوم ببی که خنان همه کلمهٔ آلهی بند و همه متّفق بر کلمهٔ وحدانیّت و معاد و عالم جزاء بند با آدم و خاتم صد و بیست و چهار

هزار انبیا آمد [...] و همه از وحدانیّت خو و احاطت خو که خدائی در همه اشیا خبر دیند و عدد خنان سه بار 32 و یکبار 28 دالّی بر صفات قدیم خو که 32 کلمه و 28 کلمهٔ خو بی.

49b

امّی براء اَوی که کلمه که برسول همیاهی خو از شکل و پیکر و هیئات منزّهی و مبرّاء و تا ترک صورت خو و علم خو که دوده و سیاهی نیکری در ذات خنان تصرّف و سیر و سفر نکری پس امّی همچنین نانویسنده و ناخواننده بو که اَ کلمات را بدوده و سیاهی نزانند و خارج خنان زانند.

50b–51a

تصوّر بکر و بزان ای طالب کلام قدیم آلهی که پیش از آدم و جنّ و ملک که اشیا بوده باشد و اصطلاح کلمه و کلام بحسب اصطلاح نبوده باشد / در ذات حضرت احدیّت هر شیء از اشیا را اسمی بوده باشد که حضرت عزّت آن شیء را بآن اسم خوانده باشد و آن شیء را بآن اسم مناسبت کرده باشد مبنی بر امری و غرضی.

51b

اگر سائل واژه که خداء تعالی با موسی بخودئ خود بحکم کلّم الله موسی تکلیما سخن واتی و بادم بی واسطهٔ ملک که و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها سخن واتی و با رسول در شب معراج که فیم یختصم الملاء الاعلی سخن واتی و بحکم علّمناه من لدنّا علما سخن واتی با رسول در قرآن کو دری که بخودی خود سخن واتی جواب اوی که علّمه شدید القوی که و الله [...] ذو القوّة المتین و لا حول و لا قوّة الّا بالله العلی العظیم و مزیّت کلام بواسطه که قرآنی بر حدیث قدسئ بی واسطه براء اوی که آصل کلام که حروف تهجّی در خو بو که جبرئل واتی کیف علمت ما لم اعلم و تفضیل آدم بر ملائکه هم بی واسطّ ملک از خدا علم گرفت بحکم علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها براء آصل کلام بی که آدم معلّم ملائکه در باب اسما که آصل کلام بیبو.

51b–52a

همازن که قرآن بواسطه براء آصل کلام تفضیل داره بر حدیث قدسئ بی واسطه براء آ که اصل کلام در خو بی تفضیل داره بر توریت و سائر کتب که آصل کلام در خو نی.

52a

حال اوی که آدم متکلّم بی به 32 کلمه همازن که وجه خو علم 32 کلمه بو و سیصد و شصت عضو استخوان خو / و آدمی زاد هستی که هرچند که بصورت آدمی و وجه خو علم 32 کلمهٔ خدائی هستی همازن که آدم امّا متکلّم به 32 کلمه نی همازن که آدم همازن که امین رسول متکلّم به 28 کلمه بی و چهار کلمه بر زبان خو جاری نبی امّا بحکم فطرت الله الّتی فطر النّاس [علیها] مخلوق بی خو در مقابلهٔ خلقت آدم کیتی که قدّ آدم شصت آرش بی 28 و 32 هر خداشناسی که در مقابلهٔ 32 در افتاد و 28 نکتی مشکل بی براء آ خدا آصل کلامه برسول ارشوی که در مقابلهٔ 28 کلمه مخلوق بی و برابر آ کتی و آدم بخلاف سائر انبیا براء آ آوّل آدم بو و آخر خاتم که 28 و 32 که فرود آمدی 28 بو و از 28 که عروج کری 32 بو.

53a

سبع سماوات و سبع سیّارات که دائر اند بر سیصد و شصت درجه و 28 منازل قمر این شکل و این صورت و این وضع هستی که آدم دارد و اشیا مختلفه که مربوب خنان بند همازن که خنان بر خطّ استوا مربوب خنان بر خطّ استوا همان شکل و پیکر و هر چه در باطن خنانه که افلاک اند در آدم که لوح محفوظ حقیقی خو بو.

53b

کوکب سعد که موجب رسانید ا فیض ببو که کسی بجهت تربیت خو به آ مقام برسه (مراد انسان کامل است) تربیت خو نیکره و کوکب نحس که موجب منع آ مقام بو بقوّت و حرکت بو بحقیقت سوزانند اَ سارق بو / و از جهت تقسیم فلک بروج که ذکر رفت حضرت میفرماید و لقد زیّنا السّماء الدّنیا بمصابیح که ایشان بآن تقسیم مزیّن و منقسم شده اند انّا لمسنا السّماء فوجدناها ملئت بحکم تقسیم سیصد و شصت درجه که به حکم علما بجهت آن گفت لا یسمعون الی الملاء الاعلی و یقذفون من کلّ جانب دحورا که از جهت رانده بود.

54b

سبحان الّذی اسری بعبده لیلا من المسجد الحرام الی المسجد الاقصی الّذی بارکنا حوله لنریه من آیاتنا / علّمه شدید القوی ذو مرّة فاستوی یعنی بصورت بشریّت و هو یعنی خدا بالافق الاعلی ثمّ دنا الی محمّد یعنی خدا فتدلّی فکان قاب قوسین او ادنی / و لقد رآه نزلة اخری عند سدرة المنتهی کلمه در کسوت آدم و 28 بدلیل قبضهٔ کمانی جاء جبرئیل نبود که [...] لی مع الله وقت لا یسعنی فیه ملک مقرّب و لا نبیّ مرسل در وقت نزول کهیعص گفت جبرئیل کیف علمت ما لم اعلم فاوحی الی عبده ما اوحی یعنی بمحمّد که فرمود فرض علیّ خمسون صلوة که حقّ تعالی خوشتنه بکسوت و صورت آدم وراوی در شب معراج در نزلة اخری در کلمه که مثلا کلمة طیّبة کشجرة طیّبة و منتها عبارتی از صورت آدم.

57a

خدا از کلمة الله که عیسی بو نفی اب که پدری بکی که از کلّ شیء هالک الّا وجهه کتابت خدائی را از وجه ام معلوم توان کین و توان خواندن نه از وجه اب که اگر خلقت وجه امّ نبندی از وجه کتابت کتاب خدائی و خواندن مصحف حیات که فطروس در کشف دیه بی که بهفت انگشتری مهر داره امکان خواندن نبندی و ظهور کلمه نبندی و این در خلقت آفرینش معلوم ببو که ابن مریم را بینکو آهین.

57b

واتی رسول یوم ینزل الله علی کرسیّه یعنی از عرش که آدم بو و صورت خو بصورت جن که آخر خلقت بو که عبارت از کرسی خدا خو بی و در خبری که آیة الکرسی در صورت امرد درآسه.

57b

اوّل منزل دینی فرزند آدم آنست که نطفهٔ آدم و حوّا در رحم حوّا صورت آدم و حوّا گرفت بدر آهی لا جرم که خو اژه رو بعالم معاد کره از امّ که شکل بشریّت آدم گرفته است بشکل حوّا در بهشت بصورت حوّا که امرد مراد بو بر آمده به بهشت رود تلقین یابن حوّا و یوم ندعو کلّ اناس بامامهم بوجهی این بو.

57b

پس هماژن که در رحم حوّا آ شکل و صورت و خطّ وجه آلهی که [...] نصف بو آدمی حاصل کرده بیرون آمد و آن نصف که خاصّهٔ آدم بو که عبارتی از ریش و سبلت و بروت در بطن امّ دست قدرت مانع شد تا درین جهان ظاهر شود.

57b

نطفهٔ آدم بالفعل آ صورت نداشتی و از صورت حوّا حاصل کی لا جرم واتی انّ الجنّت تحت اقدام الامّهات آخرین خلقت خلقت حوّا بو و آخرین کتابت کتابت وجه خطّ پسران آدم بو که اژ خو.

59a–b

قال عم آن حدیث که واتی انسانه سیصد و شصت پاره استخوان از فرق سر تا سر انگشتان و آخر خلقت چهارده و چهارده بند انگشتان دستی که آخر خلقت آدمی و آخر انگشتان پائی که آخر خلقت و نهایت خلقت و کتابت خدائی هستی و انگشتری سلیمان سدّی که این چهارده را ازان استخوان هاء دیگر جدا بکره و انگشترئ رسول که سه سطر نوشته بی همین بی و خطّ و کتابت آن 28 انگشت آخر خلقت که در مقابلهٔ امّ الکتاب مخلوقی و رسول که آخر ختم انبیاء بی همازن که انگشتها 28 هستی و به 28 تمام ببی آخر علم خدا به 28 کلمهٔ خدائی که آخر خلقتی تمام ببی [...] و بوجهی 28 کتابت کی و بوجهی 32 که اوّل خلقتی براء آدم و آخر خلقت آدم که انگشتهاء دست و پائی 28 کی و سه بار 32 هزار انبیا که اقلّ جمع سه بو برشوی و یکبار 28 هزار بعدد آخر خلقت انسانی که 28 بی برشوی و 28 انگشتان که آخر خلقت بی تمام بکی استخوانها را و در اوّل خلقت 32 استخوان دندان که محلّ مخراجی آدمن براء آ 32 کلمه تمام بکی و اطراف خلقت را ازان آدم به 28 تمام بکی ایحسب الانسان الّن نّجمع عظامه.

60b

همه اشیا وجود آدم است و آدم با همه اشیا یک وجودست مثلا او از چهار طبایع است و آنچه در چهار طبایع بود از نطق از وجود او ظاهر شد و همه انجم و افلاک متّصل اند با فیض خود بوجود او و از میان این همه ذوات مختلفه ذات خدا مخفی بماند از چشم نامحرم چون حقیقت همه اشیا که وجود آدم است معلوم گردد که چه چیزست ذات حقّ ظاهر شود و شرک مرتفع شود.

63a

اگر سائل سؤآل کره که خلقت آدم و وعدهٔ موسی چرا بچهل فقط بی بلا زیاده و نقصان که معرفت رؤیت خدا و خلقت نفس آدم دران است جواب اوی که 32 بار 32 بلا زیاده و نقصان است براء توحید ثلثین لیلة که سیصد و شصت ساعت بو و اتممناها بعشر تا نهصد و شصت بو 32 بار 32 قال ربّ ارنی ای وجهک انظر الیک چنانچه در توریت آمده که میخواهم که روی ترا به بینم یریدون وجهه کلّ شیء هالک الاّ وجهه.

65a

آسمانها و زمین را [...] در شش روز آفریده یکی یعنی در مقدار مدّت شش روز مقدار مدّت خنان که شش روز اند و چهار بار 28 ساعت بند و 32 ساعت [...] بو که همه اشیا مخلوق بند ما کان و ما یکون در مقدار مدّت شش روز که 28 کلمه کامه بین و 32 کلمه.

65a

هر امری که حضرت احدیّت از امور دین و دنیی و این جهان که در شش روز و کان عرشه علی الماء بحکم کلّ یوم هو فی شأن در هفتهٔ ظاهر گردد در عالم کون و فساد باز باسر شنبه رفت تا جمعهٔ دیگر چون باز باسر شنبه رفت و آنچه در هفته تقدیر کرده بود در ازل باز

درین ا هفته بظهور میرسد همچنین بتکرار تا در آمدن ساعت در روز جمعه که صورت مرآت آدم دارد.

65b

پس ظهور قیامت ظهور خنان بو و اژ را واتی فارتقب یوم تأتي السّماء بدخان مبین که آ دخان مبین از اشراط ساعت بو و علم خنانی که هرگاه که دخان مبین که علم خنانه بیاسه و دالّست دخان مبین بر وجود ایشان بالضرورة خنان بیاسند و قیامت بو و ظهور کلمة الله مسیح بو ببو بحکم و کلمته القاها الی مریم.

66a–b

ازین مصحف ظاهر صامت که اوّل او فاتحت الکتاب است و سبع مثانی است که هفت آیه است و قبله و کلمات ابراهیم و سجود آدم برو بمصحف حیات که وجه آدمی.

69a–b

خلقت اوّل مراتب انسان صورت امّ است و چون به بلوغیّت رسید واجب شد روزی هفتده بار خواندن امّ الکتاب رو در قبله کرده و چون از دنیی بدر رود در قبرش نهند و رو بقبله کرده یا بن حوّا گویند یعنی یا ابن امّ و در قیامت و جنّت او را بامّ باز خوانند که یوم ندعو کلّ اناس بامامهم / اگر سائل سؤآل کره که چرا در مقدّمهٔ قرآن اوّل فاتحة الکتاب آهی و خو امّ الکتاب خواندی و امّ بحقیقت اسم ماذری و چرا خو ظاهرا بیست و هی کلمه بندی هنکوئی که 28 یا 32 کلمه بحکم و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها بندی جواب اوی که این سوره را رسول جای دیگر سورهٔ صلوت خواندی و صلوت موقوفی بشستن دیم و رو که صورت آدم و حوّا بو که آدمی زاد داره / امّا امّ بواسطهٔ اوی که آدمی زاد که از امّ در وجود همیاسه بشکل و صورت حوّا همیاسه یعنی خلقت وجه خو که کتابت سر و ابرو و چهار مژه بو و جمیع امردان کامه بند اهل بهشت بصورت امّ و تقسیم این هفت دیگر بر وجه آدم از وجه امّ که حوّاست ظاهر میشود تا کلمهٔ خطّ خدائی است بر وجه آدم ظاهر بی بو که اگر نه خلقت وجه حوّا بندی که امّی و قلم قدرت که منع خلقت آدم و حوّا از همدیگر کین امکان ره بین بکلمهٔ 32 خدائی نبندی و خدا خواشتنه در شب معراج ازینجهت بصورت رأیت ربّي في صورت امرد قطط نمود تا امّ الکتاب خداوند سبع المثانی که محمّدی از لوح محفوظ خدائی بخواندی.

71a

سورهٔ زخرف حم و الکتاب المبین و انّه یعنی عیسی لعلم للسّاعة [...] چون خو کلمهٔ خدا بی که کلمة القاها الی مریم و خلق السّموات و الارض في ستّة ایّام بحکم کلمهٔ کن فیکون در وجود آهی که شش کلمه بو و اژه کو بساعات بشو پس خو علم للساعة بو اژه کو وراسه علم للساعة.

74a

اوّل درّی بی که جوماد بو و درّ سپید بو و بنظر محبّت خدائی آب ببی یعنی نطفه ببی و بعد اژه اژه بخاری وراهی و دودی که وهی دخان کامه بین هفت آسمان اژخو موجود ببی.

74a–b

ان اصنع الفلک باعیننا و وحینا یعنی قلم بساز و اهل خویشتنه دره کو دنشان (=درنشان) و تو آ کو دنشین یعنی قلم ده فـاسلک فیها من کلّ زوجین اثنین یعنی دو کلمهٔ کاف و نون که آ دو کلمه بو که من کلّ زوجین اثنین بو اژ 32 بو که ابتداء آن دو کلمه از کلّ زوجین بو در خلقت که خلق الازواج کلّها و آ بخطّ استواء و خلقت توان دانیست فاذا جاء امرنا و فار التّنور

آن آب که از وجه هفت خلقت خطّ استوا که 32 بو که تمامئ وجه بکیره همازن که 32 خاک و 32 آتش و 32 باد ارکبوا فیها یعنی دره کشتی که مراد قلم بو مجراها و مرساها که هر که دره ننشینه دره وقت که طوفان از تنور آدم و حوّا وراسه و همه وجه زمینه بکیره و پانزده یا هفتده آرش بآرش آدم بر همه کوهها و زمینها و بلندیها و پستیها یکسان بماند خلاص نکامه بین و اسا (=اکنون) که در کشتی دنشینه هنکو باژه که ربّ انزلنی منزلا مبارکا و انت خیر المنزلین که منزل مبارک آ کامه بین که خدا واتی که انّ اوّل بیت وضع للنّاس للّذی ببکّة مبارکا و هدی للعالمین / و کشتئ نوح که قلم کامه بین روایت بو که چون بخانهٔ کعبه برسی هفت بار طواف بکی قیل یا ارض ابلعی ماءک بر قاعدهٔ خلقت که اوّل آب بی که کان عرشه علی الماء چون ترابیّت غالب بکی بر مائیّت یا ارض ابلعی ماءک و یا سماء اقلعی که هفت خطّ وجه بو و آ هفت خطّ بر زمین و غیض الماء که خلقت ترابیّت در آخر خلقت غالب آمد.

75b

این علم خلقت اشیا در دین رسول نبی امّی واقع خواست بودن و در میان جعلناکم امّة وسطا لتکونوا شهداء علی النّاس.

75b–76a

اَ که موسی واتی که روز سبت که روز هفتم بو خداوه هیچ کار نماندی بحکم جفّ القلم براء اَ واتی که اشیا را که در شش روز آفرید که چهار بار 28 ساعت بو و هی بار 32 ساعت بو چون زمان برین نهج مخلوق ببی هیچ چیز نمانده بو و باَ معنی که کسی تصوّر کره همازن که یهودان بصوّر کین که خدا بی کار بو خدا واتی کما لعنّا اصحاب السّبت و کلّ یوم هو فی شأن جمعه که هفتم است قیامت و جزاء درو و ظهور ذات و صفات و نفخه و غیره.

76a–b

اوائل السّور و حروف التّهجّی که انّ لله تعالی فی کلّ کتاب سرّ و سرّه فی القرآن فی اوائل السّور و لله تعالی فی کلّ کتاب صفوة و صفوة هذا الکتاب حروف التّهجّی پس برین تقدیر سرّ کتاب آسمانی و صفوت کتاب آسمانی حروف مقطّعه بو و هر کس که ره بخنان نبی ره بکتاب آسمانی نبی جمیع الفاظ قرآن در ازاء حمیع معانی است از خدا و خلق و مبداء و معاد و ازل و ابد و ما کان و ما یکون و غیر آن در گرفته و حروف مقطّعه که صفوت و سرّ ایشان است بحکم حدیث حمیع اسرار الله تعالی فی الکتب السّماویّة الحدیث در ازاء جمیع معانی است بجهت آنست که و لا رطب و لا یابس الّا فی کتاب مبین.

77a

کلمهٔ کاف و نون که شش کلمه بو و هر کلمه بحکم وحدانیّت 28 کلمه بو شش بار 28 ساعت بو تا معلوم ببو که هر کلمه از کاف و نون 28 کلمه بو و اشیا و همه موجوداترا خوا اندازه بکی به 28 کلمه و مخلوق ببی بعدد کلمهٔ خدائی که انّما امره اذا اراد شیئا ان یقول له کن فیکون و زمان مخلوق شد و مقسوم شد به 28 کلمه که ظرف جمیع اشیاست و اشیا مخلوق شد بعدد زمان که مظروف است.

77a–b

و کذلک جعلناکم امّة وسطا لتکونوا [...] شهداء علی النّاس [...] پس این شهید این امّت آنکس باشد که علم کتاب باو عاید باشد اگر واژه که امّت گفت جواب انّ ابراهیم کان امّة قانتا للّه.

78a
بحکم خطاب و السّماء ذات البروج که دوازده برج است که دوازده برج سیصد و شصت درجه است شصت شصت شصت تا شش شصت روز دوازده ساعت کردانید که ساعة من النّهار که شش روز و هفت روز بر همان قیاس و هفت روز تعلّق بهفت کوکب گرفت بحکم آلهی چنانکه شش روز بخلقت آسمانها و زمین و یک روز تعلّق بخلقت عرش و آب.

78a–b
خدا خوه بامّ واخواندی براء سرّ خلقت امّ که بخو ظاهر کامه بین و از امّ و خلقت امّ بآب که آدم بو برسه.

80a
و این دوازده بروج فلک هشتم چون در ازاء فلک اطلس است که همچنان منقسم شوند بسیصد و شصت درجه و هر درجه چون در ازاء این فلک بروج باشند چه در فوق و چه در تحت منقسم شوند بسیصد و شصت و آب و خاک و باد و آتش همچنین منقسم شود بسیصد و شصت درجه تا آدم و خلقت او که حاصل سیر و سفر ایشان وجود او بود بر همین مثال منقسم شود که رسول واتی سیصد و شصت مفصل بود در ازاء آن مفاصل کوشت و پوست و پی بی همچنان منقسم بو و خطّ وجه انسانی همازن و ساعات شب و زمان همچنان منقسم شود بجهت کتابت.

82a
آدم با فرزندان انبیا صد و بیست و چهار هزار ظاهر بند چون مرکّب بی وجود آدم و انبیا که فرزندان او 32 32 32 28 گفت مثلی و مثل الانبیاء کمثل القصر الحدیث انّ الله فالق الحبّ و النّوی چنانکه وجود آدم بر خطّ استوا بقسیم خطّ و کتابت خدائی بو و لوح محفوظ بو اژه کو بهمه اشیا بخطّ استوا بتخصیص به چیزی که از چهار طبایع که بقیّهٔ خلقت آدم بو.

82a
وجود آدم بر خطّ استوا تقسیم خطّ و کتابت خدائی بو و لوح محفوظ بو اژه کو بهمهٔ اشیا بخطّ استوا بتخصیص به چیزی که از چهار طبایع که بقیّهٔ خلقت آدم بو یعنی چیزی که از خاک بو [...] بعد ازان بتقسیم عالم خاک و آب و هوا و آتش وجود آدم بهمهٔ طبایع برو بعد ازان بحکم و السّماء ذات البروج و القمر قدّرناه منازل که ادریس نبیّ گفت که 28 منزل است و دوازده برجست هر برجی سی درجه چنانکه سیصد و شصت درجه بو چون اعضاء آدم و استخوان و گوشت و پوست و بعد ازان بتقسیم لیالی و ایّام که چنانکه بروج دوازده است.

83a–b
اگر سائل سؤآل کره که آ که مخبر صادق واتی که چون عیسی بیاسه همه یک دین و یک مذهب بند [...] این چون توان بود و این اختلاف در توحید و معرفت الله و خلقت اشیا چگونه مرتفع تواند بود [...] جواب اوی که از خلقت آدم که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورت الرّحمن که همه فرزندان آدم اند و بر خلقت آدم اند و بزرگی و دین و ملّت آدم همه قائلند و بر خلافت او و مسجود بودن او همه بنی آدم قائل اند و به علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها و خلقت حوّا که امّ است [...] و آصل لغات همه باتّفاق لغت آدم است.

83b
سالی که دوازده ماه بو و هر ماهی بسی روز بو سیصد و شصت روز بو و سیصد و شصت شو بو چرا خدا بآدم که فی کتاب الله واتی سال را بدوازده ماه کرد وقتی که کتاب لوح

محفوظ را بخوانی این دوازده سطر را بدانی همچون دوازده برج و هر برجی سی درجه چنانکه سیصد و شصت درجهٔ دوازده ماه هر ماهی سی روز چنانکه سیصد و شصت روز.

84a

و خلقت آدم بحکم خمرت طینة آدم بیدیّ اربعین صباحا بندی چهل شبانروز شانزده بار 28 ساعت بو و شانزده بار 32 ساعت بو که زمان منقسم ببی همازن که خلقت خو و اسما خو و کتابت وجه خو از براء توحید که لا تسبّوا الدّهر فانا الدّهر.

85b

ساعت و روز و ایّام و لیالی ظرف همه اشیاست بدلیل خلق السّموات و الارض فی ستّة ایّام زمانرا قسمت کرد بر عدد کلمه و کلام خود که از کلمهٔ کن موجودند و مظروف را که آدم است دران زمان و هر چه در ستّة ایّام است و در فی یوم کان مقداره خمسین الف سنة و مظروف بر نهج زمان مقسوم است.

85b

خلق السّماوات و الارض و ما بینهما و کان عرشه علی الماء و آ جمعه که یوم المزید باشد که صد و شصت و هشت ساعت بو که شش بار 28 ساعت بو بعدد کلمهٔ خدا که ظرف زمان است.

87a–b

اگر سائل سؤآل کره که تو هوی که هر چه از مادر و پدر مردمان و استادان اشنوی تقلید بو آن گواهی که هدی که اشهد ان لا اله الاّ الله / و اشهد انّ محمّدا رسول الله بتقلید هدی و از مادر و پدر اشنوا در نماز و اذان و قامت و در تشهّد و انگشت وراوین [=برآوردن] یا همازن که آدمه واتی که و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها و علّمناه من لدنّا علما و علما بلا معلّم هوای و آ کسا که خدا واتی و من عنده علم الکتاب که قل کفی بالله شهیدا بینی و بینکم و من عنده علم الکتاب جواب اوی که اون عنده علم الکتاب اگر کسی واژه که اگر آ کسا پس هنکو که ا کس که واتی و کذلک جعلناکم امّة وسطا تو بی پس هنکو که زانی که شهادت و در تشهّد و صلوت و انگشت وراوین چه معنی بو و عدد رکعات زانی که چرا چندین بو و باوجود و حفظناها من کلّ شیطان رجیم در شب معراج که آن صلوت فریضه بکی چرا پنجاه بی و چرا پنج واکی و چون از اقم الصّلاة هفتده و پانزده و یازده فهم کی براء چه ظاهر نکی جواب براء آ که تا وقتی که شهید بیاسه و بیان بکره و هیچکس آوه نزانه بو بزانند که خو آ کسی که آهی تا علم دینی و قیامت و شهادت و محکم و متشابه خو بیان که کره بزانند که از پیش خدا آهی که چون از آسمانهاء مهر بر درو ملک بگذشتی که شیطان دره کو ره نداره و بسرّ اوحی الی عبده ما اوحی برسی و چرا اوّل آسمان آدم دین و چرا تأتی السّماء بدخان مبین واتی و خداوه بصورت آدم چرا دی فی صورت امرد قطط و چرا مبعوث بهمه خلائق ببی و چرا هنکو که در ظهور عیسی خلائق همه یک مذهب بند.

88a–b

جاءنی جبرئیل و فی کفّه مرآة [...] و آیینه به هیچ کار نیاسه در وضع خلقت الاّ اژ را که روی آدم و آدمی زاد بنما و کلمهٔ آلهی و خطّ خدائی که بر وجه آدم و آدمی زاده بو بنما تا دره کو خطّ خدائی وجه آدمه بخوانند [...] و آب و هر چه مائیّت بر خو غالبی از روی خلقت نمایندهٔ وجه آدمی [...] لقاء خدا در روز جمعه چرا که روز خلقت آدمی و واتی که این آذینه را که بصورت آینه آورده ام در روز قیامت خو یوم المزید خوانان یعنی بر شش روز که

آسمان و زمین و [ما] بینهما بیافریدم خو بر شش روز روز مزید کین که خلقت آدم در خو کین و ظهور عرش خدا در جمعه [...] و آنکه واتی مؤمن مرآت مؤمنی خلقت خدائی در وجه همدیر هیویند چون بر شش شوآن روز خلقت آسمان و زمین و ما بینهما تمام ببی سوی العرش و الماء در روز هفتم که یوم المزید بو خلقت عرش و ماء هشتاد و چهار ساعت بو شو و هشتاد و چهار ساعت روز تا شش بار 28 ساعت بو تا در هر طرف شش کانه که نظر کره کلمهٔ آلهی و وجه الله در آینه وینه.

88b–89a

آ که واتی خلق السّماوات و الارض اندازهٔ آسمان و زمین بچه کی بو بآ جی کی که خو بآ جی بیافرید آ که کامه بین و چه کامه بین کلمهٔ کن که در قرآن آهی کاف و نون شش کلمه بو و هر کلمه 28 بو که در بیان توحید خنانه و یگانگی خنانه بزانند پس شش بار 28 ساعت بو پس اندازه کی آسمان و زمینه و ما بینهما و ماء و عرش را بخنان که عبارت از اندازهٔ آن کامه بین که چیزی را بچیزی اندازه کنند تا حقیقت آنرا بدانند.

89a

هفته هفت شب بو و هفت روز بو چون بعدد کلمهٔ آدم که و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها شش روز بو و روز جمعه که هفتم بو عبادت بکرند بواجبی پانزده بشیند باسر هفتده در روز ششم و آ عبادت 32 تمام ببو.

89a–b

هیچ کس بغیر از خو که محمّدی به سرّ آصل کلام که حروف معجم بو نرسا بو پس آ در حقّ محمّد بو الولد سرّ ابیه که لی مع الله وقت لا یسعنی فیه ملک مقرّب کیف علمت ما لم اعلم فی وقت نزول کهیعص.

90a

و سرّ آدم 32 کلمه بو بحکم و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها و کیف علمت ما لم اعلم و ره بآن سرّ رسول میبرد لا جرم در کتاب او آصل کتاب الله آمد و رسول امّی شد.

91a–b

حضرت احدیّت جمیع مسمّیات را اعّم ازانکه ذات او باشند و نباشند در ازاء 32 کلمه نهاد و آورد و 32 کلمه را اسماء ایشان کردانید و خلقت آدم و آدمی که کی بعدد آ کلمه کی و در وجه آدم بکتابت ید قدرت خود نبوشت و از 32 دندان و زبان و وجه آنرا ظاهر کرده [. . .] که همهٔ اشیا که با همدیگر بر خطّ استوا چون در آیند علم کلمهٔ خدائی اند آدم و حوّا هر یک بتمامی مظهر جمیع 32 کلمهٔ آلهی اند و وجود ایشان متّصل است بهمهٔ اشیا بجهت آنکه همه اشیا جزو ایشانند و ایشان کلّ اند و آسمان و سیّارات با فیض خود همه رو در زمین دارند و خنان قبلهٔ همه بند و حوّا براء آ اصلی و امّی و در تلقین گور و قیامت همه را بامّ واخوانند که از خلقت وجه خو خلقت وجه آدم و علمیّت 32 کلمه ظاهر ببو آدم و حوّا و 32 کلمه همازن که از پس سیاهی و دوده اصطلاحی و کتابت می درخشد ایشان کتب خدائی آلهی اند از وجه خنان و اندام خنان می درخشد و کلمهٔ آلهی اند انّما المسیح عیسی ابن مریم رسول الله و کلمته انا کلام الله النّاطق و همه اشیا که متّصل بوجود خنانند از شش جهت همازن کتاب خدائی اند که نور علی نور شش جهات خنان متّصل بوجود خنان هستند و اجزاء خنان بند هر چه از شش جهات رو بدیشانن دارند اجزاء ایشانند و وجود ایشان اند پس همهٔ اشیا یک وجود آدم بود هستی و اسماء همه اشیا سر از خو برآوی برای این معنی و سرّ همهٔ اشیا بدو ظاهر شدن

پدر و قبلهٔ همه اشیا باین معنی ببی که مبارکا و هدی للعالمین و قبلهٔ همه اشیا و موجودات عالم خاکست و ازان ملائکه.

92a

و مظهر کلمات آلهی و علم کلمات آلهی و قابلیّت کتابت کلمات آلهی خاک و جزو خاک داشت [...] و آن کتابت بر وجه آدم لایح است و از زبان او ظاهر که و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها [...] و عظمت عالم خاک ازین جهت است که هر جزوی از اجزای او پوشانندهٔ نور اجرام سیّارات و سموات و شمس و قمر و کواکب است و هیچ نور از انوار سموات در باطن عالم خاک ره ندارد اگر زمین مقدار آسمان بودی آسمان عالم نور هست یا نه ظلمت و تاریکی وجود ازو دارد.

93a

چون فرمود که لم یبق من النّبوّة الاّ المبشّرات الزم شد که آن باب مسدود نباشد و چون فرمود ذلکما مما علّمنی ربّی انّی ترکت ملّة قوم لا یؤمنون بالله [...] باید که شناسندهٔ آن علم در جهان باشد و چون انبیا از عالم خواب و رؤیاء خبرها داده اند طالبان را محتاج به تأویل آن باشند.

94b

اگر سائل سؤآل کره [...] که عرش خدای تعالی و آبه چرا در روز جمعه آفرید دیگر انرا فی ستّة ایّام که متوالی است جواب آوی که مقرّ استواء ذات حضرت احدیّت بو و مقرّ خو آن آب بو که جزو بدن آدم بو.

95b

هر شیء که مخلوق ببی [...] خداوند شش جهت بو تا هر جهت خوین از 28 کلمهٔ آلهی موجود بی بو و هر جهت خو 28 کلمهٔ آلهی بتربیت کی بو [...] و آ زمان که مربّیٔ هر جهت خو بی بو منقسم به 28 بی بو بعدد 28 کلمهٔ خدائی و تا هر جهت که انسان و آ مخلوق رو داشتته بو به چیزی داشته بو رو که بعدد 28 کلمهٔ خدائی منقسم بو و مخلوق بره شده باشد فاقم وجهک للدین حنیفا فطرت الله الّتی فطر النّاس علیها فاینما تولّوا فثمّ وجه الله و نیز تا آنکه معلوم شود که یک جهت او منقسم به 28 است [...] تا معلوم شود که شش 28 یک 28 است چنانکه یک ساعت عبارتست از صد و شصت و هشت ساعت هفته.

95b–96a

پس همه علوم در ضمن یک نقطه و یک بقطه علم 32 کلمه بو پس تقدّم و تأخر دره مقام نبو و بنزدیک تو که بشری اگر در آن واحد کلمهٔ کاف و نون [...] از شش جهت تو با تو در سخن آسه تو فهم 28 و 32 کلمه در شش جهت آن واحد نتوانی کرد بجهت تنبیه و فهم سامع و انبیا و اولیا مرتکب و متابع کلام و حروف ظاهرند.

97a

خنانکه شیاطین اند سجدهٔ آدم نکیند و ذریّت خنان بخلقت آسمان و زمین [...] و شیطان ندانست که او شیطان است مخلوق بامر کاف و نون ببی [...] که اَ کاف و نون عبارتی از 28 کلمه و 32 کلمه که آدم باَ بزرگی و بزرگواری و خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورة الرّحمن باَ بی و مسجود ملائکه و معلّم ملائکه که در ضمن خود شصت و شش دیره و چهار دیر که آدم و شیطان و اشیا مخلوق باَ بیند آدم معلّم آن و مظهر آن بی و لا خلق انفسهم بجهت آن واتی همازن که لا یسمّعون الی الملاء الاعلی و یقذفون من کلّ جانب دحورا که بر

آسمانها ره ندارند و اگر دارند الّا من خطف الخطفة فاتبعه شهاب ثاقب نمیگذارد در خلقت آسمان و زمین شیطان و دانستن حکمت آن همچنان اند که ره باسمانها ندارند.

97b

و السّماء ذات البروج که دوازده برجی و هر برجی سی درجه تا سیصد و شصت درجه بو تا شش بار شصت درجه بو و هر شصت درجه 28 و 32 درجه بو که طوله ستّون ذراعا فی السّماء تا آسمانها همازن که زمان هفته بوجه آدم مخلوق ببی.

98a

پس آسمانها و زمین و همه اشیا و آنچه تصوّر و تخیّل توان کرد در ذهن و خارج مخلوق در شش روز و روز جمعه تمام شده اند [...] و از عالم غیب بعالم شهادت بظهور می آیند آنچه از کلمهٔ کن موجود شده اند و بظهور می آیند بلا زیاده و نقصان.

98a–b

حضرت احدیّت زمان و لیل و نهار را بامر کن فیکون و تقسیم شش بار 28 ساعت مجسّم کردانید چون آدم خاکی و اجزاء او بجهت کلمه و کلام که انا الدهر.

99a–b

اگر سائل سؤآل کره اژ من عنده علم الکتاب که چه معنی داره فلا اقسم بمواقع النّجوم یک وجه اوی که عبارتی از فلک البروج که هفت کوکب در سیصد و شصت درجات دوازده برج و دقیقه و ثانیه و ثالثه تا عاشره قطع آن منزل میکنند و منزل کردن این هفت کوکب سیّار در سیصد و شصت درجات آن و در هر دقیقه و ثانیه و ثالثه از حضرت احدیّت فیض بعالم کون و فساد می رسانند در لباس قهر و لطف اگرچه قهر او عین لطف است و بر هر آسمان و هر درجه بلکه بهر نباتی و جمادی و قطرهٔ بارانی و قوع ایشان که بزمین و زمینان می باشد (ملکی؟) همراه است و همه آسمانها بآن معنی مملو اند از ملائکه که انّا لمسنا السّماء فوجدناها ملئت [...] و برین سیصد و شصت درجه سیّارند و هستند و تا امر او باشد و فرمان او کامند بین و این هفت کوکب را تعلّق بو بکشف انبیا بهفت و بهفت و باز ساعت هر هفت روز و هر هفت شب تعلّق داشته بو بهر کوکبی ازین کواکب سیّاره.

101a–b

اولم یر الّذین کفروا انّ السّماوات و الارض کانتا رتقا ففتقناهما و جعلنا من الماء کلّ شیء حیّ [...] و بحکم نصّ توریت که جوهری بیافرید و بنظر عزّت درو نظر کرد آب شد آسمانها و زمینها ازو آفریده شد مبداء آفرینش آو بود چون علقة از نطفه بی که آو بو [...] پس همچنانکه اوّل خلقت که [...] و من الماء کلّ شیء حیّ یعنی اژه آو همه اشیا موجود ببی اژه آو.

101a–b

اوّل پرستش خدا اژه آو بو که طهارت جامه بو و وجود خویشتن و اوّل از ید و از وجه و رجل که وجه الله و ید الله بو و اجزاء آب و زمین همچون عاشق و معشوق از هم جدا نه بند و خاک و باد و آب و آتش همازن که اگر عاشق همدیگر نبند هم دیر یا چون جمع بند و انجم و افلاک اگر با خنان جنسیّت نبو و مربّی و مربّا مدرک و مدرک شیء واحد نبو چون یکی مربّی و یکی مربّا و آسمانها و برجها و کواکب بد حالی و نیک حالئ خنان دریشان و متعلّقات ایشان چگونه مدخل داشته بو اگر همه عاشق همه نبند و عین همه نبند.

101b

خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورة الرّحمان و قد استدار الزّمان علی هیئاته ای علی هیئاة صاحب الزّمان که آدم کامه بین که شش روز عبارتی از چهار بار 28 ساعت و هی بار 32 ساعت و هفته شش بار 28 ساعت که هیئات آدم و شکل آدم برین هیئات بو و اژ را خدا واتی لا تسبّوا الدهر.

101b–102b

ندعوه یوم القیامة یوم المزید که عبارت از روز جمعه بو چون با ستّة ایّام جمع ببو یوم المزید بو که خلق السّموات و الارض و ما بینهما فی ستّة ایّام و چون آن یوم المزید با ستّة ایّام مزید شود شش بار 28 ساعت بو چون لا تقوم السّاعة الّا فی یوم الجمعه واتی حشر اجساد در یوم المزید بو که جمعه بو پس دره روز معلوم بو که هر شیء که مخلوق ببی از بنی آدم و ملائکه و دوزخ و بهشت و محسوسات و تصوّرات و تخیّلات که درذهن درمی آید و در خواهد آمدن هر یک را شش جهت کامه بین [...] پس درین تقدیر جمیع ما سوی الله هر یک خداوند ششجهت و هر جهت هر یک به 28 ساعت زمان متعلّق [...] پس برین تقدیر فاینما تولّوا فثمّ وجه الله وجه نسبت خواندن خطّ لوح محفوظ بر علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها جمیع موجودات دیم در همدیگر داشته باشند و همه متوجّه همدیر و آدم دیم در همه و همه دیم در آدم و همه دیم در جمعه که مرآت آدم بو و یوم المزید بو و روز جمعه بو و همه شکلهاء خوشتنه همازن که بعالم صورت در مرآت بینند شکلهاء خود را در یوم المزید که لا تقوم السّاعة الّا فی یوم الجمعه بینند که حشر اجساد دران روز بو و یوم تبدّل الارض [...] و السّماوات و هفته روز که شش بار 28 ساعت دره روز بدل کرده ببو یعنی بغیر سموات و ارض که کلمهٔ خدائی بو.

102b

چون آسمانها در ابتداء خلقت دخان مبین بودند بعد ازان فقضاهنّ سبع سماوات شد [...] دخان مبین یعنی بآن صفت که اوّل بی که ثمّ استوی الی السّماء وهی دخان مبین استوا بر آسمانها وقتی بو که حال آسمانها آ بو که و هی دخان ای شبیه دخان همازن که دخان کتابت خدائی که علم 32 کلمه و 28 کلمه بو هرگاه که علم کاف و نون که مکوّن اشیا بو دخان بو.

104b–105a

و فیض تامّ از فلک هشتم بو که صورت آدم دارد و صورت هر چیزی که بر خطّ استوا صورت آدم بو از نباتات و حیوانات و جمادات و معادن و فواکه و اژ را که هفت کوکب سیّاره هر بار که بدرجهٔ از سیصد و شصت درجه که 28 و 32 بو و دقیقهٔ آن که 28 و 32 بو و ثانیه که می رسند فیض دیگر بمعادن و نبات و انسان و حیوان و جمیع ورقهاء گل و جمیع موجودات این فیض واقع میشود.

105b

میتواند بود که فیض فلک و سیّارات و قابلیّت ارض بحیثیّتی برسد و بدرجهٔ باتّفاق چنانکه در صورت آدم متّفق بودند و بر عکس سیر کنند و زمین قابلیّت فیض خود بگرداند که حقیقت یک وجود از صورت انسانی بظاهر زمین نرسد الّا آنها که آمدند و شکل انسان و آدم کسب کردند و بعالم بقاء دران نعیم مقیم قدیم ازلیٔ لم یزل و لا یزال رسیدند و موت ایشانرا در نیابد و هدم و پیری با ایشان نرسد و دیگر هرگز نقطهٔ فیض باتّفاق بظهور مظهری همچو آدم نرسد بحسب ظاهر این جهان و فیض این سماوات و ادراکات آن بر باطن ایشان فرو نیاید.

105b–106a

خلق الله تعالی رأس آدم و جبهته من تربة الکعبة و صدره و ظهره من بیت المقدس [...] الی یده الیمنی من ارض المشرق و یده البسری من ارض المغرب چون بحکم یا ابت هذا تأویل رؤیای من قبل که سجده کردن یعقوب بود در صورت آفتاب بطریق اولی که مجموع ملائکه را کسی که مسجود بی بو بصورت آفتاب درآسه و از مغرب که مقام ظهر و صدر خو بو درآسه از مغرب وراهین آفتاب یعنی ظاهر بین ظهر و صدر آدم که ابو البشر و پدر همه انبیا بو [...] و آفتاب پیش از خلقت آدم تا بی طائف بر گرد مرکز خاک بی از براء ترتیب خو که آدمی [...] بطریق اولی که آفتاب واژه و آدم طلب کره.

106b

بیت المقدّس که مقام ظهر آدم بو که وعلّم آدم الاسماء کلّها اوّل علم از ذات حضرت عزّت باو میرسد و آخر رجوع میکند باو که علم عمل خوانند خو اسما که مرکّب بو بهر لسان.

108a

اوّل ما خلق الله تعالی القلم قال الله تعالی اکتب قال ما اکتب قال ما کان و ما یکون همه از دو کلمهٔ کن ظاهر ببی دو زبان قلم دو کلمهٔ کن را علم پیدا کرد که آن دو کلمه در ضمن خود 32 کلمه دارد و هفتاد و دو کلمه دارد.

107a–108b

اکنون اگر هیتن سؤآل کره اژ و من عنده علم الکتاب و اژ لتکونوا شهداء علی النّاس که عصاء موسی عبارت از چه بی جواب اوی که مثال اوّل ما خلق الله تعالی القلم و خدا وقتی که عشر آیات بر لوح که کتبنا له فی اللوح هینوشتی موسی عم آواز جراجر قلم که آ جراجر عبارتی از کسر لوح هشنوی بر خطّ استواء عرشی که الرّحمن علی العرش استوی [...] قرینهاء خدائی که چرا عصاء و اژه و مراد قلم بو یکی براء آ که عصاء در دست بو و قلم در دست بو / دوّم آ که عصاء موسی را سر دو شاخ بی و قلم سر دو شاخ داره و سیّم آ که ان اضرب بعصاک البحر قلم بینکو جین بر بحر دوات که آب بو که و البحر یمده من بعده سبعة ابحر طریقا فی البحر ییسا وقتی که کتابت بکره که تری طریقا ییسا حاصل بو [...] قرینهٔ دیگر که در میان سایر حیوانات ماری که خداوند دو زبانی همازن که قلم و عصاء موسی براء آ بصورت مار خدا خو بکشف نمود و بظاهر حیّه خواند [...] قلم کامه بین که جمیع سحرها را فرو برد [...] همه از دو کلمهٔ کن ظاهر ببی دو زبان قلم دو کلمهٔ کن را علم پیدا کرد.

110a

هر چه از قرآن مرکّب مفهوم و معلوم میشود و خواهد شد در ضمن آن 28 و 32 کلمه موجوداست و ازان 28 و 32 این اسرار را طلب باید کرد که لوح محفوظ و امّ الکتابند و اژین جهت که امّ الکتاب در قرآن آهی و جبرئیل اوی قرآن فضیلة و مزیٰة دارد بر حدیث قدسی که اگر در حدیث قدسی امّ الکتاب و مفردات آهی بندی متوهّم همازن توهم کیبندی که مزیّت امّ الکتاب در حدیث قدسی براء آنست که سخن بی واسطه است و درینجا آن توهّم نیست.

110a–b

اگر سائل سؤآل کره که شیطان آدمه رهزنی کرد که الّا ان تکونا ملکین او تکونا من الخالدین چون آدم هزانی که ملائکه سجدهٔ خو کیند و شیطان هزانی که مقام آدم پیش آدم ورای مقام

ملائکه بو بحکم اذ قلنا للملائکة اسجدوا لآدم فسجدوا الّا ابلیس و معلّم ملائکه بی پس چرا خو فریب بان تکونا ملکین داد جواب اوی که هزانی که خو از خنان فاضلتر بو بدلیل انبئهم باسمائهم و بدلیل اذ قلنا للملائکة اسجدوا لآدم امّا تصوّر کی که مقام اکل و شرب که ملائکه ندارند بآن متّصف شدن بهترست بجهت آن میل کرد و عند الله مقام اکل و شرب فاضلترست از مقام ضدّ خو چرا که جمیع اشیا تا بصورت جمادات و نباتات و فواکه درنیایند و طعمهٔ بی صورت بدن خنان و نباتات و فواکه و جمادات طعمهٔ آدم نشند و نطفهٔ او نشند و سر از وجود آدمی و صورت آدم که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورة الرّحمن ورنیارند [=برنیاورند] و انبیا و محمّد عم ازو متولّد نشوند پس این مقام بنسبت بانبیا اکل و شرب ورآی ترک اکل و شرب است براء آن در جنّت میعاد روحانیان هم باکل و شرب بو و همه غدای ایشان متکلّم و سخنگو و فواکه همچنانکه انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء که هرگاه که حکم کنند بدرخت که شاخ سر بزیر آرد بیارد و فی الحال میوهٔ پیچیند و از عقب آن میوه بار دهد بجهت آنکه بالقوّة در درخت بسوی ایشان بالفعل حاضر شود چرا که درین جهان بالقوّة را بالفعل مشاهده کردند و همه ناطق باشند که یوم تبدّل الارض.

110b–111a

انّ الارض لله یورثها من یشاء من عباده و العاقبة للمتّقین انّ الارض یرثها عبادی الصّالحون انّا نحن نرث الارض و من علیها آلم ذلک الکتاب لا ریب فیه هدی للمتّقین الّذین یؤمنون بالغیب و یقیمون الصّلاة [...] چون بحکم وعلّم آدم الاسماء کلّها 32 کلمهٔ آلهی که عبارتی اژ آلم و غیره بآدم آهی و تعلیم اسماء خدا آدم بکی و خلقت وجه آدم و وجود خو از همه روی زمین بیاوی و صورت فرزندان آدمه صورت آدم ظاهر ببخشید پس وجود آدم و وجه آدم آ جزوی که خلاصهٔ زمین و روی زمین کلّی بجهت آ که مرآت خدا [...] و خدانما بو پس همه روی زمین حقّ انبیا و اولیا خدا که فرزندان صوری و معنوی بند حقّ خنان بو بحکم شریعت انبیا [...] میراث فرزند مسلم حقّ پدر و مادر و فرزندان کافر نبو [...] بهر تقدیر زمین و روی زمین که [وصیّة؟] وجه [...] آدم بو حقّ آ کسی بو که ره بخلقت آدم و امّ القری بی بو که هفت طبقهٔ زمین از امّ القری که موضع خلقت جبههٔ آدم بو آفریده ببی [...] پس روی زمین حقّ تابعان و فرزندان آدم و آدمی زاد مسلمان خدا شناس بو نه حقّ فرزندان که موافقت و متابعت شیطان که سجدهٔ آدم نکرد کردند.

112a–b

عرش خدا صورت ظاهر آدم که [...] از روی معنی صورت خو همازن که زبان خو مظهر 32 کلمه الله ازلیٔ خدائی بی [...] و کتابت وجه و تمامیٔ من اوّله الی آخره کتابت خدائی بو [...] لوح که عبارت از آدم بو که مظهر کلمهٔ قدیم آدمی و کلمهٔ قدیم را علم وجه خو و ید خو و اصابع خو اژ را که وجه الله و ید الله و اصابع الرّحمن بو.

115a

آفتاب [...] این سیصد و شصت درجات و شصت دقیقه که 32 و 28 اند [...] در سالی قطع میکند کوکبی هست که از برجی ببرجی بسی هزار سال می رود [...] کلیّات کتاب معاد انّ الّذی فرض علیک القرآن لرادّک الی معاد.

116b

و الطّیر صافات کلّ قد علم صلاته و تسبیحه چون لغت و زبان مرغانرا و سائر لغات و کلمهٔ اشیا را فهم کرد سلیمان درین عالم دران عالم هزاران هزار آوازها و الحانها متّفق اللّفظ و

المعنی مطیع او و سازهاء فریبندهٔ دلپذیر که و لا اذن سمعت بشنود و دیگر تا کلمه و کلام و ذات پاک خدا باشد دران تسبیح باشد.

116b

هرگاه که بینندهٔ این معنی و حالات بکنه خطّ استواء و تقسیم طوله ستّون ذراعا و بصورت آدم در بهشت عرضها کعرض السّماء در آمدن برسد و درک این فیض از سماوات و قابلیّت ارض امین بکند و آن فیض در ایشان لا یزال است پس این کس رسید بحقیقت آن فیض افلاک و تقسیم ایشان پس [...] و ازان اهل دوزخ بر همین نهج چون ندانست.

117a–b

هر جزوی که مخلوق بخلقت آدم بی بعضی اوی که آ صورت خنان متغیّر نبو همازن که انجم و افلاک و درجات و دقائق و ثانیهٔ آن و بعضی اوی که از طبایع و چهار طبیعت که جزو آدم اند مخلوق اند مثلا همازن که استخوان خرما و کندم و نبات و هر شیء که از طبایع موجود بیبو بر خلقت آدم و خطّ استوا همازن که خلقت آدم مخلوق بند اگرچه طعمهٔ حیوان بند یا حیوان طعمهٔ حیوان دیر ببو هرچند که شکل حیوان بگیرد و شکل استواء ظاهر خود بسبب اکل بگذارد امّا ذات خطّ استواء او محو کردنی نیست مثلا برگها که و ما تسقط من ورقة [...] و لا حبّة فی الظّلمات الارض که بیفتند و بپوسند و ظاهرا از مقام استوا و کتابت خدائی بدر بشند آ کتابت بالقوّة با خو موجودی اژ را سر از هر جا که برآرد تخلّف از خطّ استواء آدم نشیه کین یکی براء آ که مظهر همه بر خطّ استوا بو و دوّم براء آ که استوائیّت صفت قدیم خو بو [...] و ترک صورت اوّل کین و صورتی دیگر بخلاف صورت خود گرفتن مفید آنست که روشن شود بر طالبان که ماهیّت هر دو یکی است و هر دو یکی اند ظاهرا دو مینمایند چون کلمه و کلام که آصل خو یکی بو یمحوا الله ما یشاء و یثبت و عنده امّ الکتاب.

119b–120a

بیک وجه هرگاه که کسی ره بکلمه و خلقت آدم و خطّ استواء آدم و خطّ استواء اشیا و خطوط خدائی نبرد همازن که ما اشهدتهم خلق السّموات و الارض و لا خلق انفسهم همه اشیا براء این کسی زندان و دوزخ و جهل است و ظلمت [...] لا جرم همه اشیا زندان او و دوزخ او گردد همچنانکه حیّات و عقاریب و حیوانات و جمادات که مدرک شکل و صورت و اصل خلقت و خطّ استواء خود نیستند او هم نیست لا جرم نسبت باو همه اشیا دوزخ محض و ظلمات.

121b

چون فرزند آدم ره بصورت آدم نبی و بخلقت اشیا نرسی و بشکل آدم که 32 و 28 بارث با کلمه بخو رسا بی ره نیابی و من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه خو حاصل نبی و لقد خلقنا الانسان فی احسن تقویم ثمّ رددناه اسفل سافلین مردود ببی و بصورت حیوان من قبل ان نطمس وجوها فنردّها علی ادبارها نطمس وجوه ببی و سر بصورت حیوان وراوی و بدل بکی خطّ وجه و کتابت صورت آدمه که داشته بآن حیوانات و جمادات و نباتات و شناسای پدر نشد و دائم ابد الاباد صورت خود مشاهده کامه کین و از جنس خود و عدوّ خود متوهّم درین عالم و دران عالم اولئک کالانعام بل هم اضلّ اولئک هم الغافلون همازن که مار و گاو و خر از خطّ استواء خود و ازان کلمه که در امر اویند خبر ندارند و از صورت بشریّت خود که از آدم بارث یافت و طوله ستّون ذراعا و صورت او که بصورت او که آدم است در

بهشت عرضها کعرض السّماء تواند رسید خبر ندارد هم چون مار و عقرب و حمدونه و بزغ و سائر مخلوقات غیر انسان کامل هلاک اند.

122a–124a

انّی رأیت احد عشر کوکبا و الشّمس و القمر رأیتهم لی ساجدین [...] و باین وجه که بعالم خواب بی از و علّمتنی من تأویل الاحادیث که لم یبقی من النّبوّة الاّ المبشّرات و الرّؤیا الصّالحة جزو من ستّ و اربعین جزو من النّبوّة [...] آنچه در ایشان بالقوّه است در کشف انبیا و رسول بالفعل مشاهده کردند آن صورت سدره را و درختی را و انهار و فواکه و حور و غلمان و عین را [...] و اگر در ذات ایشان بالقوّه خدا ننهاده بودی بالفعل واقع نشدی و بانبیا آنچه بالقوّه بود بالفعل عرضه کرد چنانکه سرّ غیب بر ایشان پیش از ظهور منکشف میشود [...] چنانکه انّی رأیت احد عشر کوکبا و الشّمس و القمر پدر و برادران و مادر بو [...] ذلک فضل الله یؤتیه من یشاء بو بحسب تأویل خواب.

124b

بی شناخت این صلوت باین جنّت عرضها کعرض السّماء رسیدن ممکن نیست از آسمان آمد و باز بآسمان رسد ازان گفت که الصّلوة معراج المؤمن / بعمل صالح که الیه یصعد الکلم الطّیّب و العمل الصّالح یرفعه کلمهٔ طیّبه را که آصل کلام خداست برداشت و عمل صالح کردن بصورت و مداومت آن صلوت و آن پرستش طلب بجهت این معنی کرده تا این صور مختلف و جنّت که و جنّة عرضها کعرض السّماء پیش از مرگ در خواب مشاهده کند تا آنچه در قوّة بوده باشد حضرت بالفعل باو نماید که من کان فی هذه اعمی فهو فی الآخرة اعمی و هرگاه که بظاهر بکنه این معانی برسد بظاهر در بهشت درآهی که جنّة عرضها کعرض السّماء بلکه انبیا کسی را که ایمان بغیب داشت که اژه بهشت هستی خنانه و عده بآ بهشت داد اَ بهشتی بتخصیص مؤمنی که بایمان تقلیدی و پرستش بظاهر ادراک آن مقام کره و از جهل و ظلمت رسته بمقام لا یذوقون فیها الموت الاّ الموتة الاولی.

125a

بمواقع النّجوم و انّه لقسم لو تعلمون عظیم انّه لقرآن کریم فی کتاب مکنون مواقع کواکب هفت سیّاره سیصد و شصت درجه بو که کتاب کریم شکل آدم در خو بو که کلاّ انّ کتاب الابرار لفی علیّین.

127a–b

مثلا آدم که مخلوق ببی که طوله ستّون ذراعا که 28 بو و 32 تا سیصد و شصت درجه همازن که بحساب آ آدم سماء بو و اَ آدم عم ادیم ارضی بو درین کو اَ صورت بنموی در خاک و طبایع مثلا در وقتی که خو موجود ببی یک برج داخل نفس خو / و دوّم داخل مال خو / و سیّم داخل شیء دیگر / و چهارم و پنجم تا هشتم خانهٔ مرگ او و نهم خانهٔ علم و سفر او و دهم سلطنت او و یازدهم ازام امید او و دوازدهم ازان عدوّ او / و هر فرزندی ازان او که صورت خو دارد همازن مثلا دوازده فرزند اگر خو بی و هر یک را طالع حمل بو که داخل نفس خو بو دوم خو که بیت المال خو بو ثور بو و اگر فرزندی را طالع ثور بو دوم خو که بیت المال بو جوزا بو پس این دوازده برج هر برجی قابلیّت آن معنئ دارند که نفس طالع بند و هر یک بیت المال بند و هر یک خانهٔ عمر و جاه بند و هر یک خانهٔ علم بند و هر یک خانهٔ سلطنت بند و هر یک خانهٔ عدوّ و امّید بند از جهت توحید تا همه یک بند.

127b

یوسف که بخواو دی احد عشر کوکبا و الشّمس و القمر رأیتهم لی ساجدین چه نسبت دارند بآنکه آسا که یعقوب سجده بکی واتی هذا تأویل رؤیای من قبل اژ را که شمس و قمر صورت آدم دارند و کواکب دائرند در سیصد و شصت درجه / و چرا تأویل سجود ماه و ستارگان با کی که یعلّمک من تأویل الاحادیث اژ را که خنان مدرکند و در سیصد و شصت درجات و دقایق آن و ثانیه و ثالثه عبور دارند و شکل آدم دارند و سجود و طواف عالم خاک هکرند.

127b–128a

چون این صلوت بآسمان بشو که در شب معراج از آسمان آهی خو برسه بجنّت عرضها کعرض السّماء [...] و این صلوت که 32 و 28 و هفتده و یازده بو که آصل 28 و 32 بو هرگاه که بعدد خو پرستش هکره آسمانها و زمین و موجودات و بروج و جمیع بلندی و پستی و عرش و کرسی منقسم بو بر استوا و خطّ استواء ایشانند.

128a–b

همه موجودات بصورت آدم مخلوقی که کلّ شیء احصیناه فی امام مبین که لوح محفوظ و آدم بو که همهٔ اشیا بصورت خو مخلوقی و از خطّ استواء وجه آدم بکو خواندن که فاینما تولّوا فثمّ وجه الله که آدم وجه الله بو و همه اشیا همازن وجه الله بند چرا که رو در آدم دارند و بر خلقت خو موجود بند.

128b

لا جرم انبیا نیز خدا که ارشوی و در شب معراج هر نبی را در آسمان نمود صد و بیست و چهار هزار انبیا بند همازن که فلک هشتم که فلک بروجی بو سیصد و شصت درجه بو و هر درجه شصت دقیقه تا 32 و 28 ثابت بو که صورت آدم بو صد هزار و بیست و چهار هزار انبیا برشوی تا سه بار 32 هزار و هی بار 28 هزار کم هی اژ را آ یکی بیاهی و ختم ببی و ختم بی البنیان واتی مثلی و مثل الانبیاء کمثل القصر احسن بنیانه یک موضع خشت دنکوی تا قصر آفرینش آدم و فرزندان بعدد درجات افلاک و دقیقهٔ افلاک و ثانیه و ثالثه تا عاشره تمام ببو.

129b–130a

هفت کوکب سیّاره در سیصد و شصت درجهٔ فلک که هر درجه قائم مقام کلمهٔ از کلام الله اند که مظهر آن آدم بو سیر دارند و در هر درجه و دقیقه ایشانرا حالی و شرف و بالی و هبوطی دست میدهد و همچنین منقسم میشوند و آن سیّارات فلک البروج در ازاء هر جزوی از هفت فلک که رسند همچنین حال ایشانرا پیدا شود.

135b–136a

از مرکز وجه ارض آدم و خطّ استواء وجه آدم بشو بهفت فلک تا چهارده ببو و از هفت سیّارهٔ خو تا چهارده ببو و منازل قمر تا فلک بروج 28 ببو و از دوازده برج و 32 و 28 در رو بشصت دقیقه که طوله ستّون ذراعا فی السّماء و از جمیع نباتات و حیوانات و درجات تقسیم خطّ استوا که در انجم و افلاک بو در همه شیء نمود و درجات و دقائق و ثانیه و ثالثه که همه بخطّ استواء آدم مخلوقند و صورت کمال که در باطن خو جمیع اجرام سماوی داشتند بر آدم تقسیم کردند.

139a
خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته صورت خدا صفت خداست و صفت خدا 32 کلمهٔ خداست که خلقت آدم بران صفت مخلوقست بحقیقت صورت آدم صورت خداست.

149b
شیطان که بصورت انسان دمیاسه براء آوی که جزو خو که آتشی بتحکم خاک که علم 32 کلمه ببی در ضمن خاک درآهی آ که شیطان واتی خلقتنی من نار و خلقته من طین یعنی من نورانی هستن و خو از ظلمتی و من قابل شکل و پیکر نین و خو هستی و حال آ که این قابلیّت عین کمال بی.

150a
باب امامت مسجد مثال صورت انسان هستی / و محراب مثال دیمی و جای امامی هیچکس در مقابل امام یا در برابر دست راست و دست چب او حکم شریعت نیست که بایستد امام حقیقی که این امام ظاهری قائم مقام خوی رو در مثال خویشتن کره که کعبه بی و هیچکس در پهلوی خو نیشته و دیگران همه در پس خو سجده کرند تا بوجهی خو سجده کی بند و خو مثال خوشتنه نه بحقیقت مثال خوشتنه بل آ حقیقت خداییه که در خو تجلّی کی صورت خلقت محراب را چنان وضع کرده است که جای یک شخص است که امام باشد.

150b
خو رسه که واژه که من مجموع همه حقیقتن و هرگاه که خو میان حقیقت و هستی 32 کلمه بکره همازن بو که بیان همه کتب آسمانی بکی بو و حقیقت همه [؟] خو بو.

154b
اذا اخذ ربّک من بنی آدم من ظهورهم ذرّیّتهم و اشهدهم علی انفسهم الست بربّکم قالوا بلی شهدنا پس آنها که بر نفس خویشتن حاضر بیند و خلقت خو گواهی دهند فرزند آدم خنان بند و از انبیا بند

145a
انبیاء که کتاب آسمانی براء اَ بو کتاب آسمان عبارتی از سیصد و شصت درجه بعدد دوازده بار 28 و 32 که خنان کتاب بند و بعدد کتاب خدا یوم تبدّل الارض [غیر الارض] و السماوات.

161a
چون در مقام عدل نبو ره بخود و اشیا نبره و ظلمت و جهل بو هرگاه که همازن که اشیا در مقام عدل دراسه مظهر خو ا بو که رسول واتی کما ملئت جورا و ظلما چون ظهور آ عدل خلقت نبو کما ملئت جورا و ظلما بو و هرگاه که ظهور خدا ببو خلاف خو بو چون ظلم و جهل از ترکیب کلمه وادی آهی هرگاه که از میان وریژه ترکیب ظلم کلمه همه عدل بو.

162a
چون مظهر 32 کلمه انسان کامه بین و قابل اَ خدا علامت 32 کلمه در خلقت انسان ظاهر بکی و چون اشیاء دیر قابلیّت ظاهر بین در خنان نبی علم در خنان همازن تمام ظاهر نبی و براء اوی که ملک که همیاسه سخن همیاره که اَ سخن انسانی و در مظهر انسانی اَ علامت اَ کلام ظاهری ناچار ملک نیز هنکو که بهمان صورت بو تا اداء اَ چیز بکره که انسان داره یعنی کلمه و شکل. چرا ملک بصورت انسان همیاسه بمحمّد اژ را که هیچی همیاره که اَ چیز

لازم انسانی و انسان مظهر اَ چیزی که کلامی و کلام در میان سائر مخلوقات مخصوص بانسانی و صورت انسانی و شکل انسانی که بعدد علمیّت براء چیز آفرینه به بی.

162a–b

امّا بحقیقت مصحف فقط حقیقی صورت بشریّت انسان کاملی و در خوین دیم بنموی و خنان هرگز اژ همدیر منفک نیند پس آدم کامل کتاب مبین تحقیقی و امام مبین و کلّ شیء احصیناه فی کتاب و فی امام مبین بحقیقت براء آ که همه اشیا مظهر 32 و خو تنها مظهر 32 هستی پس کتاب آلهی و نامهٔ آلهی که خدا بدست خویشتن نوشته بو و آ شکل بشریّت کامل بو و هیئات اَ انسان آ که واتی که توریت بدست خویشتن بنوشتی.

164a

لا یدخل المدینة رعب المسیح الدّجال لها یومیذ سبعة ابواب علی کلّ باب ملکان واتی که در مدینة خوف دجّال دنشوی که چهارده ملک که در مقابلهٔ چهارده کلمهٔ امّ الکتاب کیته بر دریه و جای دیگر واتی که دجّال در مکّة هم دنشو براء ا که مکّة امّ القری هستی در مدینهٔ چهارده امّ الکتاب و در مکّهٔ امّ القری هر دو بحقیقت یکند اَ چهارده بدیم بنوشته هستی که مدینة و امّ القری اوی که زمینهاء قرای دیر از خو وادی آهی همازن که کتاب از امّ بغیر ازین مکّة و مدینة دشو دجّال در امّ القری و مدینة که مراد امّ الکتابی نشو.

164b

کلّ انسان بغیر از خواردن و خفتن که بر نهج حیوان دارد کلمهٔ چند مقلّدانه داره که در تحت فرمان آ کلمه هستی که اشنوی چه در باب معاش و چه در باب معاد هیچ کلمهٔ خدائی نداره کلمهٔ خدائی آ کلمه بی که ره بحقیقت ذات خویشتن ببره و چون ره بذات خویشتن ببره خو کلمهٔ خدائی داره و نفخهٔ خدائی داره و لازمهٔ که چون نفخهٔ خدائی درآسه از حیات اوّل مقلّدی بمیره پس ا نفخه عبارتی از نفخهٔ خدائی و نفخهٔ صور و کلمهٔ خدائی آدم داشتی که حقّ تعالی هوا و نفخت فیه من روحی و در فرزندان آدم کامه دمان که واتی و نفخ فی الصّور فاذا هم من الاجداث الی ربّهم ینسلون

165a–b

همه تقلیدات که در همه انسان سرشته شده است بواسطهٔ 32 کلمه است و اوست که سرشته کنندهٔ تقلید است و مقلّد است بتیان واتن که تا خدا بی در مغیّبات بوجهی مقلّد بی 32 کلمه براء اَ که خو در عالم غیب خطاب که فهم هکی در باب ذات و صفات خدا اَ خطابه همه خود خویشتن سرشته کی بی و هرکز بعالم ظاهر خویشتنه در همه اشیا واندی که چون موجودی و خو تا بی در خویشتن پنهان بی و خو خویشتن حجاب بی پس خو در خویشتن مخفی بی تا بی و زندانی بی تا بی هرگاه که خو ره بخویشتن ببره و از ظلمت و حجاب خویشتن بدر آسه ره بذات خویشتن یبی بو و از دوزخ ظلم و جهل جاودانی خلاص یافته بو اوی که انبیا در مکاشفه دیه بند ارواح گویندهٔ کلمهٔ توحید جاوید و در دوزخ نکامه بین که چون موحّد بسرّ کلام و متکلّم برسه از دوزخ ناچار خلاص یاوه چون کلمهٔ تحقیق که شناسای ذات و صفات خویشتن هستی بر کلمهٔ تقلید که بناحقّ مرکّب ببی غلبه کره اوی که یزدان بر اهرمن و خدا بر شیطان غلبه کامه کین و اَ در قیامت بو هرگاه که 32 کلمهٔ تحقیق ظاهر ببو و 32 کلمهٔ غیر تحقیق نیست بکره که همه خلائق را نیست بکی بو و حقیقت همه کس بوجهی زنده بکی بو پس توان واتن که 32 کلمه نیست ببی و 32 کلمه زنده ببی.

166b

یا آدم اسکن انت و زوجک الجنّة جنّت یک درخت داره مثلا کلمة طیّبة کشجرة طیّبة یعنی بهی کلمه قرار بگیر خطاب هکره خدا بآدم که عبارتی از 32 کلمه که در هی کلمه قرار بگیر و از هی کلمه هر جا که میخواهی بخور یعنی هموی یک بزان تن و جن که تن نفس و زوجی یعنی زوج کلمهٔ یعنی که از کلمه جوا نشیه بین خو نیز بهی کلمه قرار بگیره براء آ که وجود خو قائم بخوی.

167b–168a

ازن که مقرّ انسان بر زمین حقّ علامت 32 کلمه قبول کین جزو زمین در وجود انسان قبول کی خلقه من تراب براء ا واتی که آب و هوا و آتش را استعداد قبول کین این شکل نبی.

171b–172a

در وضوء آب هنکو که بدیم برسنه یا خاک براء اوی بیک وجه که صورت و نقش و پیکر که وجود آدم بکیتی دو جزو غالب بو خاک و آب نه آتش و باد که مثال علم 32 صورت بکیتی.

172b–173a

حال اوی که حقّ تعالی بانبیا که مشهورند و مشهور نیستند الی هذا الزّمان با هر کس که سخن واتی بزبان خنان واتی یا بزبانی که خنان آ لغته از خوشتنه مار و پیر و استاد و غیره اشنوا بند پس بوجهی توان واتن که حقّ تعالی خونانیا که سخن واتی بلغتی واتی که خنان دره لغت مقلّد بند یعنی در مرکّبات الّا محمّد که بلغت سخن واتی که همازن خو دره مقلّد لغت کسی نبی مثلا در مفردات اگرچه در مرکّبات خو همازن بی که دیران امّا در مفردات که اصل کلام بی بر خنان غالب بی پس خو نبیّ اصولی وبو [=میباشد] بواسطهٔ آصل کلام و خنان فروعی.

174b–175a

بشناس که اگر لفظ نبودی شناختن حضرت احدیّت معلوم نشدی بجهت آنکه حضرت عزّت محسوس نیست که او را بحسّ در توان یافت پس چون حضرت عزّت خواهد که از خود خبر دهد بی واسطهٔ لفظ ممکن نیست بجهت آنکه اگر الف و لام و لام و الف و هی نبودی چگونه لفظ الله مرکّب شدی و اگر لفظ الله مرکّب نبودی حضرت عزّت چگونه توانستی گفتن که من الله ام پس لازم آمدی که نشان و خبر از ذات خود بهیچ نبیّ نتوانستی دادن پس پیش ما بودن و نبودن او علی السّویه بودی [...] لفظ مقدّم است بر معنی که مراد آلله آنست از معنی و دلیل آنست که حضرت عزّت غیر محسوسات است و مراد درینجا بتقدیم آنست که حضرت عزّت غیر محسوسات هست پس ناچار لفظ میباید که حضرت عزّت بآن لفظ از ذات خود خبر دهد ... و خلاصهٔ همه کلمه این کلمه است که بآن ره بذات و صفات حضرت عزّت و استواء کلمه ببرد.

175a

محمّد امّی هویند که خو امّ الکتاب داشتی که چهارده کلمه بی و در خلقت که انسانی او اوّل که از مار در وجود آهی علم هفت بر هفت خو تنها داره کنیت او بآن امّ الکتاب بند که از مار سر و پیشانی و مژه داره نسبت بآ که بدیم او بو و کامه آوین خنان امّی بند.

175a
چون محمّد با خطّ آصل برسا بو امّی بو پس خو امّی بد [...] و یکی بآ معنی که مفرد که بوجهی دیر که آصل کلامی که بخو آهی و بوجهی که این خطّ اصطلاح انسانی علم و قائم مقام خطوط آلهی هستی هر دو یکی بند.

175a
امّ الکتاب بحقیقت کتابت کامه بین [=میباشد] که خدا بکین بر وجه آدم و بر کاینات و مجموع شکل و پیکر کتب آسمانی و هر خطّ که هستی بحکم علّم بالقلم [...] بس به نسبت امّ الکتاب و امّ الخطوطی اصل همه فرع بند.

175a–b
آدمی و شکل خو [...] که کتابت خدائی و لوح و اصل و خطّ خدائی هستی هرکس که در بهشت بشو بصورت خو بو خوانندهٔ خطّ خدائی هستی اگر کسی سخن نواژه مجموع اشیا را اژ آدم دکیر که آصل همه را بوین که چون علم کلمه و کلام از روی خطّ استوا هستند و همه اشیا که کتابت آلهی اند و علم کلمهٔ آلهی اند رو در هم دارند و بزبان حال همه گویا و شنوا اند و بوحی و اشارت همه با یکدیگر در سخن اند چنانکه خوانندهٔ را کتابت در پیش باشد و اصطلاح آن خطّ را داند با او در سخن باشد آن خطّ هر که اصطلاح کتابت آلهی را وابیند که همه اشیا چگونه علم کلمهٔ اویند و چگونه باشارت در سخن اند و بوحی او من وراء حجاب.

176b
آدم بسبب شیطان که مردود شده بود بجهت سجده نکردن آدم از جنّت بدر افتاد و فرزندان بسبب ا که از نسل او بودند بدر افتادند تا قیامت بانابت آدم باز گشت و فرزندان بانابت تا قیامت واقع ببی از قول شیطان چون انابت نکرد ماند بکفر.

180a–b
موسی در آتش دید و خیمه مثال ساتی براء تغلیب خاک واکی [=کرد، باز کرد] همازن قسمت 28 جزو آتش دیمی و بخیمه براء آ نموی که جنب خاکی و قابلیّت صورت خو داره و آتش بتبعیّت خو منقسم ببی به 28 قسمت دیم 28 آتش خیمه بو و هر طرف خیمهٔ خو پنجاه طناب بو چون 28 28 موقوف انگشت دست و انگشت پا که از یک طرف دیم داشتی پنجاه حروف و نقطه مثال خنان و آن یک طرف دیر چب یک دست و پا که 28 انگشت دیری پنجاه مثال خنان پس آ خیمه که 28 آرش اوّل پهنا چار آرش که هیئات دیمی [...] و 28 اوّل حروف و نقطه که پنجاه بو اوّل مثال آ دیمی و بعد ازان 28 28 حروف و نقطه که پنجاهی مثال هر طرف انگشت دست و پای که بآ معنی که خنان از هر طرف 28 انگشت دست و پا هستند و آ پنجاه حروف و نقطه علم خنانی پس هر طرف خیمه پنجاه طناب بو و آ طناب متّصل بخیمه بو.

180b
الیه یصعد الکلم الطّیب 32 پاک بی مرکّبی که از آسمان آهی و العمل الصّالح یرفعه ای یرفع العمل الصّالح الی السّماء یعنی صلوت همازن که احادیث آهی اوّلا الصّلوة معراج المؤمن.

182b
همه ذرّات کائنات در اصول و پرده و نغمه ذاکرند [...] همه اشیا از روی خلقت همه باصول در وجود آهی و شکل خنان و حرکت خنان همه باصول اند و او اصول و از صوت خنان هیچ شیء بیرون نی چون صوت که نغمه ببی از ذاتی که همه کتوب انبیا نازل ببی

بانبیا ا کتب مرکّب بی از 32 کلمه پس هرگاه که بیان هستئ آ 32 کلمه ظاهر ببو که کتاب انبیا اژ خنان مرکّبی ناچار از پیش خدا آهی بو چون مرکّبات فرع خنان از پیش خدا آهی.

184a

علی واتی که من کتاب ناطقن و ان کتاب صامتی و لدینا کتاب ینطق بالحقّ [...] پس آنکس کلام ناطق بو بحقیقت و اَ دوده و سیاهی کلام صامتی بمجاز [...] اوی که رسول واتی که من بتنزیل جنگ کین و علی بتأویل کره و بآ دلیل که واتی که من و علی یک نور بمانی خو هم محمّد بو.

184a

نظر بکر در همه اشیا همازن که کلام خو همهٔ اشیا یه بکیتی و محیط ببی از روی ا که اسم همه شیء ببی از ظاهر و باطن اشیا سرّا او جهرا کلام بدر همیاسه که اسم خنان ببی نه غیر اَ اگر محکمی و اگر متشابه.

184a–b

کلمته القاها الی مریم و روح منه کلمه بعضی از کتابی و هر چه بعضی از کتاب بو کتاب بو و لدینا کتاب ینطق بالحقّ ینطق فعل مضارع و حقیقة مسیحی اَ مسیح که کامه آهین.

188a

رسول آصلی بوجهی اوی که خو نه نویسنده و نه خواننده امّئ صرف بو و بوحی آلهی در همه اشیا کلمهٔ آلهی اشنوا بو همازن که ظاهرا مردی که هیچ چیز نخوانده کلمهٔ خدائی را که در همه اشیا خو بی چون نیخوانه و نیزانه خو بوحی آلهی خوانده بو و زانا بو.

188b

انبیا خداوه دیند که خنان یا سخن واتی در صورت انسان سبب چه بی سبب اَ بی که اَ سخن که خدا بوحی کامی واتن یعنی باشارت اَ کسی یا که کتابت خو که شکل انسانی کامی خواندن که اَ خواندن در صورت کلام درآهی و بر انبیا جلوه کی.

189a–b

القرآن امامی اگر دوده و سیاهی و علمی پس رو بخو دکو کین و اگر مدلول دوده و سیاهی بو کلمهٔ پس امام ا کسی بو یعنی انا کلام الله النّاطق و کلمة القاها الی مریم پس کلمه امام بو و هر کس که بمیره و کلمه نیزانه جاهل مرده بو من مات و لم یعرف امام زمانه فقد مات میته جاهلیة یعنی کلمهٔ زمانی خوشتنه نزانه کافر بو انا کلام الله النّاطق و کلّ شیء احصیناه فی امام مبین ای فی کلمة مبین.

189b

ستّین مسکینا شهرین متتابعین که عبارت از شصت روزی قامت آدم که شصت آرش بزبان صاحب تنزیل 28 کلمه نازل ببی و بزبان صاحب تأویل 32 شصت بو هر که قامت او ازن بو بقدّ آدم بو و به بهشت دشو.

190b–191a

چنانکه کلمهٔ حضرت آلهی بهمه ذرّات کائنات رسیده است و همه مظهر 32 کلمه شده اند امّا بحقیقت مظهر او انسان است همچنانکه علم او که عبارت است ظاهرا از شکل و صورت خطّ که آن شکل و صورت خطّ باز عبارت است از هیئات بشریّت بهمهٔ جهان و ذرّات رسیده است بجهت ا که مادهٔ همه ازان رو که اجسام اند یکی است همه اشیا یک جسم اند بحقیقت و

کلمه یک روح باز بجای همه اشیا یک نفس انسان است و یک کلمه که این انسان مظهر آن کلمه است.

191a–b

و همه ملائکه سجده که بکیند براء آ کیند که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورت الرّحمان ایّا ما تدعوا فله الاسماء الحسنی ای الله او ادعوا الرّحمن چون آدم بصورت رحمان بو و جبرئل که آسه بمحمّد بر صورت آدم بو پس جبرئل هم بر صورت رحمان بو ا که محمّد دی که جبرئل از پیش خدا آهی اوی که بر صورت رحمان آهی که آ صورت علم 32 کلمهٔ آلهی هستی و صورت آدمی و بیان کلمه و کلام هکره و آ صورت آدم که پوشی بیان آ محمّد یا هیکره که تا صورت آدم نپوشه بیان نکره [...] رأیت ربّی فی صورت امرد قطط رأیت ربّی فی احسن صورت این ادراک که در صورت آدم درآهی و صورت آدمه فهم بکی و خلقت خو فهم بکی که چون مظهر و علم 32 خدائی هستی ملک بی که در صورت آدم که صورت رحمانی درآهی و عبارت از ملک اوی و وحی خدائی آوی یعنی اشارت خدا از چهرهٔ خلقت انسانی هکره و باشارت سخن هوا اَ ملک بیان آ هکره و هوا که و من احسن دینا ممّن اسلم وجهه لله و آ ملک [...] و امین خدا خوی و بوحی در صورت بشریّت درآهی که صورت خدائی هستی و محمّد با سخن هوا.

191b

کلام وضع انسانی بتعلیم علّم بالقلم و فرع کلام آصلی که کتابت خدائی هستی که خدا بدست خود کتابت بکی پس اَ خطّ آصلی کلام بو بنسبته کتابت دست انسانی و این دست فرع آ دستی.

192b

یک ذات قدیمی که ذو القوّة المتین که مجموع موجودات را بسبب کلمهٔ کن در صورت عدل وراستی بداشتی از براء علم خود و ظهور خود و ظهور قدر و توانائی و عظمت و جلال خود.

192b–193a

از عنصر طبایع بجهت پذیر رفتن شکل و صورت که آن شکل و صورت اعلام کلمه الله گردد نار است که ابعدست و خاک است که اقربست بجهت آن نار ابعد است از باد و آب و خاک که از روی لطافت الطف است بجهت آن گفت که انا خیر منه حضرت احدیّت قابلیّت شکل و صورت خاک را داد که مظهر اعلام کلمة الله گردد [...] و اصحاب النّار که گویند ان افیضوا علینا من الماء آنها باشند که ایشانرا قابلیّت شکل و صورت نبوده است و نباشد و نبود چنانکه شیطان که میگوید خلقتنی من نار پس آنها که درین عالم محسوس شکل بشریّة دارند امّا ره باعلام کلمه نمی برند که انسان از انجا که انسان است از شیطان باشد که آصل شیطان از نار است و اهل نار باشد لا جرم دران عالم عذاب ایشان بنار باشد یا بآب که حمیم باشد از نار.

193a

حضرت احدیّت قابلیّت شکل و صورت خاک را داد که مظهر اعلام کلمة الله گردد و به تبعیّت خاک اجرام باد و نار و ماء را در مثال اعلام کلمة الله در آورد.

193b
سلیمان هدهد یا واتی نامهٔ منه ببر و بر تخت بلقیس بنداژ معنی ا کامه بین که منن کتابت از هدهد و خوین سر و خلقت دکیرند [=معنی آن خواهد بودن که کتاب مرا از هدهد و سر و خلقت او درگیرند] که خداوند نامهٔ سلیمان هدهدی و اژو کو به بلقیس

194a
و تغشی وجوههم النّار بسبب اَ در عالم ارواح انبیا مشاهده کرده اند که رویهاء جمعی را آتش پوشانیده بود که شیطان که خلقت خو از آتش سر بمثال 32 کلمه که در چهرهٔ آدمی هستی و قابلیّت اَ عالم خاک داشتی قبول نکی پس آتش چهرهٔ خو واجب بو که دره عالم بپوشنه و در صورت حیوان و جماد و نبات براء اَ کامه آهین دره عالم که درین کو صورت بشریّت خو آتش بپوشانی.

195a
همه اسما 32 کلمهٔ خدائی هستی که عبارت از الفی و بی و غیرهما و عبارت از مسمّاء آ و ب و غیره 32 کلمه که اسم 32 آ و ب هستی عین خنانی تا معلوم ببو که اسما عین مسمّا بی تا چون از مفردات معلوم بکری در مرکّبات همازن بزانی ذات خدا را و بزانی که الله عین مسمّا هستی.

196b
و اَ حقیقت که در آدم تجلّی کی که علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها بی در هر نبیّ که متابعت خو کین بو همان تجلّی کی بو و اوی که در حدیث آهی که اَ نور که درو آدم تجلّی کی از آباء و اجداد نقل کی بتقلید و بتحقیق در محمّد تجلّی کی و در هر که تجلّی بکره حقیقت آدم.

199a
چون شکل انسانه خدا علم کلمه بکی خویشتن کلمهٔ کن نه در مظهر دیر براء اَ اَ کلمه بر خویشتن عاشق و واله بیبو و در صورت معشوق عاشق بیبو چون صورت معشوقهٔ خواز مو و چشم و ابرو و غمزه و قدّ و لب و دندان و دهان هریک بعلم کلمه مخلوق بی و قائم مقام کلمه هستی در مظهر عاشق کلمه دیمیاسه و بر خو و خویشتن عاشق بیبو و در صورت معشوق اَ حرکت غمزه جین [=زدن] بچشم و ابرو و حرکت کین و سخن واتن و شیوه کین و شمائل و خرامیدن تا کلمه در وجود خو اَ حکم نبیکره اَ خرامیدن و غمزه جین و شوخی و رعنائی و نازکی و لطافت ظاهر نیبو که دل عاشق ببره.

199a
خنان هریک از روی خلقت خداوند هفت بند که مو و چشم و ابرو هستی در یوسف که خداوند همین هفت بی بر هفت موضع عاشق ببند امّا ا که واتی و لقد همّت به و همّ بها بر همدیگر عاشق ببند چون میل طبیعت شد یوسف واتی انّ النّفس لامّارة بالسّوء واجب السّجن یعنی حبس و ترک هوا تا شیطان نفس در میان نبو محبّت خدائی بو.

199b
بحکم فالهمها فجورها و تقواها چه از قبل نفس خود و چه از قبل خدا بالهام وضع بکی براء علم کلمه و کلام ممکن نی که از شکل و کتابت خدائی که در کائنات بکی براء علم کلمه و کلام خالی بو و کلمه و کلام که در مظهر انسانی نقش و صورت خطوط مختلفه هینو بخلاف اَ علم که خدا براء کلمه و کلام در کائنات بکی علم نیشه نان [=نمیتواند نهادن].

201b

مادّهٔ اَ خطّ ظاهر آب تیره هستی مادّهٔ خطّ که خو نقش هیبنده هم آبی که نطفه کامه بین و من الماء کلّ شیء حیّ اَ آب که عرش بر خوی و از شناخت خو همه را حیات ظاهر ببو چون از میان مخلوقات علم تامّ و الفاظ و کلمات تامّه خو داره مظهر خدائی.

202a–b

قال الله تعلی فی کتابه انّی اری فی المنام انّی اذبحک [...] حقّ تعالی ببخشی و واتی که فدیناه یعنی بعوض خو ابراهیم گوسفندی بکشه یا حیوانی دیر [...] ابراهیم سنّتی که هر کس که به حجّ بشود شون خو به حجّ واجب بو حیوانی بعوض نفس خویشتن بکشه.

203b

هرگاه که بسرّ خلقت خویشتن برسند و بر صراط مستقیم بگذرند بجنّت برسند که عرضها السّماوات و الارض اعدّت للمتّقین و بکلمهٔ طیّبة کشجرة طیّبة راه یاوند بعالم مثال و نفوس مجرّده و اشکال ازلی و ابدی فرح بخش که بر شکل صراط مستقیم باشند و اصل بیند و از دوزخ خلاص یابند و اگر بر صراط مستقیم نرسند و متابعت شیطان که سجدهٔ آدم نکرد بکرند در دوزخ جاوید بمانند.

205b

اگر هیزانی که واتی که حضرده هی بار هفتده [رکعة] و هیبار پانزده بگذارند تا 32 بو و وضوء بسازند نظر بر طاعت تامّ بی و بر خلقت که از وضوء معلوم بی بو و براء اَ که هر کسی که مسلمان ببو و از کفر رو بکرداند خو بآن صلوت قیام کو نمودن نه بلغت زبان خویشتن که گاه بو که خوین زوان همازن که مغول از بیشتر و کمتری کمتر بو یا هندی یا عجمی که ناقصی چون بخلقت تامّ در وجود آهی عبادت بخلقت تامّ بکره تا آدمی بو که آدمه خدا بصورت خود آفرید و آخر که در بهشت دشو بر قدّ و شکل خو بو بر عدد اسماء خو عمل کیبو.

206a–b

اقرأ باسم ربّک حم و الف لام میم و غیره اسم اند بدلیلی اَ که علی واتی یا کاف هی یی عین صاد اعوذ بک و یا حم عسق اعوذ بک مکتوب فی تفسیر الکبیر بجهت اَ حروف مفرده را که الف و لام و میم و غیر هست اسم خود کردانید که اسماء الله ایشانند تا چون بآن اسم حضرت عزّت را خوانی بهمه خوانده باشی که مرکّب ازیشان شده باشد که یوم یأتی تأویله [...] و واتی که علی بتأویل جنگ کامه کین یعنی چون تأویل بعلی بیاسه یعنی بفرزند خو.

206b

بی تصوّر لفظ تصوّر معنی ممکن نیست و حضرت عزّت غیر محسوس است اگر تصوّر لفظ نبی کامل نکند ره بحضرت عزّت نبرد بی استماع لفظ در مکاشفه از حضرت عزّت و از ملائکه درک کردن ذات و صفات حضرت احدیّت ممکن نیست.

206b–207a

سیاهی حروف قرآن علامت کلام آلهی است [...] اَ علامت کتابت انسانی که تعلّق کیره بکتابت خدا که عرشی [...] ابتداء خلقت بدن انسانی و هیئات انسانی از کلام هستی و لقد جئناهم بکتاب فصّلناه علی علم هدی و رحمة لقوم یؤمنون رحمت حال است از کتاب و رحمتی ای کتابی وسعت کلّ شیء فسأکتبها.

208b–209a

سدرة المنتهی براء اَ واتی که بوجهی کلمة طیّبة کشجرة طیّبة هستی و منتها براء اَ واتی که منتهاء کلام 32 کلمه هستی و بوجهی مثال صورت بشریّتی و بآ معنی سدرة المنتهی هستی صورت 32 که خوین علم 32 کلمه در خو ظاهر ببی و علم 32 کلمه صورت بشریّت داره پس خو سدرة المنتهی بو.

209a

بدلیل انا کلام الله النّاطق آدم خداوند وجهی و علم تمامی که چهارده در سر آهی ازن که در کلام صامت چهارده بر سر آهی.

211a–b

چون از چهار ارکان خاکی که جزو بدن انسانی و صورت و پیکر از خو بی قابلیّت شکل انسان داشتی که جزو خاکی و قابلیّت علم 32 کلمه خو داشتی بخلاف آب و آتش و هوا.

211b–212a

دیم بخانهٔ گل دکرنه بآتش و نه بآو و نه به باد براء اکه قابلیّت علمیّت آن 28 کلمه چون خاک داشتی رو بخاک دینکو کین نه بآتش و نه بآب و نه بهوا.

213b

از شکم مادر انسان که عبارت از رجل است که بزایید هفت هفت با خود همراه داره و هفت دیگر که عبارت از محاسن است و غیره است در دنیی ظاهر میشود تا ظهور نصفی در بطن امّ بوده باشد و ظهور نصفی در دنیی که عالم ظاهرست تا دلالت کند که آن کس که مربّئ باطن است همازن است که مربّئ ظاهرست.

214a–b

باب ابراهیم قال الله تعالی و کذلک نری ابراهیم ملکوت السموات و الارض و لیکون من الموقنین یعنی هر کس که بملکوت آسمان و زمین نرسه از موقنان نبو چون ستاره و ماه و آفتاب بدی واتی که انان خدایند در آخر یعنی فرو رفتند و واتی که لا احبّ الآفلین پس واتی که انّی وجّهت وجهی للّذی فطر السّموات و الارض [...] وجه خو مقابل خو بداشتی.

215a

باب حجّ کعبه کعبه که دلالت هکره بر مثال نفس کامل و ا که موسی ساتی یعنی خیمهٔ میعاد هم دلیل برین ان پنجاه علامت صورت انسان کامل بو بجهت اَ خو بکعبهٔ خویشتن برسی و خو برسی که 32 علمی که علّم الانسان ما لم یعلم یعنی صورت خویشتن که منحصری در 32 پس بحقیقت من عرف نفسه خو خاصل بو.

217a–b

اینست بیان عشق و حسن که زلیخا عاشق ببی بر یوسف که [تمامی؟] مظهر کلمهٔ یوسف دی و یوسف با معنی که مظهر کلمه بی که رأیت احد عشر کوکبا که خو چهاردهم بی و خو سجده کیند ماه و آفتاب براء اَ که خو که یوسفی از ماه و آفتاب غالبی براء اَ سجدهٔ خو کیند و ا بی که مثال علم کلمه در خو و وجه خو ظاهر بی واژه و ربّ قد آتیتنی من الملک و علّمتنی من تأویل الاحادیث [...] کمال زلیخا دره هستی که میل کره بیوسف براء اَ که یوسف مظهر علم تامّی.

218b

باب وضع شکل الف و یاء و تاء واضع بجهت آن کرد که تا آن شکل علم آن کلمهٔ الف و یاء و تاء باشد حضرت عزّت نیز وضع شکل انسانی بجهت آن کرد تا علم 32 کلمهٔ خو بو براء اَ منحصر کی در شکل 32.

220a–221a

مجموع صد و چهارده سوره بوجهی و چهارده کلمه بر سر آمده است بوجهی بجهت این چهارده بر سر است بر وجه و در وقتی که قرآن ممثّل شود بر روی رجل در قیامت [...] و قرآن در حدیث آهی که خدا بصورت رجل در قیامت ممثّل کرداند و لا تحرّک به لسانک هم ازین است [...] و رسول عم گفت که قرآن در قیامت در صورت رجل درآید و تمامئ قرآنرا بر عدد بیست و نه کلمه نهاد و بیست و نه کلمه حقیقی و کتابت خدائی وجه آدمی و در وقت ممثّل شدن قرآن بصورت رجل در قیامت معلوم شود.

221b–222a

آنکه خدا باحسن صورت خوشتنه برسول نمود ازان جهت بود که صورت خود را صورت خدا و صورت آدم دانه و بزانه که ذات خدا چرا باین صورت برآمد [...] که هرگاه که صورت خود را و وجه خود را بزانی وجه مرا و مرا بدانی که من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه براء آنکه بر وجه خود 32 کلمه نوشته ام که کلام منست باشارت و تو کلام منی و کتاب منی [...] آن زمان که صورت مرا بخوانی که کتب علی نفسه الرّحمة مرا بشناسی و الاّ نشناسی [...] آدم باین معنی که صورت من دارد خلیفهٔ من است که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورة الرّحمن بحقیقت آن صورت آدم صورت منست [...] صورت خود را بدان تا صورت مرا بدانی و همه اشیا و موجودات در صورت من محوست و همه اشیا و مخلوقات و انجم و افلاک [...] سیر در صورت من دارند و هر یکی را چون بخلقت برسی نموداری از بعض صورت من اند [...] و آن صورترا بآدم دادم و درو پوشانیدم.

225b

بعضی در کتب مشایخ کبار بیان این آیه چنان کرده اند که سنریهم آیاتنا فی الآفاق و فی انفسهم یعنی هر چه در آفاق هست مثال آن در انفس موجودست مثلا قوّة محمّدی و قوّت ابو جهل و قوّت موسوی و قوّت فرعونی و قوّت عیسی و قوّت دجّال هرگاه که صفات عیسی عم که روح الله است غلبه کرد بر نفس گفته اند که بر دجّال غالب شد این توجیه اهل باطن است / قال عم لا یدخل المدینة رعب المسیح الدجّال لهم یومئذ سبعة ابواب علی کلّ باب ملکان گویند اهل باطن چهارده قوّت ملکی چون در وجود ظاهر شود دجّال نفس را در آنجا ره نباشد و خارج آن تابع نفس باشد مراد مبالغه گفته اند که رسول عم فرمود که هر کس که سه آیه از اوّل سورهٔ کهف بخواند از شرّ دجّال خلاص یابد [قال علیه السّلام من قرأ ثلث آیات من اوّل الکهف عصم من فتنة الدّجال – صحّ من المصابیح] چه دجّال نفس و چه دجّال آخر زمان پس بقرآن از دجّال صوری و معنوی خلاص توان یافت بارادت الله.

228a–b

اَ که واتند که بواسطهٔ اسم اعظم که بر نکین سلیمان بی همه دیو و جنّ و انس مسخّر خو بی و اَ اسم اعظم خدا بی لا شکّ که آن اسم اعظم مرکّب ازین اصل کلام بیبو و اَ که واتند که هر که اسم اعظم خداوه بزانه و خواص حروف را بزانه همه اشیا مسخّر خو ببو راستی اژ را

بزانه که همه اشیا قائم به حروفند و همه مسخّر علم انکس شوند و اگر نه بخلاف خروف و دانستن این حروف همه اشیا مسخّر کسی نیست.

228b

انّه من سلیمان و انّه بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحیم الاّ تعلوا علیّ القوة که من خوین نام بلقیس که صورت آدم داره تسلیم سلیمان ببین کو بین که بر خطّ وجه نامهٔ آلهی دارد قال الّذی عنده علم من الکتاب انا اتیک بر عرش تا علم کتابت نبو نیتان اوی.

232a

بحث در باب نبوّت و ولایت آری محقّقان که راسخان علم اند بر آنند که ولایت نبیّ بر نبوّت نبیّ غالب است که بحکم لی مع الله وقت لا یسعّنی فیه ملک مقرّب و لا نبیّ مرسل.

232b

قال امیر المؤمنین کرّم الله وجهه جمیع اسرار الله تعالی فی الکتب السّماویّة و جمیع ما فی الکتب السّماویّة فی القرآن و جمیع ما فی القرآن فی فاتحة الکتاب و جمیع ما فی فاتحة الکتاب فی بسم الله و جمیع ما فی بسم الله فی باء بسم الله و جمیع ما فی باء بسم الله فی نقطة تحت الباء و انا نقطة تحت الباء چون واتی که انا نقطة بحت الباء هر که نقطه را بزانه علی را بزانه هر که قرآن و نقطه را بداند امام زمانرا دانسته بوینه / انّی جاعلک للنّاس اماما و اجعلنا للمتّقین اماما و امامت حقیقی نیست الاّ در صلوت پس پیش خو نقطهٔ بـ ٔ بسم الله معنی داره که هیئات حرف بـ نداره و براء ا که پنجه و هی هکره پس خو در شب و روز بعدد همه اسرار الله و کتب سماوی عمل کی بو و خو اجر همه حاصل بو و بحکم انا نقطة تحت الباء بعدد خویشتن کیبو بجهت آ همه که خو نقطهٔ خطّ حقیقی خدائی هستی و آن نقطهٔ ظاهر قائم مقام آ نقطهٔ کتابت خدائی هستی.

233b

مثلا 32 کلمهٔ آلهی را [...] اوّل هر یک هی نقطه بو [...] زیاده از هی نقطه براء تمیز بو / مثلا نطفه از پشت پیر در رحم رفت خو در ذات خویشتن شکل و صورت و پیکر بالفعل نبی هرگاه که در رحم قرار گرفت اگر مرد خواهد بود و اگر زن بشکل امّ با هفت کتابت آلهی شکل امّ گرفته از بطن امّ ظاهر ببی و در وجود آهی.

233b

خطّ و کتابت خدائی از خلقت صوری امّ معلوم بکره و بخوان و از امّ بخلقت محاسن آدم بشو و از خنان که امّ و اب اند بکتابت همه اشیا بشو / همازن که نویسنده و خوانندهٔ مکتوب از جای دور بنویسنده و خوانندهٔ آن خطّ بنویسند و چون آن مکتوب بآن کس برسه در مکتوب نظر کند آن مکتوب با خو در سخن خواهد آمدن و سخن میگوید و هرگاه که آنکس از امّ الکتاب خطّ خدائی بخواند و ازانجا بکتابت اشیا برود و بخواند سرّ انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء برو ظاهر گردد و خوانندهٔ خطّ و کتابت آلهی شود.

233b–234a

همازن که 32 همه یک نور بو و یک نقطه نیز که علم کلمه بو یکی بو / زیاده از هی نقطه براء تمیز بو [...] چون هرچه در بسم الله بو در بیٔ بسم الله بو و هرچه در بیٔ بسم الله بو در نقطهٔ بیٔ بسم الله بو و خو اَ نقطه بو پس خو اسم الله بو.

235a
براء اوی که فلک بسیصد و شصت قسمت ببی که 32 و بیست و هشتی و سیّارات همازن و خنان بحقیقت انسانند که خداوند 32 کلمه هستند هر نکبتی و زحمتی و احتراقی که بخنان برسی بانسان بیرسه و اژه کو بنبات و حیوان و جماد بشو که نبات و جماد همه عین خنانی تا دلالة کره که نبات و جماد و انسان و حیوان و خرابی و آبادانی از درجات و کواکبی که 28 و 32 هستی و همه اشیا از فلکیّات همه بقسمت 28 و 32 ببی و اشیا چهار طبایع همازن درجه و دقیقه و ثانیه و ثالثه علی هذا شصت شصت شصت بدی تا گاهی 28 بو و گاهی 32 براء آ که خلقت انسان ازنی گاهی 28 و گاهی 32.

236a
همازن که در مفردات کلام که میخوانی چنانکه جمعسق در ازاء معنئ موضوع نیست باصطلاح خلق اَ کلمات که از اشیا و جماد و نبات و حیوانی بدر همیاسه موضوع در ازاء معنی نیست بمثابتی مرکّباتی وقتی که در عالم خواب هستی از مظهر خنان مرکّب ظاهرا بیبو در ازاء معنئ که بیننده فهم کند.

236b in margin
پیش از خلقت آدم و دبدبهٔ ظهور آدم همه جانّ بند و از نار بند اوّل مفردات کلمات آلهی بحکم علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها در آدم تجلّی که ابو البشری و مسجود ملائکه بی بعد ازان در وجود خاتم همان مفردات تجلّی کی که ختم بی آ مبداء و ان معاد و در مظهر صاحب تأویل همازن بند که آهند و خوشتنه ظاهر بکند و کار تمام ببی / تا خدا بی انسان و صورت انسان بی چرا بر آدم ابتداء کی و آخر بخاتم و صاحب تأویل که هر سه یکند و پیش از سجود ملائکه همه را جانّ و جنّ خواند براء آنکه علّت غائی و چرخ فلک بر گرد خاک غرض آدم و این ظهور بی.

238a
آن زمان که اَ حوری سبع مثانی که کتابت آلهی خوی کلمهٔ باطن او اَ چشم و ابروی خو در حرکت همیاره و هوا الّا تکلّم [...] الّا رمزا و رمز سخن واتن بچشم و ابرو و بدو نوع یکی بنوعی کتابت خدائی و یکی باز کلمهٔ باطن اَ ترکیب سبع مثانی خداییه در حرکت اوین شکل و شیوه و شمایل بره حسن همدیر عاشق بند و میل کینید که از امّ ظاهر بآ حسن زاده بودند که سبع مثانی خدائی است و در بهشت بران کتابت و خطّ و حسن خواهد بود در وجه یوسف زلیخا سبع مثانی بدی حقیقت و صورت خوشتنه بدی و یوسف در زلیخا حسن خوشتنه بدی براء اَ میل بکی و خوا واتی که و لقد همّت به و همّ بها و اَ میل ذاتی بی که البتّه بحقیقت جنس و حسن خویشتن میل کی و میل بحورا و ولدان و غلمان در بهشت ازینجهت هستی.

240a
چرا مکّه را ابو القری نگفت جواب اوی که حوّا را از انجا آفرید در مرتبهٔ ثانی و خلقت انسانی ازو ظاهر است چه از آدم بحکم شکل سبع مثانی و دوم نطفه که از آدم خروج کرد کمال شکل انسانی در حوّا یافت بجهت آن امّ القری خواند.

243a
از هر شیء از اشیا اسمی داره که آ کلمه که بالقوّه در خو هستی چون بالفعل ظاهر ببو بحقیقت اَ چیزی [...] و از لوح محفوظ ظاهر بخوان که علم اَ چیزی که ظاهر هیبو از خو.

245a–b

علی واتی در باب حجر الاسود و عهد نامهٔ فرزندان آدم اژه کو ظاهر ببین و بودیعت پیش آن حجر نهادند و امام از کعبه ظاهر بین که امّ القری ست و امّ همه ارض است پس لازم بو که امام اَ بو که از آصل ظاهر ببو [...] الّذین یتبعون الرّسول النّبی الامّی.

246b

فائدهٔ اختلاف زبانها چرا هستی اژ را هستی که مثلا خدا را صاحب شریعت هو الله و رحمن و رحیم تا 28 بخو بکردی یعنی خوانی که بزبان درآهی مثلا یک هوا اسب و دیگر فرس و دیگر آت اندی باژند که 32 در خو بکرده براء اَ که 32 هستی و توحید که ظاهر ببو نیشی واتن در یک زمان که تو اسبه هم اسب باژ و هم آت باژ و هم فرس باژ و براء هر اسمی اژرا کو بندی واتن واین میسّر نبندی و باز هیچ کدام از هم ممتاز نبندی.

246b–247a

در بهشت بر وجه آدم و حوّا و آدمی [...] بغیر از سیاههٔ هفت نکامه بین بر دیم پس آن سیاههٔ سواد اعظمی که بعدد چهار طبایع بیست و هشتی و بجهت اَ در بهشت که وقت استوا و خطّ استوا بو و اشرقة الارض بو هشتی که 32 بو.

247b

آدم از براء اَ خواندن کتابت آلهی و نامهٔ خدائی احتیاج بخلقت حوّا دارد که امّ و مقسم خطّ خدائی [...] و حوّا ازان جهت که بر وجه تمامیٔ کتابت نداره احتیاج داره بخلقت وجه.

248a–b

و اَ کتابت و اَ قرآن کتابت را کتاب خدائی هیخوانند مثلا قرآن ظاهرا از چهار طبیعت که خاک و باد و آب و آتش اَ کتابت خالی نیست و نمیتواند بود [...] و اَ بجهت آوی که کتابت خدائی که آدمی هستی ازین چهار خالی نیست.

249a–250a

سبحان الّذی اسری بعبده لیلا من المسجد الحرام الی المسجد الاقصی الّذی بارکنا حوله لنریه من آیاتنا [...] مسجد حرام و کعبه موضع و مقام سر آدمی و مسجد اقصی مقام ظهر و صدر آدم که یکی مقام نسل است که اذ أخذ ربّک من بنی آدم من ظهورهم ذریّتهم و یک مقام علم و معرفت که صدرست ازان آدم که و الله علیم بذات الصّدور بل هو آیات بیّنات فی صدور الّذین اوتوا العلم / و موسی فرمود ربّ اشرح لی صدری و یسرّ لی امری [...] چون از مقام سر آدم بسینه خواست رسیدن در شب عروج دید که ملک آمد و سینهٔ او را بشکافت و از آنچه بود از غبار پاک کرد که بیت المقدس عبارتست از خانهٔ پاک که خانهٔ خداست و مقام خیمهٔ میعاد است و آصل خلقت آدم است.

251b

سینهٔ خو (آدم) مظهر علم خدا بی و ظهر خو مظهر انبیا بی رو دره کو کیند انبیا بتخصیص موسی و توریت و الواح که عشر آیات و مثال وجه دره کو بنهی تا آنکسی که سجده هکره بالتزام سجود همه انبیا و آدم کی بو.

251b–252a

خدا موسی را امر کرده باشد که رو در موضعی کره که مقام دل آدم بو و پیش از موسی ابراهیم را واتی که رو بکعبه هاکر که مقام سر و جبهه و وجهی بجهت آن علم و کتابت خدائی را در وجه معلوم بتیان کین و عشر آیات و لوح قائم مقام اَ خطّ و وجهی و اژ وجه خطّ

و کتابت خدا معلوم بیبو نه از صدر و ظهر بحهت آن محمّدیا خدا واتی که دیم بطرف کعبه کرد که وجه آدمی و بجهت اَ خدا واتی و من احسن دینا ممّن اسلم وجهه للّه و هو محسن و اتّبع ملّة ابراهیم حنیفا که کتابت خدائی بر وجهی نه صدر و ظهر و در توریت آهی که واتی موسی با خدا که هیخوازان که وجه ترا بوینان واتی تو ظهر منه بوینی که مقام صدر و ظهر خو بیت المقدس بی.

256a–b

آدم اسم اعظمی انا الله و انا الرّحمن خلقت الرّحم و شققت لها من اسمی [...] الرّحم معلّقة بالعرش تقول من وصلنی وصله الله و من قطعنی قطعه الله [...] الحدیث بوجهی حوّا رحمتی بجهت اَ که امّی و خدا خوازه فی صورة امرد قطط پس علّت غائی اَ شکل شکل خدائی بو و حوّا اژه کو منشق ببی و خو رحمتی و زهدانی همه علمی تعلّق بعرش خدا داره که آدمی که هر که بخو پیوستی که خدا خویشتنه با شکل هنما که رأیت ربّی فی احسن صورت [...] قطط [...] و حوّا اسم رحمت رحمانی و رحم را ازو منشق کرد.

257a

هر حیات دار مباح را که میباید خوارد و میتوان خوارد و در کعبه کرده یا در بیت المقدس انبیا میکشند باسم الله اکبر که ملائکه انکار آدم یسفک دما کرند و بخورند تا شکل و صورت انسانی گردد و هر کس که در بهشت رود بشکل و صورت انسان باشد.

258a–b

در صور مخلوقات از روی خلقت و جبلّت نظر کن و بوین که چون نقطهٔ خاک در جوف آب است و آب در جوف هوا و هوا در جوف فلک و فلک در جوف فلک علی هذا و قاعدهٔ سلاطین و خزّانست که جوهر که در خزینه ازان نفیس تر نباشد و در صندوقی نهند و آن صندوق در صندوق و آن صندوق در صندوق علی هذا تا صندوق بلا نهایت از جهت شرف و جلالت و کمال آن جوهر و آن جوهر جوهر خاک بود که هرچند کثیف تر بجهت ظهور و قابلیّت لطیف تر و آن جوهر جوهر خاک و باز ازان خاک مراد الله صورت خلیفه و آدم بود که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و بذات و بطبع از روی خلقت از ازل تا ابد موجودات و مخلوقات اجرام سموات رو در عالم نقطهٔ خاک دارند و طواف بر گرد نقطهٔ خاک می کنند و یک زمان و یک لحظه ازین طوف و ازین کار غافل نیستند و نخواهند بود با ملائکه که سکّان سمواتند و ارواح کرّوبیان و انبیا و اولیا که در سموات.

258b

آسمان و اجرام سموات باسکّان آسمان که عبارتند از ملائکه کرّوبیان از ازل بر گرد نقطهٔ خاک بر شکل رکوع و سجود در طواف اند و بوده اند و تا ابد آباد خواهند بود و از روی خلقت چنین بوده اند و رو در نقطهٔ خاک کرده اند که آصل آدم است [...] و فیض ایشان از ازل آزال تا ابد بنقطهٔ خاک متواتر و متعاقب میرسد بجهت آن تا خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته ظاهر شود.

261b

یوم ندعو کلّ اناس بامامهم ای بامّهاتهم و بآن که کلمات آلهی و سبع مثانی خدایند همه اشیا که حرکت میکنند عاشق آن شکل و صورت امّ اند و از امّ از روی خلقت هر یک چیزی دارند و سعی و کوشیش می کنند که بصورت امّ برآیند بعضی می آیند و بعضی بسر میگردند و

تربیّت می کنند و بآن مقام نمیرسند و نخواهند رسید و درین عشق و محبّت سر گردانند و خواهند بود ابدا.

262a

نطفه در پشت آدم بمثابت دوده و سیاهی بو که از دوات پشت بخلقت قلم ذکر بیاسه و در شکم امّ صورت امّ و تقسیم خطّ خدائی پیدا کره هر کس که از امّ درو وجود آسه اگر مردی اگر جن بصورت امّ در وجود بیاسه اوّل و در آخر در بهشت بصورت امّ کامه بین اگر حوری اگر غلمان و اگر بهشتی باشد بجهت آنکه بر خلقت امّ رسانید اوّل و در آخر در بهشت بصورت امّ کامه بین [...] بجهت آنکه بر خلقت امّ رسانید و اگر نه بر صورت امّ نبند از اهل بهشت نکامه بین.

263b

أتجعل فیها من یفسد فیها و یسفک الدّماء یعنی تغیر خلقت تو کره که کشتن و فساد است نزانیند که براء ا سفک دماء کرند تا بصورت خدائی که آدم داره ره ببرند و قتل بکسی که ره بره بآدم بصورت آدم و صورت خو حرامی و سفک دماء حیوان بآ هیکره که سر از صورت خدائی برآرد انّی اعلم ما لا تعلمون.

264a–b

هیچ اهل بهشت که امرد کامه بین کمتر از یک حورا نکامه بین که زوّجناهم بحور عین چون اَ امرد بآن یک حورا جمع ببو آن امرد خداوند سبع مثانی بو از روی خلقت و کتابت خدا و چون بر خطّ استواء خلقت خدائی بگذرند 32 ظاهر ببو که الرّحمن علی العرش استوی [...] یوسف در غایت حسن جمال بی و خداوند سبع مثانی بی و زلیخا در حدّ جمال بی بحکم و لقد همّت به و همّ بها و خداوند سبع مثانی پس همازن که سبع مثانی هستی شناسندهٔ سبع مثانی به سبع مثانی میل کی.

265a

اسم ذات حقّ تعالی 32 هستی که همه اسما اژ خو مرکّبی و اَ از ذات خدا جوا نی پیش اژه خدا بحکم علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها آدمه تعلیم اسما کره علم اسما همه اشیا در ذاب خو بیبو و خو اَ صورت مسمّیات را بآن اسم خوانده بو.

265a–b

وقتی که رسول را از همه آسمانها در بسته بحکم خود بگذرانید [...] بدرخت منتهی رسید [...] خویشتن خداء تعالی بصورت امرد که عبارت از صورت امّی بر خو عرضه کی که امّ الکتابی [...] و خدا بآ صورت برآهی با اعداد نماژ فریضه بکی که صورت خدائی بی.

266a

حوّا و آدم در بهشت هر دو را صورت امرد باشد بلکه آدم بصورت حوّا باشد [...] و از روی خلقت و ظهور هر مرد که در وجود می آید از امّ بصورت امّ می آید یعنی علمیّت امّ بر وجه او ظاهر هستی نه علمیّت آب.

266a–b

انّ الجنّة تحت الاقدام الامّهات بوجهی مادر ظاهر کامه بین که از خلقت خو خلقت وجه مرد معلوم بی بو و 32 کلمهٔ خطّ خدائی راه میتوان یافت / و در بهشت واتی که هر کس که در بهشت دشو [...] امرد باشند بجهت آنکه بخلقت امّ رسیده بود [...] و حوریان همه بر

نهج خلقت امّ اند و در شب معراج حضرت احدیّت را رسول که مشاهده کی فی صورت امرد قطط بر خلقت امّ دی که امّ الکتابی که اگر خلقت وجه امّ نبندی 32 کلمهٔ خدائی بر وجه انسان خواندن مشکل ببندی لا جرم خدا خوشتنه در صورت امرد بنموی رأیت ربّی فی صورة امرد قطط واتی و در احسن صورت واتی معلوم است که احسن صورت صورت امرد است که بر خلقت امّ است چنانکه در شب معراج برسول سرّ صلوت منکشف شد که سرّ سبع مثانی است خو خدا بهمان صورت امردی و امّی برو عرضه کرد.

266b

چون رسول بحکم کلمة طیّبة کشجرة طیّبة بسدرة المنتهی برسی در آسمان هشتم و کلمهٔ منتها 32 هستی [...] اوّل آدمه دی و آخر بسدرة المنتهی و بعد اژه بعدد کلّها بیاهی.

267a

همه اشیا سه عالمه یکی عالم تصوّر بکر بخلاف انسان همو مظهر کلمه و کلام از روی خطّ استواء خلقت ببین و انسانه مظهر چه در همه هستی بوین چه از روی بالفعل و بالقوّة و چه از روی علمیّت [...] هر چه در آسمان موجودی از مظهریّت و علمیّت در یک انسان که ما فرّطنا فی الکتاب من شیء و کلّ شیء احصیناه فی امام مبین [...] همه کائنات و اشیا بلا نهایت هی انسان بو براء ا که همه اشیا که عین خو هوینی اجزاء و حواشئ خو بند.

269b

و از خلقت خنان که امّی بیند همازن که مسیح مریم یعنی امّی بخلقت همه اشیا بشو ظاهر و باطن و بخیال و تصوّر و هم را کتابت و کلمهٔ خدا بوین و موحّد شو و براء اَ که آنکه کتاب کیا و لوح محفوظ آلهی شکل خنان کامه بین و هستئ همه اشیا را دریشان طلب کن و کتابت همه اشیا ازیشان بخوان براء آوی ستاره و ماه گاه بو درخت و آو و زمین و درّ و مروارید و هرچه ممکن باشد در خواب می بینی تأویل بانسان دارد.

270b

قصّهٔ یوسف را احسن القصص خواند براء ا که واتی علّمتنی من تأویل الاحادیث و علم حدیث که کلمه هستی وجه یوسف و زلیخا بی و احسن خطوط آلهی که فی احسن تقویم و هر یک صاحب سبع مثانی چه یوسف و چه زلیخا.

271a

بدانکه خدا تعالی را صفات است جسمانی و فعلی که در قرآن و اخبار آمده است چون نفس و وجه و عین و ید و اصبع و صورت [...] و نزول بآسمان دنیی و استوا بر عرش و این مثال هر چه در قرآن و سنّت آمده است و بنقل ثقات از رسول عم درست شده است ایمان بهمه آوردن واجب است و اعتقاد کردن که این همه صفات خداست بی تشبیه و تمثیل و تأویل اَ بخدای تعالی باز گذاشتن.

272b–273a

خدا فرمود الرحمن علی العرش استوی از عرش آدم را خواست [...] عرش وجود آدم است که استوا کلمهٔ آلهی بر خلقت وجه او ظاهر شد و حوّا کرسئ او باشد که هفت سطر هیئات کرسی دارد نسبت با عرش تمامئ وجه است.

273b

از خلقت امّ و وجه آدم و خطّ استوا برو بهمه اشیا و آسمانها که همه یک وجود آدم اند و ازین رو کرسی و عرش خدا اند.

274a–b

همه اشیا و ملک و فلک و نبات و جماد و طبایع و موجودات روی در عالم خاک و بشریّت دارند و عاشق اویند و گرد مرکز خاک در طوافند [...] و میخواهند که بصورت تامّ آدم که بعلم 32 کلمهٔ آلهی برآمده است و مظهر شده است برآیند و بجهت این معنی جمیع اشیا دائم در حرکتند و این معنی بصورت هیچ موجودی را میسّر نیست الّا عالم خاک را [...] و در آسمانها بالقوّة این شکل هست همچنانکه در سیصد و شصت درجه و دقیقه گفته شده است و از تقسیم فلک البروج تقسیم همه افلاک که طوله ستّون ذراعا فی السّماء امّا انچه بالقوّة افلاک را این صورت آدم حاصل است بالفعل در عالم خاک و آب و باد و آتش بنمود.

274b

جمیع اشیا وجود یک آدم باشد و از خطّ استواء آدم بخطّ استواء همه اشیا برو و کلمهٔ خدائی را که آدم مظهر است بخوان چنانکه از روی اسمیّت 32 کلمه بهمه اشیا رسیده است از روی ظهور در همه اشیا تجلّی کرده است و همه اشیا بالفعل و بالقوّة مظهر اوست که آدم است بجهت آن فرمود انّی جاعل فی الارض خلیفة که خلیفه قائم مقام باشد و علی صورة الرّحمن [...] و همه اشیا بحقیقت اوست و آینه و مرآت خدا و همه اشیا باین معنی شده است پس سدرة المنتهی او باشد و بیت المعمور که در ازاء کعبه در آسمان است.

275a

و آنکه الواح که خدا بموسی داد و موسی آن الواح را بشکست بوجهی قسمت وجه انسان است که تا بر خطّ استوا منشق نگردد و مکسور نشود علامت 32 کلمهٔ آلهی ظاهر نگردد پس کسر آن از غایت کمال باشد نه از نقصان.

276a–b

عرش خداء تعالی آدم است که [...] مخلوق شده است بصورت رحمان که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورة الرّحمن پس او عرش آله باشد و کلام قدیم را مظهر و علم استواء 28 و 32 کلمه از لوح وجه او واضع و لایح که کلّ شیء هالک الّا وجهه که بغیر از وجه آدم هیچ مخلوقی را این علمیّت کلمهٔ آلهی بروجه ظاهر نیست [...] و ازین استواء حضرت و کلام او بر عرش و استوا بر جمیع اشیا فی المثل چنان باشد که پاذشاهی بر تخت نشسته بر جمیع امر و انواب ظاهر کرد اگرچه در همه اشیا حضرت عزّت تجلّی کرده است و 32 کلمهٔ او تجلّی کرده امّا بر نهج ظهور و کتابت چنانکه بر وجه آدم که عرش اوست استوا یافت در مقام دیگر نیافت بسبب این معنی فرمود رأیت ربّی لیلة المعراج فی صورة امرد قطط و فی احسن صورة که آدم در احسن تقویم است بجهت آنکه مظهر 32 کلمهٔ ازلی ابدی شد از راه زبان و چه از روی خلقت و سنّ او و پیشانی و اعضاء و جنب او علم کلمهٔ تامّ آلهی شد ازین جهت که آدم عرش خداست و الرّحمن علی العرش استوی.

277a–b

اگر سائل سؤآل کند که سبب چیست که حضرت آلهی بتفصیل عدد رکعاترا که تو گفتی نگفت جواب آنست که بحکم انّا زیّنا السّماء الدّنیا که آدم را در ان سماء دینی دید بزینة الکواکب و حفظناها من کلّ شیطان رجیم الّا من استرق السّمع فاتبعه شهاب مبین معلوم میشود که بالهامات شیطانی و تخیّلات نفسانی عبور بر سموات نتوان کرد و بسرّ فاوحی الی عبده ما اوحی و بسرّ آنکه صلوت چرا در اوّل پنجاه بود وجه حکمت آن چه بود و از چه حکمت به هفتده و پانزده و یازده آمد و چرا روی ببیت المقدس یا کعبه باید کرد چنانکه گفته شده است

نتوان رسید مگر بالهامات آلهی و واردات غیبی حضرت عزّت بجهت آن تصریح نکرد و نگفت تا آنکسی که خدا گفت یقول الّذین کفروا لست مرسلا قل کفی باللّه شهیدا بینی و بینکم و من عنده علم الکتاب و کذلک جعلناکم امّة وسطا لتکونوا شهداء علی النّاس و یکون الرّسول علیکم شهیدا چون گواهی بدهد بدانند که آن گواهی بتقلید نیست و ازان علم است که فرمود اعددت لعادی الصّالحین ما لا عین رأت و لا اذن سمعت و لا خطر علی قلب بشر.

277b–278a

رحم زهدانست و مراد ازو خلقت وجه خواست که معلّقة بالعرش از روی خلقت و مراد از عرش آدم است بر نهجی که گفته شده است یعنی قرابت و رحم حوّاست که خلق منها زوجها میگوید که هر کس که مرا بپیوند بآصل من که آدم است وصله الله برسد و از رسیدن بمن بخلقت آدم و وصلت حضرت و من قطعنی قطعه الله این حدیث را طلب کنید که قامت الرّحم یعنی حوّا فاخذت بحقوی الرّحمان کنایتست که میخواست که بصورت آدم بر آید که حقوی کنایتست از رجولیّت قال مه [=ما هذا] حضرت عزّت منع کتابت از وجه حوّا کرد که اگر نکردی [...] 32 سطر بر وجه آدم ظاهر نشدی [...] پس حضرت گفت الا ترضین ان اصل من وصلک و اقطع من قطعک قالت بلی.

280b

ما اشهدتهم خلق السّموات و الارض و لا خلق انفسهم ای علی خلق انفسهم بعد ازان گوید که الست بربّکم ناچار گویند بلی چون بیند که مخلوق شده است آدم بعدد 32 کلمهٔ آلهی.

283a

بر خطّ حیوانات بگذر و همچنین دو کوش و دو بینی و دو چشم و دهن بر خطّ استوا ببین 28 سطر و 32 سطر کتابت آلهی بخوان چنانکه آن حیوان بآن کتابت آلهی دانا نیست انسان بآن داناست کالانعام بل هم اضلّ بجهت آنکه علم تامّ انسان داره بنسبت با حیوان.

283a–b

مثلا در خلقت خروس که اصحاب الاعراف اعراف جمع عرف است و عرف تاج خروس است بر خطّ استوا [...] هم چنانکه تاج هدهد بسلیمان ازان جهت پیک سلیمان است که موصوف است برین صفت کتاب که تقدریر رفت در خلقت که هدهد خداوند دو کوش و دو چشم و دو انف و خطّ استوا بر دهن چون شکافته شود هشت شود هر سطری چهار سطر باشد [...] لا جرم در عالم کشف نامهٔ سلیمان که صورت آدم دارد به بلقیس که صورت حوّا دارد او می برد که انّه من سلیمان و انّه بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحیم [...] عبارت از نامه بردن هدهد از سلیمان به بلقیس این خلقت و دانستن زبان مرغان عبارتست از دانستن آن صورت ایشان که خارج 32 کلمه نیست و عبارتست از دانستن نقش خلقت خود و آدم عم.

284b

چون نفس کامل آدم و خداشناس خود را یعنی خلقت خود را علم این 32 کلمهٔ آلهی دید و حقیقت خود را این 32 کلمهٔ آلهی یافت بمقام وصلت [...] رسید و بعالم بقاء و ذات و صفات احدیّت واصل شد لا یذوقون فیها الموت الاّ الموتة الاولی.

285a–b

یوسف عم که انّی رأیت احد عشر کوکبا و الشّمس و القمر رأیتهم لی ساجدین و چون یعقوب و مادر و برادران او را سجده کردن یوسف عم گفت یا أبت هذا تأویل رؤیای من قبل پس در

صورت ماه و آفتاب می آیند پس حضرت رسالت بحکم آنکه و ما یعلم تأویله الّا الله و الرّاسخون فی العلم.

285a–b

مثلا رسول عم را حقّ تعالی خبر داد که آفتاب از طرف مغرب وراسه [...] هرگاه که ظهور آدم و همه انبیا از بیت المقدس که مقام خلقت صدر و ظهر آدم است و از طرف مغرب است ظاهر گردد آفتاب از طرف مغرب وراهی بو.

286b

اوّل خیمهٔ بنیاد کرد که هر طرف پنجاه طناب باشد که دو پنجاه باشد بعدد حروف و نقطهٔ حروف کلام حضرت رسالت و یازده شقّه که هر شقّهٔ 28 آرش باشد بعدد 28 کلمه یازده صلوت سفر حضرت رسالت است و چهار پهنا که یازده شقّه باشد 28 آرش طول و چهار پهنا و عرض که 28 باشد بعدد 28 و آن خیمه را خیمهٔ میعاد خواند در توریت که مثال 28 کلمهٔ حضرت رسالت و 32 کلمهٔ آدم است که حضرت رسالت صلوت هفتده رکعت و پانزده جمعه بعدد آن ادا کرد.

287a–288a

و بحکم خلق السّماوات و الارض فی ستّة ایّام و کان عرشه علی الماء و بحکم وسع کرسیّه السّماوات و الارض معلوم میشود که خلقت عرش و کرسی در شش شبانروز نبود بحکم کلّ یوم هو فی شأن در روز جمعه بوده است که حضرت رسالت فرموده است که عرش آلهی در روز جمعه که روز خلقت آدم است ظاهر شود و بیان عرش و کرسی رفته است پس چون خلقت عرش که کان عرشه علی الماء که معلوم میشود که عرش و کرسی و ماء که آبست پیش از خلقت آسمانها و زمین بوده است پس روز جمعه چو با شش روز مزید شود که حقّ تعالی بحضرت رسالت جبرئل فرستاد و روز جمعه را در صورت مرآت باو آورد و گفت ندعوه یوم القیامة یوم المزید یعنی جمعه را تا چون با شش شبانروز که آصل شهور و سنین ایشانند شش بار 28 ساعت باشد بعدد شش کلمهٔ کاف و نون [...] هر موجودی که هست ششجهت دارد هر جهت او را 28 ساعت مربّی که آن 28 ساعت منقسم شده است به 28 کلمهٔ آلهی.

288a

سیصد و شصت پاره استخوان او که در حدیث آمده است که شش بار شصت باشد هر شصتی 32 و 28 مخلوق شده است و اصابع دست و رجل آدم هم برین نهج و فلک البروج بر سیصد و شصت درجه که مربّئ وجود آدم است شش بار شصت درجه باشد.

291b

قال عم انّ القلوب بین اصبعین من اصابع الرّحمن دو صفت جمال و جلال است که دو کلمهٔ کاف و نون است که شش کلمه باشد که جمیع ما کان و ما یکون در تحت آنست.

294a

و مقدّمهٔ این اوّل در حدیث مصابیح طلب کن که انسان را سیصد و شصت استخوان آدم است شش بار شصت پاره استخوان چنانکه هر شصتی 32 و 28 باشد چنانکه درجات فلک البروج سیصد و شصت است که تعلّق تربیّت آدم و آدمی زاد دارد.

296b–297a

از خطّ استواء آدم و حوّا که گذشتی در صورت خطّ استواء مرغان و وحوش و طیور و نباتات و حیوانات و جمیع مخلوقات درو مشاهدهٔ قدرت حضرت احدیّت کن [...] همچنین بر خطّ استواء هدهد نظر کن تاج فرق بدو پاره و از دو چشم و دو کوش و دو بینی و دهن همچنان که خطّ وجه انسان هفت سطر و هشت سطر بخوانی هر خطّ چهار سطر چنانکه 28 و 32 سطر باشد و بر تاج خروس که علی الاعراف رجال و بر جمیع حیوانات گذر کنی و صراط الله و خلقت آلهی ببین که و ما من دابّة الّا هو اخذ بناصیتها انّ ربّی علی صراط مستقیم چون آدم مجموعهٔ آلهی است بوجه لوح محفوظ خدایست از خطّ استواء وجه او چنانکه خطّ 32 کلمه و 28 کلمه از روی خلقت شده است از روی ظاهر شدن که 32 کلمه ازو هم مظهر شده است بر خطّ هر برگ و دانهٔ که انّ الله فالق الحبّ و النّوی گذر کنی و علم آلهی کلمهٔ او را دان چنانکه در وجه آدم و دو ابرو و مژه با شقّ موی سر بجهت خطّ استوا بر دانهٔ کندم همان خطّ مشاهده کن.

297a

اکنون نظر کن ای طالب سرّ حقیقت علم آلهی که 32 کلمهٔ آلهی و 28 کلمهٔ آلهی چنین که از روی اسمیّت بهمه اشیا رسیده است همه اشیا علم اویند و مظهر اویند [...] ازینجاست که هر مصنوع دلالت کرد بجهت بر صانع و بر کلمهٔ صانع.

(298a–b)

و هفت روز هم بر رسالت حضرت رسالت و شش روز که در توریت آمده است که آسمانها و زمین در شش روز مخلوق است و روز هفتم روز استراحت خضرت عزّت بود آن هم گواه است بر حقیقت رسالت او که یجدونه مکتوبا عندهم فی التّوراة اگر گویند بچه معنی جواب آنست که در شش روز که حضرت عزّت خلق همه اشیا کرد بحکم توریت ما لا کلام که وقت و زمان نبود که عبارت از حرکات فلک و سیر شمس و قمر است پس نماند الّا آنکه مراد از شش روز مقدار آن شش روز باشد.

299a

و لقد اتیناک سبعا من المثانی که هفت شبانروزست که جمع سنین و شهور ازو مرکّب شده است و قرآن العظیم که مفردات و مرکّباتست یعنی تا هفت شبانروز باشد و تعلّق شب بهفت کوکب زمان هدایت و نبوّت و شریعت بر تو مسلّم است و مقرّر.

300a–b

حضرت رسالت را بسرّ این 32 [کلمه و رکعه] رسانید [...] و او را بسرّ 32 کلمهٔ علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها رسانیده است بجهت آن فرمود انّ الله و ملائکته یصلّون علی النبیّ که صلوت عبارتست از هفتده حضر و پانزده جمعه که 32 باشد و این پرستش برین عدد ختم شد براء حضرت رسالت.

301b–302a

آبدال آنست که برابر چشم او من مصوّر و مشکّل و ممثّل باشم 28 کلمهٔ ظاهر صامت را بدل کرد به 28 کلمهٔ ازلی ابدی بلا شکل و بلا مثال و صورت 28 دوده و سیاهی را بدل کرد به 28 علم وجه آدم و حوّا [...] و آن 28 آدم و حوّا را بدل کرد به 28 و 32 کلمهٔ ازلی ابدی و مبدل که 28 می بینی و مبدل دیگر که 28 علم وجه آدم می بینی در عالم توجّه باید که آنرا از بطن دیگر 28 و 32 کلمهٔ ابدی ازلی آلهی دانی وقتی که بسرّ یوم تبدّل الارض غیر

الارض و السّماوات برسی [...] ایشان بدل باشد از کلمه [...] همه اشیاء کلمهٔ آلهی باشد و بدل شده باشد بکلمهٔ آلهی که 32 کلمه و 28 کلمه باشد.

302a

آسمانها و زمین و ما بینهما منقسم شده باشد بعدد 32 کلمه و 28 کلمه هر یک جزو ایشان بدل باشد از کلمه لا جرم حضرت فرماید یوم تبدّل الارض غیر الارض و السّماوات هرگاه که چنین باشد همه اشیا کلمهٔ آلهی باشد و بدل شده باشد بکلمهٔ آلهی که 32 کلمه و 28 کلمه باشد.

304a

و لا تحسبنّ الّذین قتلوا فی سبیل الله امواتا بل احیاء عند ربّهم یرزقون فرحین بما اتاهم الله من فضله و یستبشرون [...] ارواح شهداء که هم شهیدست برسالت انبیا و حضرت رسالت که و من عنده علم الکتاب و هم شهداء است که در سبیل آلهی و کلمه و کلام آلهی و ظهور آن کشته شده اند.

304b–305a

و چون خو درا فدای معشوق میکند و بحقیقت عشق مجازی ازینجاست که بحقیقت میکشت که این عاشق با همچو خویشتن انسانی عشق میبازد و از عشق و محبّت او از خواب و خوارد و نام و ننک و ناموس و حیات مستغنی شده است و آن حسن و جمال که او عاشق شده است بجهت حسن و جمال آلهی است که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورة الرّحمن پس عشق مجازی در ضمن خود عشق آلهی دارد که آن حسن و جمال علم کلمهٔ آلهی است عاشق ازان کلمهٔ آلهی است و خطّ استوا که 32 کلمه میشود بران عاشق شده است و بیخود است و ترک خواب و خورد و رز و مال و حیوت و نام و ننک و طاعت و ثواب و عقاب ملامت کرده است و مطالعهٔ 28 کلمهٔ آلهی و 32 کلمهٔ آلهی و مصحف آلهی میکند هرچند که نمیداند که آن حسن و جمال و چشم و ابرو و خطّ و خال مو زلف علم کلمهٔ آلهی است امّا چون فی نفس الامر کلام حضرت احدیّت است و علم کلام حضرت احدیّت است اگر دران بمیرد البتّه مغفورست اگرچه بمجاز عاشق شده بود بشرط شهوت نفسانی نباشد که عاشق آن حسن و جمال بآن نپردازد.

305a–b

حضرت احدیّت در شب معراج بحضرت رسالت بصورت امرد تجلّی کرده است و رأیت ربّی فی صورة امرد قطط که الرّحمن علی العرش استوی آن صورت عرش آلهی است و علم 32 کلمهٔ آلهی است و لوح محفوظ حضرت آلهی است که 32 کلمهٔ آلهی و 28 کلمهٔ آلهی را آن صورت مظهرست و چنانکه انسان بر صورت انسان عاشق است همه موجودات و آسمانها و اجرام سماوات و ملائکه گرد خاک و مرکز خاک براء آن میکردند که باین شکل انسانی برآیند اگرچه ملک سماوات بر شکل انسان فرو می آیند امّا اجرام مساوات و سیّارات هرچند که سیر میکنند باین شکل انسانی و آن صورت انسانی و آن حسن و جمال انسانی و علم خطّ و زلف و غیر آن در خود پیدا نمیتوانند کرد لا جرم بر سبیل خدا طواف مرکز خاک میکنند و به پرورش این حسن و جمال مشغولند.

305b

مجموع اغدیه و اشربه که پرورش از سماوات و اجرام کواکب می یابند در سیر اند تا باشد که طعمهٔ انسان شده باشد سر از خلقت انسانی و حسن و جمال برآورند [...] هر جنبش هر یک طالب است که میخواهند متّصف شوند بصورت انسان عرش حضرت احدیّت است.

306a

علم 32 کلمهٔ آلهی [...] سواد اعظم است [...] الفقر سواد الوجه فی الدّارین [...] که فرمود 28 کلمه و 32 کلمه است هرگاه که انسان را فقر سواد وجه حاصل شد همه اشیا را در دو جهان کلمهٔ آلهی می بیند و چیزی بغیر ازین در دو جهان سواد نمی یابد و فقیر کسی باشد که باین مقام رسیده باشد پس حضرت رسالت فقیر بود باین معنی و بدین فرمود الفقری فخری.

306b

بوجهی قصّهٔ یوسف را حضرت عزّت احسن القصص خواند [...] بجهت آنست که بیان عشق و حسن یوسف است و میل یوسف با صورت زلیخا که علم کلمهٔ آلهی بود چنانکه یوسف علم کلمهٔ آلهی بود بی اختیار عنان منع رها کرد بحکم و لقد همّت به وهمّ بها خبر میدهد زلیخا حسن و جمال و خطّ آلهی در وجه یوسف عم دید اختیار آن علم کلمهٔ آلهی از زلیخا بستد [...] پس میل کرد میل بکتابت و خطّ آلهی کرده باشد و حبس یوسف عم کنایت از منع نفس خود بشهوت جسمانی.

307a

و قطّعن ایدیهنّ چنانکه فریفتهٔ حسن و جمال یوسف بودند که از پاره کردن دست خود بیخبر بودند زهی عشق مجازی بر خطّ و کتابت آلهی اگر کسی از سرّ تحقیق تأویل کتابت آلهی کند [...] مفاتح جمیع رزق آسمانی که و فی السّماء رزقکم تأمّل کردن خطّ سواد وجه آدم و حوّا است که من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه [...] چون شناسای 32 کلمه و 28 کلمهٔ ابدی ازلی آلهی شد شناسای حضرت احدیّت شد لا جرم حضرت رسالت گوید من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه.

307a–b

انّ للقرآن ظهرا و بطنا و لبطنه بطنا الی سبعة ابطن که نهایت بطن هفتم کتابت وجه حوّا بو که آخر خلقت همه اشیا بو چرا چهار طبایع و اجرام سماوات و آنچه انسانرا در کارست اوّل مخلوق شد بعد از مدّت مدید خلقت آدم عم شد و بعد از خلقت آدم خلقت حوّا شد و بعد از جمیع اعضاء و جوارح حوّا هفت سطر وجه حوّا مکتوب شد [...] پس حضرت رسالت فرمود که قرآنرا ظهری هست و ظهری او را بطن است تا هفت بطن هفت سطر وجه حوّاست که آخر مخلوقات است.

311b

و تغشی وجوههم النّار چرا نار رویها را میپوشاند بجهت آنکه حقّ تعالی آدم را از خاک بیافرید و قابلیّت خطوط آلهی و کتابت آلهی بغیر از [...] خاک نداشت که علم 28 کلمهٔ آلهی گردد و ازان 32 کلمه چنانکه زبان او مظهر آن گشت و مخلوقات دیگر نگشت و تا بعدد اسما که علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها وجه آدم را منشق کردانید که فطرة الله الّتی فطر النّاس علیها لا تبدیل لخلق الله و شیطان را از آتش آفرید که سجدهٔ آدم نکرد و انا خیر منه خلقتنی من نار و خلقته من طین گفت و آن شیطان که از آتش بود آن خطوط آلهی را چون درین جهان نخواند و بپوشانید لا جرم کسانی که متابعت شیطان کردند از آتش مخلوق شده بود و رو در کعبه که موضع خلقت رأس و جبههٔ وجه آدم بود نکرند و سجود نیاورند و تغشی وجوههم النّار باشند و موعود اهل دوزخ بناراست و بآتش که اصل آ شیطان است اگرچه

جزو بدن آدم آتش است امّا جزو اعظم آدم خاکست که قابلیّت خطوط آلهی که کلمهٔ آلهی است جزوی خاک دارد.

311b–312a

و خاکست که جزو اعظم است بعد ازان آب که تخمیر بآب توان کرد خمرت طینة آدم بیدیّ اربعین صباحا و کان عرشه علی الماء قرمود نه علی النّار و الرّیح.

312b

28 کلمه یابی بی طول و عرض و عمق و لون ابدی ازلی بلا نهایت قائم بذات حضرت احدیّت چون قیام نور آفتاب بافتاب متّحد بذات ملک لم یزل و لا یزال غیر منقسم و غیر مرئی و هم تصوّر و تخیّل را در ایشان و در سرادقات ذات ایشان ره نه.

312b

غرض آنکه حضرت احدیّت ذات و صفات خود را به 28 کلمهٔ ابدی ازلی چون صفات قدیم او بود بخواند یعنی بعدد این حروف تهجّی که بیان حقیقت ایشان شنیدی برین ترتیب [...] تا روشن شود که ایشان صفات قدیم ملک لم یزل و لا یزال اند و از ذات حضرت احدیّت منفک نیستند چنانکه از اسماء خو شنیدی همه مسمیّات دو جهان اسم یافت از 28 کلمه اسم او بحکم آنکه کلام اوست و صفات قدیم اوست چنانکه از روی اسمیّت آن 28 کلمه اسم آلهی بهمه اشیا رسیده است.

313b–314a

آنکه واتی الرّحمن علی العرش استوی چرا بجای دیر نواتی چرا بر عرش که عرش واتی براء اَ که ظهور خو اوّل بعرش که مثال 32 داره و اژه کو و بعد اژه در همه ظاهر ببیو براء ا که هیچ مظهر دیر بغیر عرش نی که مظهر خو ببو و اژه کو ظاهر ببو در همه جا [...] چون وراء عرش جای دیگر نی و همهٔ آسمان و زمین در تحت خو دری واتی الرحمن علی العرش استوی براء ا که آسمان و زمین از روی خلقت قابلیّت مثال 32 علم نداشتی الّا عرش.

316a–b

حروف و نقطه علم کلمه است و قائم مقام کلمه است پنجاه علم ظاهرا علم 28 کلمه است که از مخرج انسانی بدر همیاسه بحسب مجاز و بحسب حقیقت علم آ 28 کلمه مظهر انسانی و وجه خوی که 28 هستی.

318a

صورت ظاهر کلام الله بمجاز کتاب آلهی است و بحقیقت کتاب خدائی وجود انسان اژه 32 علم [...] که ظاهری در دیم و مدلول 32 کلمه هستی.

319a–b

و کتاب سعادت ابد و شقاوت سرمد بدست بنده گان صالح و طالح دهد و اصحاب یمین و اصحاب شمال در وقت ظهور سلطنت ذات ملک ذو الجلال ظاهر کرداند [...] انبیا حضرت خود را و حجب بشریّت از پیش نظر خدابین ایشان برداشت تا مشاهدهٔ ظهور ذات حضرت سبحانی کرده بایات و بیّنات و علامات بنده گان حضرت احدیّت را از ظهور عالم ذات و نهایت رسیدن دائرهٔ صفات خبردار کردانند تا در عالم بشریّت درک ظهور حضرت احدیّت و مستعد سعادت ابدی و حیات سرمدی گشته متوجّه عالم بقاء کردند و مقرّبان جناب ملک ذو الجلال بشهادت رسولان ملک متعال ظاهر شدن ذات لم یزل و لا یزال شناسای حضرت احدیّت کردند فکیف اذا جئنا من کلّ امّة بشهید و جئنا بک علی هؤلاء شهیدا تا حدیثا

امّا اقتضاء ذات قدیم آلهی و فیّاض فیض نامتناهی چنان بود که دائرهٔ صفات عالم رسالت و واضح ترین علامت ظهور ذات ملک باجلالت با نقطهٔ وجود احکم حکماء و افصح فصحاء رسول نبیّ امّی سیّد الانبیاء و المرسلین الرّسول النبیّ الامّی محمّد عربی صلواة الله علیه و علی آله بنهایت رسد تا ببرهان بلا انتقال و احکام متعال او و اصحاب یمین و اصحاب شمال در عرصهٔ یوم الحساب بعد از محاسبهٔ کتاب از یکدیگر جدا کردند و اصحاب یمین هر امّتی که پاکان حضرت احدیّت اند بهدایت ملک لم یزل و لا یزال بعکس اصحاب شمال بی تفریقهٔ اصحاب شمال با هزاران هزار زیب و حسن و جلال و تجلیّات ذات ملک ذو الجلال در فضاء مملکت بی زوال بر تحت سلطنت بلا انتقال برآیند.

319b

لا مهدی الّا عیسی ابن مریم المهدیّ من عترتی من اولاد فاطمة هر دو راستی مهدی کلام الله کامه بین انا نقطة تحت الباء حال آنست که معلوم شده است که 28 کلمه و 32 کلمه در ذات خود یک کلمه باشد.

320a

العلم نقطة کثّرها الجاهلون یعنی جاهلان بسیار کردند پس یک نقطه که قائم مقام یک کلمه است و یک 32 کلمهٔ آلهی است نرسیده اند لا جرم در مقام تفرقه و کثرت باشند نه در مقام وحدت نقطهٔ اوّل که خطّ کاتب که قلم نهاد نقطه ظاهر شد ذات حضرت احدیّت را کلمه که قائم باوست در مقابل اَ نقطهٔ اوّل.

320a

اوّل که خطّ کاتب که قلم نهاد نقطهٔ ظاهر شد ذات حضرت احدیّت را کلمه که قائم باوست در مقابل اَ نقطهٔ اوّل کاتب معلّم است لوح محفوظ وجه آدم و کتابت وجه 28 و 32 بر خطّ استوا.

323b–324a

براء اَ آن مصحف مصحف حیات میخواند که ظاهرا بنسبت کتابتهاء انجیل که نوشته شد و توریت آن مصحف آلهی و خطّ آلهی و مصحف حیات است و حیوت جاودانی از کشادن آن و خواندن آن ظاهر میشود و از انجا بسرّ 32 سخن آلهی که از آسمان اوّل بآدم آمد و آدم بآن مخلوق شد بعدد وجه او و جمیع اعضاء او که مسیح واتی من آن سخنم [...] اکنون آن برّهٔ هفت شاخ که آن کتابرا کشود خود پیش پدر فدا کرد و از لغت مختلف بندگان خدا را رهانید آن مسیح بود و مسیح بود که کلمهٔ آلهی بود که در آدم تجلّی کرده بود که مسیح واتی که اوّل چیزی که از آسمان آمد سخن بود و من آن سخن بودم و خدا بآن سخن بود در آخر زمان بیایم بیان خلقت وجه آدم که علم 32 کلمهٔ خدائی دارد ظاهر ببی [...] این 32 کلمهٔ آدم که سخن خداست [...] چون شکل و صورت ازیشان برداری چنانکه مسیح ما را طول نیست و عرض و عمق نیست یعنی درازی و پهنا و بستری نیست که اینها از شان جسم.

324a

مسیح ما را طول نیست و عرض و عمق نیست یعنی درازی و پهنا و بستری نیست که اینها از شأن جسم پس آنچه در تلفّظ آید سخن است نه این دوده و سیاهی ناقص که طول و عرض و عمق دارد جسم است مسیح ذات آن نطق است که در تلفّظ می آید.

324b

هر کس که صورت آدم و حوّا دارد زبان او ازین 32 بیرون نیست بعضی 28 دارند و بعضی بیست و دو دارند و بعضی بیست و چهار دارند بعضی چون مغولی شانزده دارند

صورت آدم و حوّا همه دارند امّا آن 32 همه ندارند هرگاه که بسرّ و حقیقت آن 32 سخن آدم برسند چنانکه صورت آدم دارند معنئ آدم داشته باشند.

325a

اوّل چیزی که از آسمان آمد سخن بود و من آن سخن بودم [...] پس مسیح آن 32 سخن از خدا جدا نیبو قائم است بذات حقّ چون تری بآب و چون حرارت بآتش و روشنی بآفتاب آسمانها و زمینها نبود که کلام خدا و سخن بود و آن سخن [...] ازلی و ابدی و جاودانی هست چون گفت مسیح که از آسمان اوّل سخن آمد من آن سخن بودم و خدا دران سخن بود [...] و آن 32 است.

325b–326b

اکنون چه معنی دارد که در توریت گفته که شخصی بیافرینم بشکل ما و صورت ما و هیئات ما پس آدم را آفریدم پس صورترا اعتبار تمام تمام تمام است که صورت آلهی است که 32 کلمه که خدا ازان جدا نیست و مسیح گفت من آن سخنم آن صورت در مقابل آن 32 سخن آفریده شده است و نشان 32 سخن خداست که مصحف حیات خواهد بود مسیح بجهت آن کوشتمند شد که روح پاک بود تا آن صورت خدائی حاصل کرده خود را که سخن خداست در همه موجودات ظاهر کرداند [...] پس ای ترسا این صورت مسیح جان پاکست از آدم و حوّاست [...] و آدم خداوند 32 سخن خدا بود [...] 32 باشد نشان علم خطّ آلهی در مقابلهٔ آن 32 سخن ازلی ابدی که آدم را خدا تعلیم کرد و مسیح گفت من آن سخن بودم [...] پس مسیح بجهت آن کوشتمند شد که جان پاک بود تا بعدد و شمار 32 کلمه صورت خود را و خطّ خود را که 32 است باز نماید.

326a

و آنکه در توریت است که موسی لوح خدا را بدست خود نوشته بود بشکست بجهت آنست که آن شکست که روی آدم که لوح خدائیست تا بر خطّ استواء او [...] منشق و پاره نشود [...] که 32 خطّ آلهی باشد در مقابلهٔ آن 32 سخن که از زبان آدم بیرون می آید و خدا بآدم گفت و مسیح گفت [من] آن سخن بودم ظاهر نمیشود پس شکستن الواح موسی را از کمال بوده باشد تا نشان 32 کلمه بر لوح ظاهر شود پس مسیح بجهت آن کوشتمند شد.

327a

و چون برّه آن مصحف را فرو برد و پیش پدر کشته شد ملائکه و انبیا سجده کردند و گفتند تا تو ما را از لغتهاء مختلف برهانیدی و بملکوت سموات و زمین رسانیدی ظاهر و باطن آسمانها و زمین سخن خداست و ایشان قائم بسخن اند و مسیح گفت من آن سخن بودم [...] تا بر 32 سخن آدم میباید زبان و خلقت وجه او دانستن و روی خدا عبارت ازان 28 کلمه و 32 کلمه است.

330b

باتّفاق انبیا هفته هفت شب و روز است که چهارده باشد همچون خطّ وجه مریم و حوّا که هفت سطر موی سر و دو ابرو و چهار مژه بر هفت موضع که چهارده باشد این هفت شبانروز شش بار 28 ساعت باشد بعدد 28 کلمهٔ آلهی که بر وجه آدم و مسیح و رسول است عم هفت خطّ که آدم دارد و بینی آدم و دو بر عارض و دو بر لب بالا و یک بر لب زیر چهارده بر چهارده باشد که 28 است اسمانها و زمین در شش روز آفریده شده است در مقدار

شش شبانروز قسمت کن هر شب و روز را به بیست و چهار ساعت تا چهار 28 و یک 32 ساعت باشد همچون خلقت وجه آدم و مسیح و محمّد که عنده علم السّاعة.

334a

و ما من دابّة في الارض و لا طائر يطير بجناحيه الّا امم امثالكم ما فرّطنا في الكتاب من شيء ثمّ الى ربّهم يحشرون شامل حیات داران است درین چه حیات دار و چه غیر حیات دار قال انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء آنکه واتی ما فرّطنا في الكتاب من شيء امّ الکتابی که واتی عنده امّ الكتاب و لدينا كتاب ينطق بالحقّ [...] چون کتاب حیاترا بکشایند همه ناطق بیند و از کتاب حیات و کشودن جمیع کتاب که عبارتی از جماد و حیوان از روی علمیّت کلمه کشاده بیند.

334a–b

هر خطّ که نوشته هستی که انسان هیخوانه باصطلاح وضع واضع که ملهم بی از قبل خدا علّم بالقلم علّم الانسان ما لم يعلم [...] پس همازن که انکو خطاط خطّ خویشتنه هیخوانه که صورت خویشتنی در عالم مکاشفه با صورت خود و مثال خویشتنی در سخن و با خو در سخن و آن خطّ هیخوانه خبر هدو از نویسندهٔ خطّ که من چه کس و مراد اژن خطّ چه دران خطّ آلهی که بر همه کائنات نوشته هستی همین خبر هدو و امّا خواننده بخواند از لوح اشیا.

335b

همه دیم بآدم دکیند ملائکه و سجده کیند و انبیا و اولیا و مؤمنان دیم به پیر که آدمی دکیند و سجده کنند آدم دیم بخویشتن دکی و سجده کی من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه براء [آن] دیم بخویشتن دکی که خلیفهٔ خدا بی و بکرامت خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته مخصوص بی که صورت خو صورت خدائی ناچار دیم بخویشتن دکره دیم بخدا دکی بو بدلیل خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته.

338a

و نفخ في الصّور فصعق من في السّماوات [...] بدلیل صور که جمیع صورت و ذو شفاست که مرد کانّه که نفخ آلهی بیاسه و زنده کرند وجهی دیگر فرمود الصّور قرن ينفخ فيه اسرافيل اسرافیل بر نهج امّ الکتاب 32 کلمه بو و قرن صاحب گاو بو و جدی که خداوند دو برجند که شصت درجه 28 و 32 که هیچ قبری نبو و انسان و وجودی که از خنان راه بایشان نبو و از سیصد و شصت درجه و طوله ستّون ذراعا در عالم کشف خنانند که هر سوراخی ازو سر در قبر دارد که درو سوراخی [...] و و ماهیّت خو اجرام سماوی یکی بو و صورت آدم.

345b

چون فرمود که رأيت ربّي في احسن صورت پس هنکو که کلام اژ کسی اشنوا بو که خو احسن صورت بو و بدلیل قرآن احسن تقویم آدمی هستی اَ که واتی از زبان علی بشنوی.

345b

کلمه مظهر خدا هستی و از خدا منفک نی [...] بآ معنی کلمه و کلام مظهر خدائی که اگر احاطهٔ خنان بر اشیا نبندی احاطهٔ خدا معلوم نبندی و بیان ذات و صفات خدا ظاهر نبندی پس خنان مظهر خدا بند.

347b

شهد الله انّه لا اله الاّ هو و الملائكة و اولو العلم قائما بالقسط شهادت حقائق خنان وقتی بو که قائما بالقسط که حال خداست دره وقت که واقع ببو و همیشه خدا در مقام شهادت در مقام قسط و عدل است.

349a

همه اشیا که خارج آدمی وجود آدمی و جزو آدمی همازن که بقیّهٔ خاک جزو آدمی و قابلیّت آن دارد که همه آدم ببو و خارج خاک همه شیء دیم بخو دارد و بهر طائری همین قابلیّت و صلاحیّت دارد براء هر پرنده و چرنده همین دارد و همه اشیا قابلیّت هر یک علم وجه خو از 32 بو.

350a

در وقتی که خدا واتی و ملائکه انّی جاعل فی الارض خلیفة قالوا أتجعل فیها من یفسد فیها و یسفک الدّماء و نحن نسبّح بحمدک و نقدّس لک قال انّی أعلم ما لا تعلمون ملائکه نزانند که سفک الدّماء کمال دارد که انسان اژه کمال بر ملک فضیلت دارد اوّلا سفک دماء و حیوانات که هکره براء آن هکره [...] که صورت حیوان خنانه بصورت بشریّت خویشتن درآرد و از ملک بگذرد که ملک را آن مرتبه حاصل نیست [...] ملک کی تواند که نبات و جماد را طعمهٔ خود سازد از صورت نباتی و جمادی خلع کند و در صورت و کسوت کسی درآرد که جمیع ملائکه را واجب بود سجود پدر او کردن.

350b–351a

و لکن انظر الی الجبل فان استقرّ مکانه [...] مکان جبل و غیر جبل در خلقت اشیا کلمهٔ کن بی یعنی اگر قرار گیرد در کلمهٔ کن فسوف ترانی [...] مکان خو کلمه بو که واتی کن و ازین جهت بی که کلام خدا را موسی خواژ از جمیع جهات شنید که اینّما تولّوا فثمّ وجه الله و مکان جمیع جهات کلمهٔ کن بو جعله دکّا وخرّ موسی صعقا دلالت بر پاره پاره کین جبل یازده شقّهٔ خیمهٔ میعادی و هر یک 28 آرش و شکستن الواح و پاره کردن الواح که تا نشکسته نوینه.

351a

و خو که آدمی مخلوق بصورت خدائی و کتابت خدائی و علم کلمهٔ خدائی ظاهر خلقت و لوح محفوظ خدائی که بل هو قرآن مجید فی لوح محفوظ و معلّم جبرئیل و ملک بآن معنی بی که جبرئیل قرآن و علم که برسول و انبیا اوی از لوح محفوظ اوی و لوح خوی و جبرئیل از خو تعلیم کیتی.

351a

آدم از خاک مخلوق ببی و از باد و از آب و آتش خاک خو که نقطه بو در میان آب و آب در میان هوا و هوا در میان آتش و آتش در میان فلک و فلک در میان هوا و هوا در میان انجم و سیّارات اشیا بلا نهایة که همه را دیم در عالم خاک و طواف کنان و فیض رسان بر گرد مرکز خاک و تشبیه جستن بعالم آدمی خاکی و همه از براء خو در حرکت و همهٔ اجزاء بدن آدمی خاک بآن معنی متّصل بدن خو و فیض رسان بدن خو و طواف کنان مرکز خاک خو مخلوق همه بشکل خو.

351b
احاطهٔ خدا بر همه اشیا بواسطهٔ احاطهٔ خو بو بر همه اشیا همازن که 32 کلمه براء اسمیّت کلمه اشیا برسی همه اشیا مظهرست مظهر خنان بند و آدم که جامع جمیع اسما و کلمه بی علم تام اسم اَ کلمه را خدا از چه جهت خلقت ببی و اشیا دیگر بعضی از خلقت آدم دارند همازن که حیوان و نبات و غیر آن که از خلقت آدم و استواء خطّ خلقت خو بسرّ خنان برسی و خنانه خطّ بخوانی که آدمی کتابت خدائی و همه در خو درجند که و ما من دابّة فی الارض و لا طائر یطیر بجناحیه الّا امم امثالکم ما فرّطنا فی الکتاب من شیء یعنی در آدم مظهر خدائی و کتابت خدائی خو بی.

351b–352a
سیصد و شصت درجه و غیره شکل و صورت و کسوت خو که آدمی و اجزاء آدمی مقسومی و السّماء ذات البروج و القمر قدّرناه منازل که عبارت است از 28 و 32 28 و 32 تا سیصد و شصت تمام ببو.

352b
سبحان الّذی اسری بعبده لیلا من المسجد الحرام الی المسجد الاقصی الّذی بارکنا حوله که بیت المقدس کامه بین که مقام خیمهٔ میعاد بو که توریت نیز واتی در خو براء اَ خدا واتی ثمّ اتینا موسی الکتاب تماما عل الّذی احسن و تفصیلا لکلّ شیء و هدی و رحمة لعلّهم بلقاء ربّهم یؤمنون تمامی پس احسن بجهت بیان خیمهٔ میعاد.

353b–354a
اگر هیتن واژه که محمّد رسول الله بچه دلیل ختم انبیا و افضل انبیا بی و کتاب آسمانی خو که قرآنی چرا مزیّت و فضیلت داره بر حدیث قدسی که کلام بلا واسطه بو [...] جواب اَوی که براء آن تفضیل داره کلام بواسطه که قرآن و بی واسطه که حدیث قدسی بو که آصل کتاب و حدیث قدسی در کلام بواسطه آهی و محمّد مبعوث بسائر خلائق و ختم انبیا باین معنی بود.

362a
همچنان که ملک واسطه است بجهت وحی و علم میان خدا و انبیا آدم واسطه بو بجهت تعلیم اسما و علم میان خدا و ملائکه [...] آدم بی واسطه گرفت اسما را و آصل اسما و معلّم ملائکه شد [...] ملائکه در صورت آدم درآمد و کسب علوم و اسما کرند.

362a
پیش از ظهور آدم و تعلیم اسما حضرت رأیت ربّی فی احسن تقویم در عالم مکاشفه صورت آدم را بایشان نمود قبل از ظهور و ایشان سجود میکردند چنانکه یوسف را نمود قبل الوقوع که یازده ستّاره و ماه و آفتاب سجدهٔ او کرند چون واقع شد هذا تأویل رؤیای من قبل.

362b–363a
همه موجودات بر علم کلمات خدائی مخلوق شده اند [...] امّا علم تامّ آدم و وجه ادم دارد اَ اسما بی که خدا تعلیم آدم بکی و خو قابلیّت اَ اسما هادی پس خو تعلیم بکی و ملائکه را بصورت برآورد تا بسرّ خلقت و علم تامّ برسند.

364a
در باب خیمهٔ میعاد که دیم ا کو دکی موسی [...] ازن که در طور خدا باو نمویه بی [...] و خیا خدا واتی که یازده شقّه راست بکر که عبارتی از صورت خطّ دیم آدمی [...

] و واتی که هنکو که آ یازده شقّه 28 آرش بدرازی و چهار پهنا تا عقد لفظ 32 و الواحه در خو بنهی [...] همازن مثال کعبه کامه بین.

364b

باب عرش ا که واتیند که بالاء اشیا عرش خدا ببی راستی براء اَ که چون اشیا از یک طرف نهایت نداره و از یک طرف منتهی بیبو بعرش خدا و کرسی خدا بعد از عرش و کرسی عالم خدا ببی و کلمهٔ آلهی هست.

364b

حوری هوینه و جوان امرد هوینه در عالم یا درین عالم تاج مرصّع بر سر نهاده یا از لعل یا مانند آن یا هوینه حوری یا انسانی در غایت شکل خوب از لعل یا از یاقوت یا بعضی از خواژ یاقوت براء اَ که اَ حوری یا صاحب جمال بر علم کلمه مخلوق ببی و آن کلمه در مظهر ایشان تجلّی داره همان کلمه که در یاقوت و مشک و غیره تجلّی داره و هر دو بکلمهٔ کن موجود ببند بآ مناسبت انسانه در صورتهاء مختلف در عالم کشف توان دیدن و در صورت یاقوت و لعل چنانکه موسی از شجر آواز انّی انا الله شنید.

365a–b

شکل انسان که عبارت از دیم کامه بین که 32 علم داره براء 32 کلمهٔ اعلام آ 32 کلمه که عبارت از هر علمی هیئاتی داره همازن که چشم هیئات معیّن داره ابرو هیئات معیّن داره که کوش و بینی دائرهٔ رو خطّ ابرو [...] مجموع صورت اشیا کائنات ازین شکل بیرون نی و در جمادات تمام ظاهر بی امّا قسمت مناصفه در خلقت حیوان ظاهر ببی در انسان بکمال از روی مناصفه و در جمیع نباتات ظاهر ببی هر برگ که ویمناسه [=برمیآید] همازن که شکل انسان پس چون شکل انسانی کتابت خدائی هستی براء 32 کلمه همه ذرّات موجودات که از شکل انسانی از وجه دریاب.

366a

موسی و خیمهٔ میعاد که امروز بیت المقدس بو [...] که چندین هزار انبیا [...] دیم دره کو کین سجدهٔ خدا کین و پرستش خدا کیند و بقول محمّد صادق زمین حشر کامه بین چرا اژ را که مقام صدر و ظهری و [...] زمین حشری و زمین قیامت بو چرا اژ را که مقام صدر و ظهری [...] و عهد الست بربّکم هاکیتی و ا بی بظهر خو اعاده بکی.

366a–b

پس حدیث وراهین آفتاب و سجده کین آفتاب و چون ظهور صاحب کمال و خداشناس بو و اسرائیل که یعقوب بی در عالم کشف بیوسف در صورت آفتاب نمود و قبلهٔ فرزند او موسی و خیمهٔ میعاد که امروز بیت المقدس بو در طرف مغرب که چندین هزار انبیا در وقت شرق و غروب دیم دره کو کین سجدهٔ خدا کین و پرستش خدا کیند و بقول رسول صادق زمین حشر کامه بین [...] پس چون موضع صدر و ظهر آدم بیت المقدس بو و طلوع همه انبیا بتخصیص اسرائیل که خدا خو در صورت آفتاب بیوسف نمود و موسی و رسول ما و سائر انبیا که در عالم مکاشفه در صورت نیّر اعظم اند اژه طلوع کیبو و همه اَ کو حشر بند پس طلوع آفتاب از مغرب بو [...] لا جرم از اشراط قیامت یکی وراهین آفتاب از مغرب.

367a–b

اسرافیل در صور نفخه بدمه و الصّور قرن چون مقرّر شده است که بروج دوازده اند و شکل عرش آلهی دارد چون آدمی چون فرزندان آدمه خدا خو اژه جینده واکره و نفخه در دمانه

[...] دوازده برج که شکل آدم دارد و مقسوم بر خلقت آدم ببی بروج هی برج ثور بو و صاحب قرن بو [...] هیچ قبر نبو که سوراخی از خو فیض و نفخهٔ خو دره قبر سر دنیکی بو و نکره و نفخ فی الصّور فصعق من فی السّماوات و الارض ظهور خلقت سیصد و شصت درجه و دقیقه و ثانیه و ثالثه تا عاشره ظاهر شود و ظهور عرش و نامه و ضبط و کتاب و جنّة عرضها کعرض السّماوات و الارض و جمیع وعدهاء انبیا و خدا.

368a

الحمد للّه الّذی اذهب عنّا الحزن انّ ربّنا لغفور شکور الّذی احلّنا دار المقامة من فضله قال عم انا مدینة العلم و انا دار الحکمة و علیّ بابها و بیان دار بفضل بتان رسان.

369b

بدلیل و لو جعلناه ملکا لجعلناه رجلا [. . .] پس معلوم ببی که جبرئل در کسوت عالم خاک و باد و آب و آتش دیمیاسه تا مثال علم کلمه داشته بو و بیان کلمه و کلام ذات آلهی بکره و از خداوند خاک و آب و باد و آتش که آدم بی علم کسب بکره بدلیل یا آدم انبئهم باسمائهم و آن صورت صورت ذاتی بلکه صورت کسب است که خدا در خو پوشه.

371b

هرگاه که انسان بجنّت دشو که جهان جاودانی هستی هم بقاء خدائی براء ا که بکلمهٔ جاودانی برسی و خو و خوشتنه کلمهٔ جاودانی بدی کلمهٔ الهی در هر شیء که هستی موجودی بالقوّه چه در خارج و چه در ذهن.

376a

حورا که واتی حوریان قاصرات الطّرف عین بند که بغیر اژه که بمردان خویشتن نگاه بکرند جای دیگر نکرند همازن که 28 حروف و نقطهٔ مجاز بغیر کلمه که مدلول خنانی جای دیگر نگاه نیکرند و چهرهٔ حوریان که خنان سیاه چشم اند در خلقت بغیر از مردان که عبارتی اژ کلمه بیان نیکرند و بآ معنی خنان واتی که مردیانی چیفت بکرند که از خلقت دیم و محاسن و خطّ مرد خلقت 32 دره وجه خنان ظاهر بیبو که اگر خلقت خطّ مرد نبندی از خلقت خنان علم 32 کلمه معلوم نبندی ا که در بهشت امرد بند حوریان خداوند هفت بند و خنانه خداوند هفت بند پس در عقد مرد جن که دیمیاسه در شریعت اژیکو و نفقة که عبارتی از غدا و کسوت از لباس که خلقت مردی براء آ بر مرد خدا واجب کی نه بر جن.

376b

و لا تحسبنّ الّذین قتلوا فی سبیل الله امواتا بل احیاء عند ربّهم یرزقون فرحین بما اتاهم الله من فضله خلقت انسانی سبیل کلمهٔ آلهی خدا هستی کسانی که دره کشته بیند بنزدیک خدا هستند که از خنان بخدا رسند هیئات انسانی که دیم داره سبیل آلهی هستی بآ دلیل که قائم مقام مقام کلمهٔ آلهی هستی که اگر هیئات نی ظهور کلمه و کلام نی.

380b

هرگاه که استواء بمعنیٔ استیلاء خدا همازن که بر جمیع اشیا مستولی بو بر عرش لازم آسه مستولی بو فائدهٔ آن آیة که خدا واتی که و الملائکه یحملون العرش و یحمل عرش ربّک [فوقهم] یومئذ ثمانیة چه بو ملائکه تختی را که سریر خوانند که یأتینی بعرشها بر دوش و ظهر هشت فرشته و ملائکه مقرّبه نهاده چه معنی دارد و چه نسبت باشد پس بالضّرورة الرّحمن علی العرش استوا باشد و خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته و علی صورت الرّحمن.

380b–381a

خمرت طینة آدم بیدیّ اربعین صباحا [...] و واعدنا موسی ثلثین لیلة وأتممناها بعشر فتمّ میقات ربّه اربعین لیلة [...] و خلق الله تعالی آدم علی صورته بر صورت خدا مخلوق است و رأیت ربّی فی احسن صورت [و فی صورت] امرد قطط و موسی که رؤیت خدا در اربعین طلب کرد که ربّ أرنی أنظر الیک پس باید [...] که لقاء آلهی در اربعین میطلبی بدانی که وعدهٔ لقاء آلهی و طینة آدم که پدر همه انبیا و اولیاست چرا در چهل است و بس این چهل مدّت زمان باید که باشد تا لقاء و رؤیت میسّر شود.

383a

یا آدمیان شمه که [...] حقیقت مرشد خوشتنه یا خدا هزانی یا رسول یا امام [...] که حقیقت مرشد شمه کلمه بی خود محسوسی [...] اگر حقیقت مرشد شمه خوشتنه نه خدا هزانند و نه رسول و نه امام [...] پس هیچ شکّ نی که خنان ره باسرار خدائی نبرده باشند [...] و خنان مستحقّ متابعت کین نبند.

383b–384a

علی ممسوس فی ذات الله بآ معنی که واتی انا کلام الله و کلام صفت ذاتی که متکلّم و از متکلّم منفک نی / حقّ تعالی ذاتیست که کلام صفت اوست غیر منفک و علی هوا که انا کلام الله النّاطق.

384a

انسان علم 32 در وجه هستی همه اشیا بعضی از 32 هستند بخلاف انی که انسان از سر تا پا بتمامی دیم دو دو علم 32 هستی همازن که دو ابرو و بر استوا نبات یا غیر خو مثلا کندم دانه علم دو هستی براء اوی که انسان خوشتنه در سر صورتی که امکان داره در خواب بوینه و در همه صورت مختلف دراسه همازن که واتی انّی رأیت احد عشر کوکبا و احمل فوق رأسی خبزا و از حال آینده و گذشته و انقلاب چیزی در مظهر کلمهٔ خداشناس ببو که ا که معلوم هکره کلمه هستی اژه کو که معلوم هکره کلمه ا کو دری بآن نسبت.

384b–385a

از شکل و صورت و پیکر منزّه و مبرّاء اند مرکّب گشت و علم 28 کلمه بوضع واضع که بحکم علّم بالقلم ملهم بود پنجاه حروف و نقطه آمد اقرأ باسم ربّک الّذی خلق خلق الانسان من علق مقرّر و معیّن است که الله اسماء بار تعالی و تقدّس مرکّبست از 28 کلمه که امّ الکتاب حقیقی آلهی اند [...] اقرأ و ربّک الاکرم الّذی علّم بالقلم علّم الانسان ما لم یعلم خداوند علم بی پنجاه حروف و نقطة [...] بحهت آنکه علم اسم آلهی اند و علم آصل کلام ذات قدیم نامتناهی اند.

385a–b

در همه عالم نظر کر زمین در میان که بقیّهٔ خاک آدمی بوین و آدم را که خطّ خداست خاصّه است بوین و از مقام خاک آدم [...] و از خطّ و کتابت خدائی بهمه اشیا بشو [...] و از خلقت وجه و پیکر خو بخلقت همه اشیا بشو که کتابت خدائی خوی و لوح محفوظ خدا خوی و همازن از صورت خو و صورت همه کتابت خدائی باطن خو که آدمی و کلمهٔ خدائی بباطن خو و بباطن همه اشیا بشو تا وجود ظاهر و باطن را نزانی انی و یک وجود ببینی بحکم کتابت خدائی [...] آدم انّی جاعل فی الارض خلیفة براء اَ واتی که خلق الله تعالی آدم علی

صورته و علی صورة الرّحمن بو پس چون خو قائم مقام بو و بر صورت الرّحمن بو مظهر خدا بو و خانهٔ خدا بو و خداوند علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها و ابو البشر بود.

385b–386a

و چون بر خطّ استواء خنان بگذری همازن علم کامند بی [...] که ما فرّطنا فی الکتاب من شیء و کلّ شیء احصیناه فی امام مبین [...] دو کلمة دو کلمه کامند بین بر هر شیء که همازن که بر خطّ استوا همازن علم کامند بین [...] و همه ناطق هستند در روز قیامت همازن که واتی انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء.

389b

آدم اَ که واتی که نزدیک شجر مروید که از ظالمان باشید که شیطان لباس شما را از شما بکشید براء اَ که خو از ناری و خداوند اَ لباسی که مظهر علم 32 کلمه هستی نداره هرگاه که شجرهٔ خبیثه نزدیک بشو از ناری اَ لباس که مثال هستی از خو بکشه.

389b

چه معنی داره که واتن که حقیقت با سرّ همه انبیا مهدیا و ابویا مهدی واژه که حقیقت همه انبیا در من تجلّی کین و مظهر همه متن با معنی که حقیقت خونان 32 کلمه بی که دره مظهر بیان ذات و صفات هکره و حقیقت خونان از مفردات بی.

389b

کلمه و مظهر هر دو قدیم هستند امّا قدرت کلمه داره که هر چون که هیخوازه براء مثال خویشتن مظهره راست هیداره [...] کلمه غالبی بر مظهر براء اَ که مظهر در تحت خلقت کلمه دری خلاف عکس کلمه خو بهر صفت که هیخواژه وراره خلاف عکس.

390a

هرچند که ذات قدیم حیوانات را مختلف بیافرید تا معلوم شود که یک ذات مختلف الاشکال می آفریند امّا قسط و عدل آن بر تصنیف کرده است تا اختلاف قسط و عدل نباشد و ما من دابّة الّا هو اخذ بناصیتها انّ ربّی علی صراط مستقیم امّا تمامی بانسان بنمودی نه بجای دیر براء اَ احسن تقویم.

390a

آن نفخه نفخهٔ من کامه بین در جهان تا ابد که 32 کلمه شناسانی 32 کلمه و بیان کین سرّ فطرة الله الّتی فطر النّاس علیها در هر مظهری که از مظاهر موجودات سر برآره بلکه منن و هر چه مانند آنها بو نفخات من بو در مظاهر.

390b

آو و باد و آتش قابلیّت اَ نداشتند که علم 32 کلمه بیند بی پس شیطان هوا که اَ کس که از خاک بیافریده و از آتش نیافرید که او مظهر علم 32 کلمه از خلقت نبو پس لا جرم ا کس که مظهر خلقت علم 32 نی از عالم شیطانی و خلقت و از چهار طبایع کشیده تر از آتش چیزی نی.

392a

باب تمامی و کلمتة القاها الی مریم و روح منه معلومی از کلمتة القاها که خو که مسیحی که همازن که بی کلمهٔ خدائی بی و خطّ و کتابت خدائی بی و اژ خو بهمه اشیا بشو و خو کامه بین اژ آسمان وقت صلوت بیاسه لا مهدی الّا عیسی ابن مریم وان من اهل الکتاب الّا لیؤمنن به قبل موته همازن که خو خطّ خدائی اند در سه جهان ظاهر و باطن تخیّل و تصوّر و چون

همه اشیا خطّ خدائی اند همه کلمهٔ خدائی اند همازن که واتی انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء تا همه کلمهٔ آلهی نبند انطق کلّ شیء نبند و انا کلام الله النّاطق و انا نقطة تحت الباء.

392a

همه اشیا کلمه و کتابت خدائی اند و باشارت هویند که امه کلمهٔ خدائی مانی همازن که خطّ ظاهر هوا که من باصطلاح چه چیزن و اَ کسی که اصطلاح خطّ ظاهر هزانه اصطلاح خطّ خدائی از خطّ که واتی علّم بالقلم علّم الانسان ما لم یعلم.

392a–b

اقرأ باسم ربّک الّذی خلق خلق الانسان من علق [...] اقرأ و ربّک الاکرم الّذی علّم بالقلم علّم الانسان ما لم یعلم [...] حقّ تعالی بقلم قدرت صورت 32 کلمهٔ خود کردانید درین سوره ذکر اسماء آلهی کرد آن اسما که علم ایشان پنجاه حرف و نقط کلام الهیست و درین سوره ذکر خلقت انسانی کرد که قابلیّت نوشتن و خواندن کلام آلهی دارد.

394b–395a

اَ که عیسی واتی در کتاب فطروس که مصحف حیات را خدا بر کرسئ بزرگواری نهاده بود و بهفت انگشتری مهر کرده مصحف حیات خطّ وجه مریم بو که هفت انگشتری عبارت از هفت سطر خدائی چهار مژهٔ خو و دو ابرو و یکی موی سر که بر هفت موضع اوست که هر یک مرکّب از چهار سطر باشد خاک و باد و آب و آتش چنانکه هفت مهر 28 باشد و بخطّ استواء او و موی فرق بگذری هشت سطر شود 32 سطر ظاهر شود در مقابل 32 سخن ابدی ازلی که خدا بآدم فرستاد که در توریت و قرآن آمده است که حقّ تعالی جمیع نامها تعلیم آدم کرده و جمیع نامها ازین 32 بیرون نیست و از خدا جدا نیست و چون کلام خداست و روح و کلمهٔ خداست آنرا عیسی گفت که من بکشایم با فطروس برّهٔ هفت شاخ آمد و آنرا فرو برد هفت شاخ همان 28 خواهد بود که هر یک شاخ چهار خطّ است و پیش حضرت عزّت آن برّه که کشته شد همه فرشتگان آسمان و زمین و انبیا سجده کردند و گفتند تو ما را بآن که خود را پیش پدر آسمانی فدا کردی از زبانهاء مختلف و لغتهاء مختلف برهانیدی.

396a

اکنون ای ترسا بزان که انبیا آمدند پیش از ظهور مسیح و واتند که دختری پوری بزا که نام او خدا با ما بو وقتی که او بیاسه شرک از دنیا برود مرتفع شود دین و ملّت و مذهب یک ببو مجموع آدمی زاد خدا شناس ببند یهود هوا مسیحه که ترسایان او را میدانند این نیست که انبیا وعده کیند براء اَ دین و ملّت و مذهب همه یک نشدند و همه خلق خداشناس نشدند جواب اوی که مسیح واتی ای حواریون من با شما سخن برمز و اشارت و کنایت گفته ام این بار بیایم و معنئ آنرا بیان کنم و گفت که من نیامدم که دین انبیا را ناقص کردانم بلکه آمدم تمام کردانم پیغمبر عم گواهی بدی که خو بو اَ که انبیا خبر داده بودند آمد و برفت و او کلمهٔ خدا باز خواهد آمدن و نشان قیامت یکی آمدن اوست اکنون بقول مسیح ای ترسا آن سخن که مسیح گفت من هرچه با شما گفته ام برمز و اشارت گفته ام باز خواهم آمدن تا آنرا آشکاره کنم پس بقول مسیح شما سخنهاء او را تا او بیان نکند فهم نخواهد کرد.

396a–397b

پیش از انکه آسمان و زمین بیافریدی کجا بودی گفت من در پدر پدر در من پدر قوّت ازلی است و من نطق اویم و روح القدوس صوت اوست [...] آنکه واتی که پیش پدر میروم بوجهی اوی که همچنانکه وجود پسر قائم بپدرست وجود نطق هم قائم بذات خداست و ذات و

صفات هر دو عین همه اند دو نمیباید دانست [...] میگوید که پدر قوّت ازلیست و من نطق اویم و روح القدوس صوت اوست بی صوت کلمه ظاهر نمیشود.

396b–397b

اکنون ای ترسا پیش تو هستی که آن صورت مریم داشتی صورت آدم و حوّا بی یا نه بضرورتی میباید گفتن بلی پس صورت روح گوشتمند ببی و صورت حاصل کی آن صورت آدم بی البتّه و در توریت و کتاب انبیا آهی که آدم عم حقّ تعالی نام مجموع موجودات آموخته بو و لغت مختلف که فرزندان آدم داشته دارند همچنین صورت آدم از آدم یافته اند و در توریت آمده است که من که خدا ام میخواستم چیزی بیافرینم بشکل خود و هیئات خود و صورت خود که پاذشاه مرغان هوا و ماهیان دریا باشد آدم را بیافریدم / اکنون مسیح را صورت که صورت آدم است بخلاف بباید دانست که آدم عم چون بشکل خدا و صورت خدا و هیئات خدا برآمده است اکنون بدان که شکل و صورت ازان صورت است هرگاه که صورت آدم را ره دانسته باشی بخدا برده باشی و جمیع انبیا را دانسته بدان که ره بسخن خدا و نطق خدا که مسیح گفت من نطق خدا ام برده باشی / اکنون ای ترسا بحکم توریت صورت آدم صورت خدا باشد پس صورت مسیح در شکم مریم گوشتمند شده بود و صورت حاصل کرده هم صورت خدا باشد اوّل بزانکه چرا مسیح کوشتمند ببی و صورت آدم برآهی تا او که مسیحه بو و کلمهٔ خدا بو ظاهر ببو که من کلمهٔ خدا ام که آمده ام [...] اکنون ای مسیحی بزان که مسیح گفت که من نطق خدایم و اَ سخن از زبان مسیح بیرون من آید آن نطق خدا بود دران وقت که او آمده بود بر زوان او 32 نطق که خدای تعالی بآدم آموخته بود در مقابل آن 32 خطّ بر روی او نوشته که آن 32 خطّ بر وجه مسیح بود در مقابل 32 نطق آدم که در دو جهان بظاهر و باطن هرچه هست ازیشان بیرون نیست 32 نطق بر زبان مسیح گذر نمیکرد از براء آن گفت بروم و بیایم تا دین انبیا را تمام کنم براء اتمام کردن آمده ام نه از براء نقصان.

401a

بجهت آن صلوت جمعه پانزده رکعه شد که غیر جمعه هفده رکعه بود تا هفده رکعه و پانزده جمع شود 32 رکعه باشد بعدد 32 کلمهٔ آلهی ازلی ابدی تا حضرت رسالت بجمیع کلام آلهی پرستش حضرت احدیّت کرده باشد که صفات قدیم اوست و تمّت کلمة ربّک صدقا و عدلا و ازین جهت ختم انبیا گشت.

401a–b

و چون آصل کلام که حروف مقطّعه است از آدم گذشت بغیر ازو بکسی دیگر نیامده و امّ الکتاب است که همه ازو مرکّبست باین معنی امّی است و [...] نسبت است بامّ که آصل کتاب امّ الکتاب است باو آمد و پس فاتحه را سبع المثانی و امّ الکتاب و کنز بجهت آن خواند حضرت رسالت آن چهارده آصل که سه دیگر ازو ظاهر میشود که هفتده باشد که آصل کتاب است و امّ الکتاب است.

403a

حضرت احدیّت بدست قدرت 28 کلمه را بر وجه آدم بجهت علم 28 کلمه بنوشت تا ازان علم وجه آدم ره بخلقت انسان ببرد و ازانجا ره به 28 کلمهٔ آلهی ازلی ابدی ببرد و ازانجا بحضرت احدیّت برد که این 32 کلمه قائم بآن ذاتست که و من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه.

405a

حضرت رسالت فرمود که او را در قیامت له عینان یبصر بها و لسان ینطق به یعنی او را دو چشم باشد در قیامت که آن حجر مردم را بآن دو چشم بیند و زبان باشد که بآن سخن گوید و عهدنامهٔ الست بربّکم که خدای تعالی از بنی آدم گرفته است بودیعت پیش اوست که روز قیامت بشکافد و آن عهدنامه ازو ظاهر شود وقتی که او خداوند دو چشم و زبان باشد چون مقام وجه و سر و جبههٔ آدم است ناچار صورت انسان ازو ظاهر شود.

406a–b

فرزند آدم را که این صورت که دارد اگر ترساست اگر یهودست و اگر مسلمان و اگر کافر میراث از آدم یافته است اکنون چون فرزند آدم است بصورت باید که چنانکه میراث صورت یافته است میراث باطن نیز علم اسماست که ملائکه را بآن اسماء معلّم شد و مسجود شد بداند که آن اسماء چند است و کدام است تا میراث از باطن آدم برده باشد چنانکه از صورت برده است و الّا فرزند معنیٔ او نباشد و چون ره بوجه پدر و خلقت نبرد رو در مقام وجه پدر کرده بعدد آن اسما 32 کلمه پرستش خدا نکرد کافرست و میراث پدر مسلمان که آدم است عم فرزند کافر نمی برد پس زمین بمیراث باو نمیرسد و هر چه در روی زمین است.

407b

ازین لوح محفوظ و خطّ آلهی بر جمیع خطوط اشیا که نباتات و حیوانات و حبوباتست بگذر و بر انجم بگذر و کتابت خدائی را که همه لوح محفوظ چنانکه لوح محفوظ آدم است که 32 کلمه را مظهر است همه اشیا را درو طلب کن که ما فرّطنا فی الکتاب من شیء.

409a

هر 32 در ذات خود یکند بجهت آنکه هر صفت ثبوتی و سلبی که در ذات یک کلمه موجود است در ذات سی و یک دیگر همان صفت موجود است تا اختلاف در ذات حضرت احدیّت و کلام آلهی که صفت اوست تباشد متکلّم باشد بکلام ازلی ابدی.

409a

انّما المسیح عیسی ابن مریم رسول الله و کلمته القاها الی مریم و روح منه یعنی رسول خدا بود یعنی سخن خدا بود و روح خدا بود و بجهت آنکه کلمهٔ خدا بود فرمود که در آخر زمان کلمة الله و روح الله بیاید بتقویّة دین احمد و همه خلائق یک دین و یک مذهب شوند و از مرگ خلاص یابند.

410a

تقسیم دیگر باز آن دوازده برج فلک بروج بجهت منازل قمر و القمر قدّرناه منازل 28 قسمت شده است بعدد 28 کلمهٔ حضرت رسالت چهارده ازین 28 دائم در زیر کرّهٔ خاک مخفی است و چهارده دائم بر وجه ارض ظاهر چنانکه خطّ وجه آدم چهارده خطّ موی ظاهر و چهارده مخفی اکنون چون فلک بروج بجهت منازل قمر 28 قسمت شد که در هر منزل او را شرفی و نقصانی حاصل میشود.

410b

و هر صفت که در ذات آ مندرج است در ذات آ و ب و ت تا تمامی مندرجست و در ذات ایشان و صفات ایشان با همدیگر قطعا و اصلا مخالفت نیست ولو کان من عند غیر الله لوجدوا فیه اختلافا کثیرا [...] قائم بذات حقّند و ازلی و ابدی اند صفات قدیم حقّند و غیر مخلوقند.

410b–411a

[32 کلمه] قائم بذات حقّند و ازلی و ابدی اند صفات قدیم حقّند و غیر مخلوقند چنانکه از روی اسمیّت بهمه اشیا در دو جهان رسیده است همه مکوّنات در دو جهان ازیشان خالی نیست تا زبان در دهن متحرّک ازین 32 کلمه چیزی ظاهر میشود و اگر سنگ بر سنگ زنی کلمه و صوت و آوازی که ازو بیرون می آید ازین 28 و 32 کلمهٔ آلهی خارج نیست ازینجاست که حضرت عزّت فرمود انّه بکلّ شیء محیط وان من شیء الّا یسبّح بحمده و لکن لا تفقهون تسبیحهم حضرت رسالت ازینجا فرمود که سنگ ریزه تسبیح میکند و من میشنوم و اگر آن دو سنگ بر هم نیاید همچون ایشان خاموش است که ان نطق بالقوّة درو موجود است [...] پس لازم آمد که همه اشیا کلمهٔ آلهی باشند که گفت انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء یوم تبدّل الارض غیر الارض و السّماوات.

413b–414a

ولمّا جاء موسی لمیقاتنا و کلّمه ربّه چون موسی کلام آلهی را شنید طلب رؤیت کرد که ربّ ارنی انظر الیک مفعول ارنی ذاتک أو وجهک خواهد بود محذوفست در توریت ارنی وجهک آمده است حضرت فرمود لن ترانی یعنی هرگز مرا نه بینی و لکن انظر الی الجبل فان استقرّ مکانه فسوف ترانی جبل گفت و وجه و رأس او را خواست [...] فلمّا تجلّی ربّه للجبل جعله دکّا و خرّ موسی صعقا چون تجلّئ حضرت بر کوه کرد کوه وجه و رأس و جبهه پاره پاره شد بجهت 28 علم کلمهٔ آلهی و 32 علم کلمهٔ آلهی و خرّ موسی صعقا.

414b–415a

و کتبنا له فی الالواح من کلّ شیء موعظة و تفصیلا لکلّ شیء فخذها بقوّة و أمر قومک یأخذوا باحسنها سأوریکم دار الفاسقین الواح که حضرت عزّت موعظت ازین معنی نوشته بود که لوح وجه آدم است عم [...] موسی عم این الواح را بینداخت و بشکست که کمال در شکستن بود تا علم 28 کلمه ظاهر شود چون خطّ استوا بگذری [...] و تا این کسر و شکستن نبودی علم 28 کلمهٔ آلهی در لوح خلقت ظاهر نشدی [...] پس اگر موسی عم آن الواح را نشکستی علم 28 کلمهٔ آلهی و خطّ آلهی و 32 کلمه ظاهر نشدی کسانی که آنرا ادب ندانستند ره بحکمت آلهی و موسی نبرده بودند.

415a–b

و آدم را چرا سدرة المنتهی خواند بجهت آنکه اوّل علمی که از حضرت عزّت می آید بسدرة المنتهی می رسد اوّل علم که بمسجود ملائکه آدم رسید بعد ازان از آدم بملائکه و انبیا و اولیا رسید و هر طاعتی و صلوت که از زمین ملائکه می برند بسدرة المنتهی می رسد که صورت و معنی آدم است [...] صلوت تو که هفده رکعه و یازده رکعه است و هفده رکعه و پانزده رکعه که 32 رکعه و 28 رکعه باشد باز بسدرة المنتهی میباید رسانیدن که خطّ وجه آدم است.

415b

صورت او صورت آلهیست و مسجود ملائکه ازینجهت است پس ناچار صورت او صورت منتها باشد و حضرت احدیّت را دران صورت توان دیدن و عندها جنّة المأوی و نزدیک سدرة المنتهی باشد جنّت که عرضها السّماوات و الارض اعدّت للمتّقین.

418a–b

آنکه فرموده است که حضدت رسالت که حجر الاسود را در روز قیامت دو چشم باشد و یک لسان که بدان سخن گوید کنایتست از انکه صورت آدم ازو ظاهر شود و هفت طواف ازو ابتدا باید گرفت بجهت حجّ و هفت بجهت عمره [...] که آن حجر الاسود در مقابلهٔ مثال هفت سطر [...] که بر رخسار اهل بهشت خواهد بود و بجهت آن معنی است که خطّ سپید بر میان حجر الاسود است [...] بر خطّ استوا آن چون بگذری هفت خطّ هشت سطر شود هر سطری چهار سطر [...] 32 سطر بعدد 32 کلمهٔ آلهی که این بود که حضرت رسالت فرموده است که عهدنامهٔ الست بربّکم حقّ تعالی از بنی گرفت و بامانت بآن حجر الاسود سپرد روز قیامت صورت آدم گیرد و آن حجر لاسود بشکافد و آن عهدنامه ازو بیرون آید چون بر خطّ استوا که شکافته میشود هفت سطر هشت سطر میگردد هر سطر چهار سطر 32 سطر میگردد بعدد 32 کلمهٔ آلهی تعلیم آدم عم کرده است.

418b–419a

اذا اخذ ربّک من بنی آدم من ظهورهم ذریّتهم و اشهدهم علی انفسهم الست بربّکم قالوا بلی تا فرزندان آدم را حاضر نکردانید و گواه نکرداند بر نفسهاء ایشان که اشهدهم علی انفسهم نفرمود که الست بربّکم چون بر خلقت نفس خود حاضر شوند و احاطهٔ کلمهٔ آلهی بر همه اشیا و نفس خود را در مقابلهٔ آن 32 کلمهٔ آلهی یافتند گفتند بلی چون شیاطین ره بخلقت آسمانها و زمین و نفس خود نبردند در خلقت کیفیّت خلقت ظاهر نشدند حقّ تعالی فرموده است ما اشهدتهم خلق السموات و الارض و لا خلق انفسهم [...] یعنی شیاطین و ذریّت او بخلقت آسمانها و بخلقت آفرینش نفس خود نرسیدند و از معنئ من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه محروم ماندند هرگاه که کسی بسرّ خلقت سیصد و شصت پاره استخوان خود و سیصد و شصت پاره کوشت و سیصد و شصت پاره پی و سیصد و شصت پاره رک و سیصد و شصت پاره پوست که هر یک شش بار شصت باشد و هر شصتی 28 و 32 در ازاء 28 و 32 کلمهٔ آلهی برسد و خطّ و وجه که در مقابلهٔ 32 کلمهٔ ازلی ابدی است بخواند و از 28 کلمهٔ آلهی ره به 32 کلمهٔ آلهی که علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها ببرد چنانکه ملائکهٔ مقرّب از آدم آنرا تعلیم گرفتند ره بخلقت اشیا برده باشد و بر نفس خود گواه شد و خطاب الست بربّکم قالوا بلی گفته و رو بمقام وجه آدم که کعبهٔ الهی است کرده.

420a

و در میان انبیا نسبت باشد بمریم [...] نسبت بامّ داد که خلقت مریم را او بیان کند و از دختر بکر بزاید یعنی از خلقت مریم خلقت او ظاهر شود یعنی خطوط آلهی بر وجه او بکر ازین معنی ست / از وجهی دیگر که بیان خلقت آن بکر کسی بیان نکرده است این مسیح مریم که کلمهٔ آلهیست ازان مریم بکر میزاید که دست هیچ مخلوقی بآن بکر نرسیده است و ره بخلقت آن مریم بکر کسی نبرده است و همین است حور مقصورات فی الخیام [...] لم یطمثهنّ انس قبلهم و لا جانّ یعنی حوریان و پریان سیاه چشم باشند در خیمها که دست مردان بایشان نرسیده باشد یعنی بخلقت ایشان.

421b

یهود میگوید که آن مسیح که انبیا وعده کرده بودند که دختر بکر بزاید و پسری بیاورد که نام او عمّانویل باشد که بمعنی خدا با ما باشد و چون او بیاید در جهان دین و مذهب و اعتقاد یکی شود و همه خلایق و اهل کتاب یکی شود و اختلاف کتاب برخیزد و پچه در کهواره

خداشناس شود بعد ازان بتعلیم احتیاج نباشد اکنون آن مسیح که آمده است یهودان میگویند که آن نیست اینک اختلاف میان خلایق باقی است / ترسا بدوازده شقّه اند و یهودان بهفتاد و دو و محمّد بهفتاد و سه و مجوسی بهفتاد علی هذا پس آن مسیح که انبیا وعده کرده اند نیامده باشد الجواب مسیح آنست که ترا اسا میگوید که انبیا وعده کرده بودند که آمد بعضی از علوم آلهی رسانید آن باز خواهد آمدن تا تمامئ شرک مرتفع شود و آدمی زاد همه خداشناس شوند چنانکه وعدهٔ انبیا بود و محمّد عم برین نیز گواهی چنین که داده است.

423a

اکنون ایطالب حقیقی بشناس که آن مصحف حیات چه است که هفت انگشتری مهر دارد که برّهٔ هفت شاخی آنرا فرو برد ای طالب بدانکه هفت کتابت است که بر وجه مریم بکر است یک خطّ موی سر است و دو ابرو و چهار مژه که بر هفت موضع است که مقام آن هفت موست که کتابت خدائی است هفت مهر اوّل.

423b

دران وقت بجهت آن مسیح اظهار خود نکرد که علم 32 کلمهٔ آلهی بر وجه داشت و 28 دندان و 32 دندان که علم 32 کلمهٔ آلهی بود داشت امّا بر زبان او 32 کلمه که وجه او بران خلقت بود روان نبود گفت خواهم آمدن و بیان خود کردن

425a–b

اگر میخواهی که ره بمسیح بری و او را کلام خدا و سخن خدا بحقیقت بدانی باید که بدانی که آن سخن خدا در شکم مریم درآمد و گوشتمند شد و باین شکل و صورت آدم برآمد که 32 دندان و 32 خطّ بر وجه داشته باشند و بر خطّ غیر استوا 28 داشته باشد که اگر ره باین نبردی ره بصورت آدم که صورت خداست نخواهی برد و نشان 32 کلمهٔ آدم بر وجه مسیح نخواهی یافت و او را در همه اشیا نخواهی دید.

425b–426a

عیسی مجرّد یعنی همین است که [...] آن 32 کلمهٔ آلهی که مجرّد باشد و مرکّب نشده باشد که در ترکیب عرض هست و کثرتست [...] آن کلمهٔ مجرّد اوست که در ذات آن 32 کلمهٔ مجرّد را شکل نیست و صورت نیست و قسمت پذیر نیست و در تصوّر و تخیّل نیامد و طول و عرض و عمق را باو راه نیست با همه شیء باشد و بی همه شیء باشد چنانکه در کتاب فطروس آمده است که با ما همه ماییم و بی همه شیء ماییم و کسی بر ما محیط نشود و بر همه شیء محیط باشیم ازلی ابدی غیر مرئی مسیح را در همه اشیاء اینچنین مجرّد بیاب.

426a

مسیح گفت که نیامده ام که دین انبیا نقصان کنم بدان آمده ام که تمام کنم چون گفت سخن خدا ام اوّل چیزی که از اسمان آمد سخن بود و خدا بآن سخن بود و من آن سخن بودم پس برین تقدیر بآدم و آدمی زاد 32 سخن آمده است چنانکه صورت آدم و آدمی زاد علم 32 سخن است و مسیح گفت من آن سخنم پس مسیح خواهد آمدن تا آن سخن را که بآدم آمده است که 32 است و بهر نبیّ ازان چند کلمه آمده است فرمود که خواهم آمدن که آنرا تمام کنم و سرّ تمامئ آنرا آشکار کنم و نیامدم که نقصان آن کنم پس مسیح چون سخن خداست میباید که اظهار کند که سخن خدا چند است و چند کلمه است و باشیاء وجود خود را بنسبت چگونه آمده باشد که گفت من خواهم آمدن که بیان کنم آنچه برمز و اشارت گفته ام.

428a–b

اگر شخصی گوید که لام الف را براء چه می نویسند و حضرت رسالت در حدیث لام الف را یک حرف خوانده است سبب چیست جواب آنست که لام الف چون در تقدیر آید چهار حروف بی مکرّرست قائم مقام آن حروف است که بآدم آمده است تا 32 باشد که حقّ تعالی فرماید که ما ننسخ من آیة أو ننسها نأت بخیر منها أو مثلها [...] یا هر آیتی که تأخیر کنیم و ننویسیم مثل آن نویسم چون آن جهار حروف را تأخیر کرد مثل آن بحضرت رسالت بفرستاد قائم مقام آن چهار کلمهٔ آدم را آورد تا 32 تمام شود که اوتیت القرآن و مثله معه که داده شده ام قرآن و مثل قرآن.

429a

پس قفاء بجهت آن فرمود که ایمان آورد در قرآن من قبل أن نطمس وجوها فنردّها علی أدبارها [...] یعنی نشان علم کلمه را ازو محو کنیم یا آنکه روی شما را با قفاء کردانیم یعنی چنانکه علم 28 کلمه و 32 کلمه در مقابل ظاهر نیست روی شما را همچنانکه کردانیم چون روی حیوان که روی خوکان و روی سگان کردانیم یعنی روی ایشانرا موی ایشان چنان بپوشاند که علم 28 کلمهٔ آلهی و 32 کلمهٔ ناپیدا باشد.

430a

وکذلک جعلناکم امّة وسطا لتکونوا شهداء علی النّاس و یکون الرّسول علیکم شهیدا و ما جعلنا القبلة [...] این امّة وسط گواه اند روز قیامت بجهت تبلیغ رسالة انبیاء از علم قرآن و علم کتاب الله و دانستن آن گواهی خواهد دادن که انبیا بتبلیغ رسالت کردن و بر صدق ایشان رسول عم گواه است و یکون الرّسول علیکم شهیدا مقوّئ همین معنی است و یقول الّذین کفروا لست مرسلا قل کفی بالله شهیدا بینی و بینکم و من عنده علم الکتاب چون هرکس که قرآن پیش اوست گواه است بجهت انبیا که ما فرّطنا فی الکتاب من شیء.

430a–b

حضرت رسالت فرموده است من مات و لم یعرف امام زمانه فقد مات میتة جاهلیّة [...] این حدیث معلوم میشود که هیچ زمان از امام خالی نباشد و امام هر زمانی کتاب آسمانئ آن زمان بوده است چنانکه و من قبله کتاب موسی اماما و رحمة و کلّ شیء احصیناه فی امام مبین پس قرآن و جمیع کتب سماوی امام آن بوده باشد و القرآن امامی پس واجب شد دانستن امام که کتاب آسمانی است و قرآن امام است بجهت آنکه بیان ذات و صفات و مبداء و معاد و علم ازل و ابد و ما کان و ما یکون میکند.

432a–b

قرآن مرکّبست از 28 کلمه که علم آن 28 کلمه 28 حروفست و بیست و دو نقطه چنانکه پنجاه حروف و نقطه باشد حضرت احدیّت خطاب کرد که ای محمّد پنجاه صلوت بگذار بعدد پنجاه حروف و نقطهٔ قرآنرا علم آنست و در مصحف مکتوب این پنجاه حروف و نقطه است اکنون عظمت و جلالت کلام آلهی ببین که بعد ازان که حضرت رسالت را بچه اعزاز بآسمانها بردند [...] و جبرئیل باز ماند حضرت خطاب کرد که پنجاه صلوت بگذار بعدد پنجاه حروف و نقطهٔ کلام آلهی که ایشان علم آن 28 کلمه اند که در تلفّظ می آید و قائم است بذات حضرت عزّت و ازلی و ابدی است و غیر مخلوقست.

434b

حقّ تعالی چون آدم را می آفرید و او را مظهر 32 کلمهٔ ازلی ابدی که علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها خواست کردانیدن و از زبان او این 32 کلمه ظاهر خواست شدن او را علم 28 و 32 کلمه همچو خطّ کتابت بر وجه نوشت اوّل آن 28 کلمه که بحضرت رسالت آمده است تا بعد ازان بیان 32 کلمه کرده شود.

437b–438a

نطفهٔ آدم که از پشت آدم بیرون آمد در رحم حوّا آن هفت سطر حاصل کرد و خلقت و پیکر تمام شده بیرون می آید پس امّ الکتاب بوجهی هفت سطر موی حوّا یک موی سر و دو ابرو و چهار مژه باشد بر هفت موضع که چهارده باشد و ازان هفت موضع که دو موی بینی و دو عارض و دو لب بالا و یک لب زیر این هفت محوست و منع آن هفت موضع هفت خطّ آلهیست این هفت و آن هفت مو بر هفت سه هفت باشد که بیست و یک کلمهٔ آلهی باشد الحمد الله ربّ العالمین که هفت آیتست و از 32 کلمهٔ آلهی بیست و یک کلمه درو آمده است در ازاء خلقت وجه حوّاست که انّ الجنّة تحت اقدام الامّهات و فاتحة الکتاب باین معنی فاتحة الکتاب خواند حضرت رسالت که تقسیم خطّ وجه آدم را افتتاح ازوست [...] و امّ الکتاب بجهت آن خواند که تا خطّ وجه حوّا خوانده نشود خطّ وجه آدم برو خوانده نمیشود.

439b

و آن که حجر بشکافد و عهد نامهٔ آلهی ظاهر شود و او را دو چشم و زبان باشد چون آن حجر الاسود را که خلقت آدم و حوّاست بخطّ استواء خدا بشکافت علم 32 کلمهٔ ازلی ابدی ظاهر شد و سرّ الست بربّکم ظاهر شد می بینی که جمعه اعضاء تو از کلمهٔ کن در وجود آمد.

441a–b

این دوده و سیاهی که در مصحف نوشته شده است و علم 28 کلمهٔ آلهیست که قدیم است و قائم بذات حقّ است این پنجاه حروف و نقطة دوده و سیاهی قدیم باشد [...] پس شکل و پیکر ایشانرا کاتب براء علم کلمه نهاده است [...] اکنون این مسئله در خداشناسی و در کلام شناسی مشکلترین مسائل است که ظاهرا چگونه این دوده و سیاهی بحقیقت کلام آلهی باشد این مسئله را مقدّمات چند است اوّل فهم آن مقدّمات باید کرد تا آن معلوم شود اوّلا معلوم میباید کرد که اسم عین مسمّاست.

443a

و هیچ شیء از اشیا نیست که از روی اسمیّت ایشان بآن شیء نرسیده اند و هیچ شیء از اشیاء نیست که اگر در آواز آیند آواز ایشان و صوت و صدای ایشان خارج ازین 32 کلمهٔ آلهی باشد و اگر خواهی آن کلمه را که ازانجا ظاهر میشود بفرض و تصوّر و تخیّل جدا کنی ممکن نباشد و اگر او را بتصوّر ازان مظهر جدا کنی آن مظهر خود نماند مثلا دو سنگ که بر هم زدی آوازی ازو بدر آمد که چک و چک چیم و کاف اگر خواهی که آن چیم و کاف که چک است ازو محو کنی و ازو درکشی آن سنگ را چیزی نماند وقتی که آن کلمه ازو جدا شده باشد نه نه نه این معنی بود که حضرت رسالت فرمود که سنگ ریزه خدا را تسبیح میکند.

443b–444a

مسئله پس اگر سائل سؤآل کند که آنچه در جو میرود چیست جواب دهد که آبست گوید که من نمی پرسیدم که آنچه در جو میرود اسم او چیست تا تو گویی که آبست اگر گوید جوهریست

شفّاف درخشنده و حیات بخش تر و تازه و روشن جواب آنست که اینها صفت اویند آن چیز که این صفت باو قائم است آن چیست جواب نخواهد داد بجهت اینست که پیش جمیع بحث حکمت کرده اند و بحکمت انبیا عم نرسیده اند میگویند که آن ماهیّت است و ماهیّت اشیا معلوم نیست ایشان بدین طور نرسیدند اکنون آنچه در جو میرود آن چیست و آن در جوست که سنگ است آن چیست جواب آنست که اسم عین مسمّاست آنکه گفتی در جواب آبست راست است و گویی که شفاف است و بارد و سرد و حیاتبخش راست است امّا وجه روشن آنست که آب و سنگ هرگاه که بهم رسند و خود را بر همدیگر میزنند از ایشان چه چیز بیرون می آید کلمهٔ از 32 کلمه پس ایشان بخود میگویند که ما چه چیزیم و چه ذاتیم و باد که می چهد بر جای فریاد میکند و آن کلمه ازو بیرون می آید خود که من چیستم مجموع مرغان هوا و برگ درختان و هر شیء از اشیاء که بر هم می آید آواز 32 کلمهٔ آلهی ظاهر میشود خود میگوید که من آن کلمه ام و اگر آن کلمه را ازو درکشی و محو کنی او را وجود نخواهد ماند و خود جدا نتوانی کرد و صفت آلهیست که درو تجلّی کرده است چگونه ازو در توان کشید محالست محالست ایشانرا از اشیاء درکشیدن و از اشیاء شیء ماندن ممکن نیست / از زمین که عبارتست از کلوخ و گل که بر هم میزنی کلمهٔ از 32 کلمه ظاهر میشود و از باد همچنین و از آتش همچنین و از جمیع اشیاء همچنین پس چنانکه صورت اشیاء بهم متّصلند در همه اشیاء کلمهٔ آلهی را چنین میدان تا موحّد باشی.

445b–446a

پس ازینجا معلوم شد که ایشان این اسماء را میدانستند و از خداء تعالی تعلیم این اسماء یافته بودند بحکم لا علم لنا الّا ما علّمتنا [...] پس حضرت عزّت میفرماید که و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها که 32 کلمهٔ مفرده است که آصل اسماست تعلیم آدم کرد با تمامئ اسما که مرکّبات بحکم الف لام میم و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها بتأکید کلّی پس آدم عم مفرد را دانسته باشد و هم مرکّب چون حضرت عزّت آدم را تعلیم جمیع اسما کرد [...] پس مسمّیاترا که بر ملائکه عرضه کرد [...] پس این اسما آن اسما نبوده باشد که ملائکه خدا را بآن اسم و اشیا را بآن اسم خوانده باشند.

447a–b

باب فیض آلهی مسدود نیست که بعد از حضرت رسالت عم باب وحی مسدود است امّا باب رؤیائ صالحه که حضرت رسالت فرموده است لم یبق من النبوّة الّا المبشّرات و قالوا ما مبشّرات قال الرّؤیاء الصّالحة یراها المسلم او تری له و قال الرّؤیاء الصالحة جزء من ستّة و اربعین جزء من النّبوّة [...] پس باین حدیث حضرت رسالت [...] در الهام و خواب که جزویست از نبوّة مسدود نیست که اگر در فیض آلهی مسدود بودی حضرت احدیّت نفرمودی که و کذلک جعلناکم امّة وسطا لتکنوا شهداء علی النّاس و یکون الرّسول علیکم شهیدا حضرت رسالت فرمود که من رأنی فی المنام فسیرانی [فی الیقظة] و من رآنی فی المنام فقد رآی الحقّ پس باب فیض آلهی مسدود نباشد که اگر مسدود بودی لتکونوا شهداء علی النّاس ممکن نبودی و اولیا را در عالم کشف هیچ معلوم نگشتی و فائده از لم یبق من النبوّة الّا البشّرات نبودی پس معلوم شد که فیض فیّاض منقطع نیست.

448a

اکنون بدان ای طالب که آدم عم بحکم و علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها مظهر این 32 کلمهٔ آلهی شده است که آصل اسماست مثلا از حضرت عزّت وجه و ید و اصابع و جنب و پهلو و رجل و

احسن تقویم و صورت امرد قطط همه از براء شیء معیّن موضوعست / مثلا وجه این لفظ موضع این اسم از براء موضع معیّن که روی آدمیست و ید همچنین و رجل همچنین و اصابع و لفظ اصبع موضوعست از براء انگشتان و انگشت / اکنون حضرت عزّت میگوید که ید الله و وجه الله و اصابع الرّحمن این استعاره از آدم میکند نه از غیر آدم که صاحب وجه و ید و رجل و جنب و اصبع اوست و معلّم اسما اوست.

448a–b

اکنون بباید دانست ای طالب که این از چه جهت است و این معلوم نشود الاّ بهدایت آلهی و دانستن خلقت آدم و خلقت اشیا که چرا آدمی و آدمی زاد را باین خلقت مخصوص موجودست واین استعاره حضرت احدیّت از آدم چرا کرده همچنانکه در شب معراج حضرت رسالت که شیر اختیار کرد جبرئل گفت اخترت الفطرة یعنی بخلقت انسانی رسیدی.

451b

اکنون چرا حضرت احدیّت افلاک را بر 32 و 28 قسمت بعدد 28 و 32 کلمهٔ خود کرد بجهت آنکه انسان که بحدیث سیصد و شصت استخوان دارد هر یک در مقابلهٔ درجه تا همچو فلک شش بار شصت باشد هر شصت 28 و 32 همچنین سیصد و شصت پی و سیصد و شصت رگ و سیصد و شصت گوشت و سیصد و شصت پوست بجهت آنکه تا هر استخوان در مقابلهٔ پی و رکی و گوشتی و پوستی هست همچنانکه در [درجات] فلک البروج که سیصد و شصت درجه است جمیع افلاک منقسم شوند در مقابلهٔ سیصد و شصت پاره استخوان و گوشت و پوست و پی و رگ منقسم شوندد.

451b–452a

جمیع افلاک منقسم شوند در مقابلهٔ سیصد و شصت پاره استخوان و گوشت و پوست و پی و رگ منقسم شوند چرا که افلاک همچنین منقسم است بخلقت ذوی العقول بجهت آنکه ایشان همچو آدم معلوم کرده اند امّا ازیشان بالفعل نطق 28 و 32 کلمهٔ آدم ظاهر نیست بلکه بالقوّة مثالا اگر مرد مدرک را زبان ببرّند کلمهٔ آلهی ازو صادر نشود امّا بالقوّة درو صادر باشد.

456a

شهد الله انّه لا اله الاّ هو و الملائکة و اولوا العلم قائما بالقسط ای موحّدان زمان که بخلقت اشیا برسیدی و قائما بالقسط بر خطّ استوا جمیع اشیا بگذر و ببین که خلقت اشیا را حضرت چون کرده است قائما بالقسط باشد تو نیز آنزمان که قائما بالقسط را فهم کردی و گواهی از قبل حقّ تعالی میدهی و قائما بالقسط امّت وسط شده و بر میان استوا خطّ اشیا گذشته و حضرت عزّت قائما بالقسط در جمیع خلقت اشیا یافته پاذشاهی که هرگز متزلزل نشود.

456b

اگر دانهٔ گندم که خطّ استوا بر میان خود دارد اگر هزار پاره شود و طعمهٔ حیوان شود سر از خطّ استواء حیوان بر آورد اگر هزار بار طعمهٔ هزار و نبات و علف شود سر از خطّ استواء برگ و دانه بر آورد و مجموع خاک و آب و باد و آتش که سر از جماد و شجر و نبات و حیوان بر می آرند طالب خطّ استوا اند و از خطّ استوا امکان گردیدن نیست از براء آنکه آن علف خطّ استوا بر میان دارد تا علم دو کلمهٔ کن باشد هر طرف ازان یک و اسم 32 کلمه باشد بهر زبان علم آن نبات شده و اگر آن نباترا بر جای زنی کلمه از 32 کلمه ازو ظاهر شود و اگر خواهی که آن کلمه را که ازو ظاهر میشود بوهم و تصوّر و فرض جدا کنی ممکن نباشد و بر سبیل محال اگر کسی آن کلمه را ازان نبات درکشد آن نبات را وجود نماند

چرا که عین آن کلمه است یوم تبدّل الارض غیر الارض و السّماوات اشیا مبدّل شود بکلمهٔ آلهی تو اوّل اشیا میدیدی و اجسام چون نظر کردی از من عنده علم الکتاب همه کتاب الله و امّ الکتاب آدم و محمّد عم و خطوط وجه ایشان.

457b

اگر سائل سؤآل کند که چرا رسول عم بیان این حقیقت نکرد و واتی بعثت ببیان الشّریعة لا ببیان الحقیقة جواب اوی که چون خو رسول آخر زمان بی و بعد ازو رسول نکامه بین و خبر داد که امّت من بهفتاد و سه گروه بیند همه بدوزخ روند الّا یک گروه و واتی که شهید من در رسالت من بقول خدا انکس بود که و من عنده علم الکتاب تا هرگاه که ا شهید بیاسه بگواهی بدو بحقیقت من و ازین علم و حقائق منه خدا بخو ظاهر بکره معلوم ببو خلائق و بنی آدم که اَ کس از پیش خدا آهی و ره بعلم خدا بی و فرقهٔ ناجی خو هزانه و بس سبب نواتن رسول یک وجه این بی و دوّم اَ که خدا خواستی خلائق بسی طلب این سرّ کردند و مشکل رسند تا بزانند که و لا یحیطون بشیء من علمه الّا بما شاء.

459a

امّا بوجه دیگر بکلمات فاتمهنّ مراد 32 کلمهٔ آلهی خواهد بود چون تمام کرد قال انّی جاعلک للناس اماما قال و من ذریّتی قال لا ینال عهدی الظالمین عهد الست بربّکم که در ضمن حجر الاسود.

459b

امّت محمّد عم امّت وسط اند و وسط میانست چون امّت او خیر حقیقت بود و خیر حقیقت امّت بود که بوسط جمیع آسمانها و زمین و کعبه و خطوط اشیا خواهد رسید و کعبه وسط ارض است که امّت خو بسرّ کعبه برسند.

460b

بشناس ای طالب سرّ حقیقت کلام آلهی که الف اسم است ازان آ و بی اسم است ازان ب و اَ که مسمّاست در اوّل اسم او که الف است آمده است تا معلوم شود که اسم عین مسمّاست بحکم علّم آدم الاسماء کلّها.

460b

چون طالب قطع نظر از شکل و صورت و هیکل و پیکر بکند الف اسم است ازان آ و بی اسم ازان ب تعقّل ذاتی کند از شکل و هئیات و قسمت و تخیّل و تصوّر منزّه و مبرّا و محیط بر همه اشیا و همه اشیا مظهر او چه در تخیّل و تصوّر و در خواب و بیداری.

462a–b

ای طالب تو مخلوق ببیا به 32 کلمهٔ خدائی که اَ 32 کلمه در ذات خود یک کلمه بو بدلائلی که گفته ببی و حقیقت تو اَ 32 کلمهٔ ازلیٔ ابدی که متّصل بذات حضرت احدیّت است چون بآن مقام برسی لا جرم اژه اولی تو که لا یذقون فیها الموت الّا الموتة الاولی اسکن انت و زوجک الجنّة یک بهشت کامه بین.

462b–463a

و از انجا که لوح محفوظ است و خطّ وجه آدم و حوّاست برو بهمهٔ شکل کلّ کائنات و هر شیء از اشیا که میخواهی و نشان حسن محبوبرا طلب کن و خطّ آلهی را از آنجا بخوان چون تأمّل خطّ امّ الکتاب کردی آن حدیث را طلب کن که خدا را شرابی هست که اولیا او چون او را بخوارند طلبوا و اذا طلبوا وجدوا [...] وصلوا و التّصلوا لا فرق بینه و بینهم و آن

شراب حوض کوثرست که بر خطّ استواء وجه آدم 32 کلمهٔ آب و 32 کلمهٔ باد و 32 کلمهٔ آتش و 32 کلمهٔ خاک عینا یشرب بها المقرّبون یسقون من رحیق مختوم ختامه مسک اَ آب و اَ شراب بمسک و رحیق مهر بکیبو که اَ خطّ سیاه زلف و سیاه ابرو و مژه سیاه بو و هر کس که از حوض کوثر آب بخوارد دیگر هرگز تشنه نشود.

463b–464a

اگر خواهی که از اشیا که مظهر کلمهٔ آلهی اند آن کلمه را ازیشان جدا کنی امکان نیست نه بفعل و نه بوهم و نه بتصوّر و نه بتعقّل [...] چون کلمهٔ آلهی صفت قدیم الهیست قائم بذات آلهی است و هیچ چیزی ازو خالی نیست حقّ تعالی فرمود انّه بکلّ شیء محیط پس اگر از جمیع موجودات بالفرض کلمهٔ آلهی که ایشان بآن قائمند درکشی اشیا را وجود نماند [...] وقتی که او [یعنی کلمهٔ از سنگ] جدا شده باشد هیچ چیزی باقی ازان سنگ نمی ماند که اطلاق شیء برو کنی [...] مراد حاصل که غیر از کلمه چیزی دیگر نیست.

463b–464a

و قالوا لجلودهم لم شهدتم علینا قالوا انطقنا الله الّذی انطق کلّ شیء پس معلوم بو که نطق مخصوص نیست بانسان همه اشیا ناطق خواهد بود در قیامت یعنی از جمیع اشیا کلمهٔ آلهی ظاهر شود که یسبّح للّه ما فی السّماوات و ما فی الارض وان من شیء الّا یسبّح بحمده ولکن لا تفقهون تسبیحهم آن زمان که از همه اشیا نطق ظاهر شود فهم تسبیح اشیا کرده شود.

464b

اکنون ای طالب که ظاهر قرآن را قدیم میدانی وقتی که دوده و سیاهی نهاده بود و صورت الف و ب و ت ازو بر کاغذ ظاهر نشده بود این شکل الف و ب و ت و ث را در آنجا مشاهده میکنی یا نه باید که بالقوّة مشاهده میکنی چنانکه بناء در آلت خانه مشاهدهٔ خانه میکند و نجّار در درخت مشاهدهٔ تخت و سریر میکند مثلا نجّار بر چوب پارهٔ بدر انداخت و پارهٔ چند او را بگذشت ازو خطّ و کتابت ظاهر میشود مثلا نجّار بی دوات و قلم بر چوب اسم الله مینگارد چون اطراف آن چوبرا بدر انداخت اسم الله ظاهرا از چوب ظاهر شد [...] در همه اشیا به همین [...] که همه اشیا قابلیّت صورت کلمه و کتابت آلهی دارند چنانکه در وقت صدا از کلمهٔ آلهی خالی نیستند که اگر ان کلمهٔ آلهی را ازیشان بتصوّر و توهّم جدا کنی ذرّهٔ ازیشان نماند.

465b–466a

32 کلمه در ذات خود یکی اند از جمیع صفات و ذات علم ایشان یک نقطهٔ آصل باشد در قائم مقام 32 کلمه ازینجا گفت که سرّ خدا در تحت نقطهٔ بیٔ بسم الله است و من آن نقطه ام و آن نقطه که علم کلمهٔ آلهی است یعنی من علم آن کلمهٔ آلهی ام.

468b

این 32 کلمهٔ قدیم ازلی و ابدی است بلا شکل و صورت و پیکر و هیئات و بلا عمق و لون و طول و عرض و این 32 کلمه از صوت بظهور می آید و صوت از قوّت ازلی و قوّت ازلی ای طالب آن ذاتست که کلّ موجودات باو موجود شده است و اشیا بقوّت ازلی قائم است و قوّت ازلی بذات خود قائم است بلا شکّ.

470a

حضرت عزّت ج ه میفرماید که الست بربّکم و حضرت صاحب کمال میفرماید که ارواح بنی آدم را از پشت آدم عم بیرون آورد و ازیشان این سؤال کرد که نیستم من پروردگار شما

باتّفاق میگفتند که بلی یعنی هستی تو پروردیگار ما و بازاعاده کرد با پشت پدر یعنی باز گردانید بمرکز آصلی خود بسبب خطاب ارجع الی ربّک باز گردیدن و بمرکز آصل خویش قرار گرفتند.

472a–b

این مقام آن مقام نیست که اینجا این زمان و آن زمان و ابتدا و انتها و ماضی و مستقبل و حال یکیست و دو نیست ای طالب نیکو فهم کن که این مقام آن مقام نیست که اینجا [...] ازل و ابد خلاف یکدیگر باشد و بعد زمانی باشد همه حال است این مقام آن مقام است ای طالب که در حدیث قدسی میفرماید لا صباح عندی و لا مساء [...] این مقام مقام عجیبست که درین مقام گوینده و شنونده یکیست و دو نیست و مقام وحدت است و مقام کثرت نیست و محو کثرات است و درین حال بینندهٔ او غیر او نیست و سائل و مسئول غیر او نیست [...] ذات قدیم است که تجلّی میکند و بیان خود میکند این مدرک و مدرک شیء واحد است و غیر او کلام او را نتوان شنید و بیان او غیر او نتوان کرد بدین مقام غیر او چگونه توان رسید و این مقام آن نیست که کسی بوهم و تصوّر و خیال بدینجا توان رسید نیکو تأمّل کن که غیر را اینجا هیچ مجال نیست و الله اعلم و احکم.

472b–473a

چون معلوم کردی که ربّ و اب و آدم و پشت قوّت ازلیست و روح نطق است و نطق کلمه است که مرکّب میشود و ادراک خود میکند [...] صوت و حروف و مفرد و مرکّب از قوّت ازلی ظاهر میشود و بقوّت ازلی قائمند و باز همه را رجوع باوست [...] قرارگاه و مبداء همه قوّت است و صوت و حروف بقوّت قائمند و قوّت ازلی بذات خود قائمست [...] صوت و حروف و مفرد و مرکّب روح انسان است و از قوّت بدر آمده است و باز گشت هم بقوّت باشد.

473b–474a

شهد الله انّه لا اله الاّ هو چون ایطالب حضرت عزّت خود بخود گواهی میدهد که نیست خدائی الاّ او تا چنین که ذکر رفت ندانی چگونه دانی که او این گواهی که میدهد چگونه میدهد و چون چنین باشد یقین که او نشوی او را چنانکه اوست نتوانی دانستن و گواهی بر وحدانیّت او بتحقیق نتوانی دادن و تا از وجود جمیع موجودات سر بر نیاوری و عین وجود همه نشوی و بر خطّ استوا جمیع موجودات نگذری و عین آن خطّ استوا نشوی قائما بالقسط را در جمیع موجودات چگونه مشاهده توانی کرد و اولو العلم چگونه توانی شدن و گواهی از سر تحقیق چگونه توانی داد که حضرت عزّت جلّ عزّه که میفرماید شهد الله انّه لا آله الاّ هو و الملائکه و اولو العلم قائما بالقسط چون همچنین که ذکر رفت بدانی آن زمان اولو العلم باشی و امّت وسط شده باشی و گواهی از سر تحقیق توانی داد و حضرت رسالت علیه افضل الصّلوات و اکمل التّحیات بر صدق تو گواهی تواند داد بی شکّ و بی تردّد و باید که در کلّ زمان این خطاب الست بربّکم از ربّ یا از اب یا از آدم یا از ظهر یا از قوّت همه یکیست بسمع یقین بشنوی و جواب قالوا بلی را نه تنها از ارواح بنی آدم بلکه از ذرّات موجودات ظاهر و باطن بالفعل و بالقوّة از حیوت و ممات چه در خواب و چه در بیداری و خیالی و از ناطق و صامت و از جماد و نبات و حیوان بسمع و علم و یقین بشنوی و مشاهده کنی تا گواهی از قبل ایشان نیز توانی داد که کلّ موجودات در الست بربّکم قالوا بلی گفته و همه اقرار کرده اند و تا چنین که ذکر رفت ندانی گواهی بر تبلیغ رسالت انبیا چگونه خواهی داد و

امّت وسط چگونه خواهی شد و حضرت رسالت اليه افضل الصّلواة و اكمل التّحيّات بر صدق تو چگونه گواهی تواند داد و چنانچه قوله تعالی میفرماید كه و يكون الرّسول عليكم شهيدا.

478b

در همه اشیا تجلّی کرده اند و می کند چنانکه از روی اسمیّت بهمه رسیده اند از روی فیض و حقائق بهمه اشیا رسیده است که و رحمتی وسعت كلّ شيء و ما أرسلناك الّا رحمة للعالمين.

480b–481a

در وحدت یک سر موی بر یکدیگر تخلّف ندارند و این یک کلمه بحقیقت یک نقطه است [...] رجوع بنقطهٔ نطفه کن که جمیع سرّ ازل و ابد و ما کان و ما یکون در یک نقطهٔ نطفه که از ظهر آدم جدا میشود مندرجست بالفعل و بالقوّة چه از روی کتابت و چه از روی تلفّظ و ادراک جمیع اشیا بدان یک نقطهٔ نطفه میتوان حاصل گردد.

Citations from the Works of Faḍl Allāh's Followers

Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, *Khwāb-nāma*, ms. Istanbul AEF 1042, fol. 18b–19a

در خواب شدم دیدم که در نزدیک درخت چنارم در استراباد آنجا پیر مردی نشسته و [...] در تأویل خواب و احادیث شروح میکند بعد ازان حضرت محمّد مصطفی صلّی علیه و آله حاضر شد و گفت ای پیر شجاع در امر دشوار مبکنی که تاأویل خواب امر صعب است و تحقیق آن مشکل است از برای آنکه بسیار باشد که نفس خود بینی در خواب در لذّت یا المی و تأویل آن بنفس تو نباشد و یا انکه دیگری را بینی و تأویل بنفس دیگری باشد و یا انکه یکی از اهل دنیا را بینی در راحتی یا در [...] و تأویل آن بنفس یکی از اصحاب قبور و آخرت باشد بعد ازان فرمودند که حضرت محمّد عم با من گفت که تأویل آن نزدیک ستاره ایست که در هر سی هزار سال در می آید و بر هژده هزار عالم محیط است و اکنون برآمده است اگر میخواهی که او را میبینی درین باغچه که ازان من بود برو و در پای درخت نارنج توقّف کن و نگاه کن که در آسمان هفت کوکب است و ازان هفت یکی اعظم و اشفق و ناطق است و تأویل رؤیاء پیش اوست فرمودند چون در باغچه سیر کردم و بپای درخت نارنج رسیدم و در آسمان نگاه کردم ستارهٔ دیدم که در میان ستارگان شعله زدی و رشتهٔ از نور آن ستاره بچشم راست من پیوند بودی و سخن بمن گفتی مانند مرد [...] و آن سخن در تأویل احادیث بودی و فرمودند که بعد از مشاهدهٔ این خواب تأویل رؤیاء و غیر رؤیاء بر من معلوم شد [...] فی سنة خمس و ستّین و سبعمائة.

Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, *Khwāb-nāma*, ms. Istanbul AEF 1042, fol. 19b

و چون تأریخ به سنة خمس و سبعین و سبع مائة [...] علم تأویل مقطّعات قرآن و اسرار دین شریعت از صلوت و صوم و غیر آن بر ایشان کشف شد.

ʿAlī Nafajī, *Khwāb-nāma*, ms. Vatican Pers. 17, fol. 12b–13b

شبی بخواب دیدم که ستارهٔ بغایت روشن و لمعان از طرف مشرق برآمدی و من دران چون نظر کردمی بر مثال خیط نورانی ازان ستاره جدا شدی و در چشم راست من آمدی متواتر در چشم راست من در رفت تا تمام ستاره در چشم من رفتی بعد ازان اوازی شنیدمی که ای

فلانی هیچ دانی که این چه ستاره ایست گفتمی نه گفت این ستاره ایست که هر چندین قرن یکبار بر می آید چون بیدار شدم مرغان که اواز میکردند من ازان اواز ایشان چیزی فهم میکردم و تأویل منام مرا کشف شد.

ʿAlī Nafajī, *Khwāb-nāma*, ms. Vatican Pers. 17, fol. 66a, 68b–69b

بقریب سنّ اربعین رسید [...] اسرار مفردات اوائل سور مقطّعات حروف که کتاب آسمانیست که حقّ جلّ و اعلا بآدم صفی فرستاد [...] و استاد و معلّم باشد و اعتقاد او بحسب کشف آلهی باشد [...] در اربعین کشفی رو نمود باسرار و حقائق و مقامات محمّد [...] ناگاه این آواز بگوش آمد که [...] پرسید کسی که این جوان کیست وین ماه زمین و آسمان کیست گفتند که سیّد زمانست سلطان همه پیغمبرانست دیگران اعتقاد در بلندی مراتب محمّدی بتقلید و بیان دیگران دانند و آن حضرت را اعتقاد بحسب کشف و عیانست.

Hidāyat-nāma attributed to Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, in C. Huart, *Textes persans*, Persian text p. 12

بعد از خرابئ بدن که مرگ طبعی است بجزای دفع تقلیدات مادر و پدر و کسب ادراکات واقعی از نفس مرشد کامل خود را در بهشت برین خالدین فیها ابدا لا یذوقون فیها الموت الاّ الموت الاولی.

Maḥram-nāma, Sayyid Isḥāq Astarābādī, in C. Huart, *Textes persans*, Persian text pp. 41–42

شعور و اگاهی آدمیان بعد از خرابی بدن همازن که معلومی مقرّری و وادی آهین اَ نقوش دره عالم از ادراکات و اعمال آدمیان ازین که واتی عزّ فضله [...] و کیفیّت آن که ادراک و عمل هر کس نسبت با خو بچه شکل و نقوش وراسه بتفصیل معلوم هیچ بندهٔ از بندگان خدا نی و تفصیل اَ هم صاحب تأویل زانه.

Astarābādī Vocabulary

The purpose of this vocabulary is to provide the reader who would like to read the Persian text of the citations included in this book with a minimal list of the most important dialectal words. This short list is compiled mainly on the basis of the *Wāzha-nāma-yi Gurgānī* by Ṣādiq Kiyā, which remains the central reference for study of the Astarābādī dialect used in early Ḥurūfī works.

بزان: بدان
بزایه، بزهی: بزاید یا زاده شود
بشو: برو یا برود
بشه: بتوان
بشینه: بتوانستند
بشیه: بتوان، میتوان
بکر: بکن
بکران: بکنم
بن: بودم
بند: بودند یا باشند یا بردند یا شدند
بندی: بودی، میبود
بنکو: باید، میباید
بنو: بنهد، بگذارد
بو: باشد
بوین: ببین
بی: برد یا بود یا باشی
بیاسه: بیاید
بیبو: بوده باشد یا برده باشد
بی بی، بیبی: بوده بود، شده بود
بین: بودم، شدم یا بردن یا بودن، شدن یا شده است
بیند: بودند یا شدند یا باشند با بردند
پور: پسر
پیر: پدر

ارشوی: فرستاد
اژ: از
اژرا: از برای این، از اینجهت
اژن: از این یا چنین
اژه: ازآن
اسا: آنوقت یا اکنون
اشنوی: شنیدی یا شنید یا شنیده
اَمَه: ما
انِ: این یا ام، هستم
آو: آب
آوی: آنست یا آورد
آوین: آوردن
آهن، آهین: آمدن یا آمده است یا آمدم
باژ: باز یا بگو
بان: باشم
ببند: شوند یا شدند
ببو: شود، گردد
ببی: برد یا شد، گردید
بتان، بتیان: بتوان
بدی: بدید یا بداد
براسه: برآید
برسا: برسیدی
بره: برآن یا برد
برهنه: برهاند

نا: نه
نان: نهادن
نشته: نشسته
نما: نماید
نمان: مانند
نهی: نهاد یا نهاده است
نی: نهاد
نیشتن: نشستن
و: به، بر
وا: با، به یا باد یا باز
وابو: شود
وابی: شد یا شوی
واتان، واتن: گفتن
وادی: باز دید یا پدید
واژ: باز یا بگو
واژه: گوید
وراره، وراوه: برآورد
وریژه: برخیزد
وکیتی: بگرفت
وکیره: برگیرد، بگیرد
وینه: بیند
ه: است یا آن
هادو: بدهد
هادی: داد
هاکو: بباید
هدی: میداد یا میدید یا میدهی
هزانه: میدانم
هستی: است، هست
هشنوی: می شنید
همو: همه را
هند: اند، هستند
هنکو: میباید
هنما: مینماید، نشان میدهد
هنو: می نهد
هوا: میگوید یا میگویی
هواژه: میگوید
هونی: می بینی
هوی: میگویی

جن: زن
جوا: جدا
جینده: زنده
خنان: ایشان
خو: او یا اورا یا اوست
خوازه: خواهد
خواو: خواب
خوی: اوست
دره: درآن یا است
دشو: رود
ده: در
دی: دید یا داد
دیر: دیگر
دیم: روی، صورت
دین: دیدن
رسان: رسیدن
زان: دان، بدان
زانان: دانستن
ساتن: ساختن
شمه: شما
شنوه: شنود
شو: شوی یا رود یا شب
کامه: خواهد
کتی: افتاد
کر: کن
کران: کنم
کرن: کردن
کره: کند
کشان: کشیدن
کند: کردند
کو: باید یا افتد یا جا
کی: کیست یا کرد یا که
کیا: که ای، کیست یا کردی
کیتن: گرفتن
کین: کرده یا کردن یا کرده است یا کرده ام، کردم
لو: لب
مار: مادر

یاسه: آید
یانی: ایم، هستیم یا اید، هستید
یاوه: یابد
یراسه: فرود آید یا برآید
یراهین: فرود آمدن

هوین: می بین
هی: یک یا می- یا است
هیا: ای، هستی
-ی: است
-یا: به، با

Bibliography

Primary Sources

al-Aḥsāʾī, Ibn Abī Jumhūr. *ʿAwālī al-Laʾālī.* Qom, 1405/1984–1985. 4 vols.

al-Aʿlā, Alī. *Kursī-nāma,* MS. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ancien Fonds Persan 255(1), fol. 3b–137a.

al-Alūsī, Shihāb al-Dīn. *Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm.* Beirut, 1415/1994–1995.

Amudī, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad Tamīmī. *Ghurar al-ḥikam wa durar al-kalim.* Qom, 1366 Sh./1987–1988.

Āmulī, Ḥaydar. *Tafsīr al-muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam wa-l-baḥr al-khiḍamm.* Tehran, 1422/2001–2002. 4 vols.

al-ʿĀnī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥuwaysh b. Maḥmūd Āl Ghāzī (= Mullā Ḥuwaysh). *Bayān al-maʿānī.* Damascus, 1382/1962–1963.

Apocalypse of Peter, ed. and tr. Alphonse Mingana. *Woodbrooke Studies*, Cambridge, 1931, vol. 3, pp. 93–450.

al-ʿAsqalānī, Ibn Ḥajar. *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bukhārī and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān. Beirut, 1967–1975. 9 vols.

Astarābādī, Faḍl Allāh. *Jāwidān-nāma-yi kabīr*, MS. British Library, Oc. Or.5957.

—— *Iskandar-nāma*, in *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs*, pp. 99–125.

—— 'Faḍl Allāh-i Ḥurūfi'nin Waṣiyyat-nāması veya Wāṣāyası', ed. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Sharkiyat mecmuası*, 2 (1958), pp. 53–62.

—— *Dīwān* (together with the *Dīwān* of ʿImād al-Dīn Nasimī), ed. S. Jūyā and R. Aliev. Tehran, 1354 Sh./1975–1976.

—— 'Le "Journal des rêves" de Faḍlullāh Astarābādī: édition et traduction annotée', ed. and tr. Orkhan Mir-Kasimov, *Studia Iranica*, 38/2 (2009), pp. 249–304.

Astarābādī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn. *Istiwā-nāma*, MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ancien Fonds Persan 24 (2), fol. 1b–59b.

—— 'Faḍlallāh-i Ḥurūfi'nin oğluna ait bir mektup', ed. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Sharkiyat mecmuası* 1 (1956), pp. 37–57.

Astarābādī, Sayyid Isḥāq. *Kitāb-i khwāb-nāma*, MS. Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsça 1042.

—— *Hidāyat-nāma*, in *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs*, pp. 1–12.

—— *Maḥram-nāma*, in *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs*, pp. 13–58.

Bayḍāwī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-taʾwīl.* Beirut, 1418/1997–1998. 5 vols.

Bursī, Rajab. *Les Orients des lumières*, tr. H. Corbin. Paris, 1996.

Burūsawī, Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī. *Rūḥ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*. N.p., n.d. 10 vols.

The Cave of Treasures (Arabic version), ed. Carl Bezold (Arabic and Syriac versions, trans. from Syriac), *Die Schatzhöhle.* Leipzig, 1888; ed. and tr. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica: Kitāb al-Mağāll, or The Book of the Rolls. Studia Sinaitica*, 8 (1901).

Daylamī, Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan. *Irshād al-Qulūb.* Biḥār, 1412/1991–1992. 2 vols.

al-Ghazālī, Aḥmad. *Sawāniḥ: Inspirations from the World of Pure Spirits: The Oldest Persian Ṣūfī Treatise on Love*, tr. Nasrollah Pourjavady (Naṣr Allāh Pūrjawādī). London, 1986.

al-Ḥammūʾī, Saʿd al-Dīn. *al-Miṣbāḥ fī-l-taṣawwuf*, ed. N. M. Harawī. Tehran, 1362 Sh./1983–1984.

al-Haythamī, Nūr al-Dīn. *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭāʾ. Beirut, 2009.

Ibn al-ʿArabī, Muḥyī al-Dīn. *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. A.A. ʿAfīfī. Cairo, 1946; tr., R. W. G. Austin as *Ibn al-ʿArabī: The Bezels of Wisdom*. New York, 1980.

—— *Les illuminations de la Mecque, textes choisis*, ed. M. Chodkiewicz. Paris, 1988.

Ibn Bābawayh. *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu-l-faqīh.* Qom, 1413/1992–1993. 4 vols.

Ibn Fāris, Abū-l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad. *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiqh al-lugha.* Cairo, 1328/1910–1911.

Ibn Māja, Muḥammad b. Yazīd. *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī. Cairo, 1952–1953. 2 vols.

Ibn al-Walīd, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. *Risālat al-mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād*, ed. and tr. H. Corbin, in *Trilogie ismaélienne.* Tehran and Paris, 1961 (Arabic text pp. 100–130, translation pp. 131–200).

Irbilī, ʿAlī b. Isā. *Kashf al-ghumma.* Tabriz, 1381/1961–1962. 2 vols.

Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. *Kitāb al-kashf*, ed. Rudolf Strothmann. Oxford, 1952.

al-Jīlī, ʿAbd al-Karīm. *al-Insān al-kāmil fī maʿrifat al-awākhir wa'l-awāʾil*, French trans., T. Burckhardt as *De l'homme universel.* Lyon, 1953.

al-Jurjānī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt*, French trans., Maurice Gloton. Tehran, 1994.

al-Kirmānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh. *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma*, ed. and tr., Paul E. Walker as *The Master of the Age: An Islamic Treatise on the Necessity of the Imamate.* London and New York, 2007.

al-Kulaynī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad. *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*. Tehran, 1365 Sh./1986–1987. 8 vols.

Lāhījī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Mafātīḥ al-iʿjāz*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Barzigar Khāliqī and ʿIffat Karbāsī. Tehran, 1371 Sh./1992–1993.

al-Majlīsī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *Biḥār al-anwār*. Beirut, 1404/1983–1984. 110 vols.

Mīr Sharīf, *Bayān al-wāqiʿ*, MS Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsça 1053, fol. 1b–113b.

Nafajī, ʿAlī. *Kitāb-i khwāb-nāma*, MS. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pers. 17.

Nasīmī, ʿImād al-Dīn. *Dīwān*, ed. S. Jūyā and R. Aliev. Tehran, 1354 Sh./1975–1976.

al-Nīsābūrī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan. *ʿUqalāʾ al-majānīn*, ed. Bassām al-Jābī. Damascus, 1985.

al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim. *Kitāb al-zīna fī-l-kalimāt al-islāmiyya al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. Ḥusayn b. Faḍl Allāh al-Hamdānī. Sanaa, 1415/1994–1995.

—— *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, ed. and tr. Tarif Khalidi as *The Proofs of Prophecy*. Provo, UT, 2011.

Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Rūmī: Poet and Mystic*, tr. Reynold A. Nicholson. London, 1950.

al-Sakhawī, Shams al-Dīn. *Al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*. Beirut, 1992.

al-Shahrastānī, Abū-l-Fatḥ Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad al-Wakīl, Cairo, 1968; French trans. Daniel Gimaret, Jean Jolivet and Guy Monnot as *Livre des religions et des sectes*. Louvain, 1986. 2 vols.

Shīrāzī, Rūzbihān Baqlī. *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyāt*, ed. Henry Corbin. Tehran and Paris, 1966.

Sijistānī, Abū Yaʿqūb. *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, ed. H. Corbin, Tehran and Paris, 1949; French trans. H. Corbin as *Le dévoilement des choses cachées*. Lagrasse, 1988.

—— *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ*, ed. and tr. H. Corbin, in *Trilogie Ismaélienne.* Tehran and Paris, 1961 (Arabic text pp. 1–97, French trans. pp. 5–127); English trans. Paul E. Walker as *The Book of Wellsprings* in his *The Wellsprings of Wisdom.* Salt Lake City, 1994.

—— *Kitāb al-maqālīd al-malakūtiyya*, ed. Ismail K. Poonawala. Tunis, 2011.
al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī. Riyadh, 1424/2003–2004. 26 vols.
al-Ṭabarsī, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī. *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil.* Qom, 1408/1999–2000. 18 vols.
al-Tabrīzī, Hashrī. *Rawḍa-yi athār*. Tabriz, 1303/1885–1886.
Ṭāshkuprīzāda, Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā. *Al-shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya.* Beirut, 1395/1975–1976.
Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs, ed. Clément Huart. Leiden and London, 1909.
al-Thaʿlabī, Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *ʿArāʾis al-Majālis fī Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, or 'Lives of the Prophets',* tr. William M. Brinner. Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2002.
al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid.* Beirut, 1411/1990–1991.
al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn. *Rawḍā-yi taslīm*, ed. and tr., S. J. Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission: A Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought.* London, 2005.

Secondary Sources

Addas, Claude. *Ibn ʿArabî, ou la quête du soufre rouge.* Paris, 1989.
Aksu, Hüsamettin. ''Ali el-Aʿlâ', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi.* Istanbul, 1989, vol. 2, p. 381.
Algar, Hamid. ''Alī al-Aʿlā', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, fasc. 8, p. 858.
—— 'Bektāšīya', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 4, pp. 118–122.
Amanat, Abbas. 'Persian Nuqṭawīs and the Shaping of the Doctrine of "Universal Conciliation" (*ṣulḥ-i kull*) in Mughal India', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 367–391.
Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali. *Le guide divin dans le shîʿisme originel.* Lagrasse, 1992; tr. D. Streight, *The Divine Guide in Early Shiʿism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam.* Albany, New York, 1994.
—— 'Aspects de l'imāmologie duodécimaine I: remarques sur la divinité de l'Imām', *Studia Iranica*, 25 (1996), pp. 193–216.
—— 'Fin du Temps et Retour à l'Origine', in M. García-Arenal, ed., *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, in *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée*, 91/4 (2000), pp. 53–72.
—— 'Savoir c'est pouvoir. Exégèse et implications du miracle dans l'imamisme ancien', in Denise Aigle, ed., *Miracle et karāma.* Turnhout, Belgium, 2000, pp. 251–286.

—— ‘ “Le combattant du *taʾwīl*”: un poème de Mollā Ṣadrā sur ʿAlī’, *Journal Asiatique*, 292 (2004), pp. 331–359.
—— *Le Coran silencieux et le Coran parlant.* Paris, 2011.
Amoretti, Biancamaria Scarcia. ‘Caratteristiche hurufite del divano persiano di Nesimi’, *Studi Iranici*, 17 (1977), pp. 267–285.
—— ‘Religion in the Timurid and Ṣafawid Periods’, in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Cambridge, 1986, vol. 6, pp. 610–655.
Anawati, Georges Chehata. *Etudes de philosophie musulmane.* Paris, 1974.
An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, vol. 2: *Ismaili Thought in the Classical Age*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi. London, 2008.
Arnaldez, Roger. *Jésus fils de Marie, prophète de l’Islam.* Paris, 1980.
—— ‘al-Insān al-Kāmil’, *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 1239–1241.
Aubin, Jean. ‘La fin de l’état Sarbadār du Khorassan’, *Journal Asiatique* (1974), pp. 95–118.
—— ‘Aux origines d’un mouvement populaire médiéval: le cheykhisme du Bayhaq et du Nichâpour’, *Studia Iranica*, 5/2 (1976), pp. 213–224.
Ayoub, Mahmoud. ‘The Speaking Qurʾān and the Silent Qurʾān: A Study of the Principles and Development of Imāmī Shīʿī *tafsīr*’, in Andrew Rippin, ed., *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qurʾān.* Oxford, 1988, pp. 177–198.
Āzhand, Yaʿqūb. *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi sarbadārān.* Tehran, 1363/1984–1985.
—— *Ḥurūfiyya dar tārīkh*. Tehran, 1369 Sh./1990–1991.
Babayan, Kathryn. *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran.* Cambridge, MA and London, 2002.
Babinger, Franz. ‘Nesīmī’, *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 8.
Balivet, Michel. *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans, vie du Cheikh Bedreddîn le ‘Ḥallâj des Turks’ (1358/5–1416).* Istanbul, 1995.
Ballanfat, Paul. *Quatre traités inédits de Ruzbehân Baqlî Shîrâzî.* Tehran, 1998.
—— ‘L’idéologie d’Etat concurrencée par son interprétation: les Melāmī-Hamzevī dans l’empire Ottoman’, in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 307–327.
Bashir, Shahzad. ‘Enshrining Divinity: The Death and Memorialization of Fazlallāh Astarābādī in Hurūfī Thought’, *The Muslim World*, 90 (2000), pp. 289–308.
—— ‘Deciphering the Cosmos from Creation to Apocalypse: The Hurufiyya Movement and Medieval Islamic Esotericism’, in A. Amanat and M. Bernhardsson, ed., *Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the*

Ancient Middle East to Modern America. London and New York, 2002, pp. 168–184.

—— *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya Between Medieval and Modern Islam*. Columbia, SC, 2003.

—— *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis*. Oxford, 2005.

Bertels, Evgeniĭ Eduardovich. *P'iat' filosofskikh traktatov na temu 'Afāk va anfus'*. Moscow, 1970.

Binbaş, İlker Evrim. 'Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mīrzā Iskandar, Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī, and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī in 815/1412', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 277–303.

—— 'The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Ḥurūfīs, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426–27', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 23 (2013), pp. 391–428.

Birge, John Kingsley. *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*. London and Hartford, 1937.

Birkeland, Harris. *The Legend of the Opening of Muhammad's Breast*. Oslo, 1955.

Bousquet, Georges-Henry. 'Etudes islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher. Traduction analytique (III)', *Arabica*, 7 (1960), pp. 237–240.

Böwering, Gerhard. *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qurʾānic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)*. Berlin and New York, 1980.

Browne, Edward Granville. *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. Cambridge, 1896.

—— 'Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1898), pp. 72–78.

—— 'Further Notes on the Literature of the Ḥurūfīs and their Connection with the Bektāshī Order of Dervishes', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1907), pp. 533–581.

—— *A Literary History of Persia*. London, 1902–1924, repr., 1999. 4 vols.

Burrill, Kathleen R. F. *The Quatrains of Nesimi: Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi*. The Hague and Paris, 1972.

Cahen, Claude. 'Le problème du Shīʿisme dans l'Asie Mineure turque préottomane', in R. Brunschvig and T. Fahd, ed., *Le Shiʾisme Imâmite*. Paris, 1970, pp. 115–129.

Chodkiewicz, Michel, *Un océan sans rivage*. Paris, 1992.

—— *Le Sceau des saints: Prophétie et sainteté dans la doctrine d'Ibn Arabî*. Revised ed., Paris, 2012; tr. Liadain Sherrard as *The Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī*. Cambridge, 1993.

Clayer, Nathalie. *L'Albanie, pays des derviches.* Berlin, 1990.
—— 'Bektachisme et nationalisme albanais', in Alexander Popovic and Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Bektachiyya: études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*. Istanbul, 1995, pp. 277–308.
—— *Aux origines du nationalisme albanais: la naissance d'une nation majoritairement musulmane en Europe*. Paris, 2007.
Cook, David. *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic.* Princeton, NJ, 2002.
Corbin, Henry. *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn Arabi.* Paris, 1958, repr., 1993; tr. Ralph Manheim as *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ʿArabi.* Princeton, NJ, 1969.
—— *Trilogie ismaélienne.* Tehran and Paris, 1961.
—— 'La configuration du temple de la Kaʿba comme secret de la vie spirituelle d'après l'œuvre de Qâzî Saʿîd Qommî (1103/1691)', in *Form als Aufgabe des Geistes, Eranos Jahrbuch 1965.* Zurich, 1966, pp. 79–166; English trans., Philip Sherard and Liadain Sherard, 'The Configuration of the Temple of the Kaʿbah as the Secret of the Spiritual Life', in Henry Corbin, *Temple and Contemplation.* London, 1986, pp. 183–262.
—— *En Islam Iranien: aspects spirituels et philosophiques*. Paris, 1972. 4 vols.
—— *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne.* Paris, 1982; tr. Ralph Manheim and James W. Morris, *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis.* London, 1983.
—— *Histoire de la philosophie islamique.* Paris, 1986; tr. Liadain Sherrard and Phillip Sherrard, *History of Islamic Philosophy.* London, 1993.
—— *Swedenborg and Esoteric Islam*, tr. Leonard Fox. West Chester, PA, 1995.
Cortese, Delia. 'Eschatology and Power in Medieval Persian Ismailism'. Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, University of London, 1993.
Daftary, Farhad. *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines.* Cambridge, 1990; 2nd ed., 2007.
—— 'Ismāʿīlī-Sufi Relations in Early Post-Alamūt and Ṣafawid Persia', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan, ed., *The Heritage of Ṣūfism*, vol. 3: *Late Classical Persianate Ṣūfism: The Ṣafawid and Mughal Period.* Oxford, 1999, pp. 275–289.
—— *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies*. London, 2004.
De Jong, Pieter and Michail Jan De Goeje. *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae academiae lugduno batavae*. Leiden, 1866.
De Smet, Daniel and Jan M. F. Van Reeth. 'Les citations bibliques dans l'œuvre du dāʿī ismaélien Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī', in U. Vermeulen and J. M. F. Van Reeth, ed., *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants.* Louvain, 1998, pp. 147–160.

Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies, ed. Özgen Felek and Alexander Knysh. Albany, NY, 2012.

Ebstein, Michael. *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Ismāʿīlī Tradition.* Leiden and Boston, 2014.

Ebstein, Michael, and Sara Sviri. 'The So-called *Risālat al-ḥurūf* (*Epistle on Letters*) Ascribed to Sahl al-Tustarī and Letter Mysticism in al-Andalus', *Journal Asiatique*, 299/1 (2011), pp. 213–270.

Elmore, Gerald T. *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-ʿArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon.* Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1999.

Ernst, Carl. *Words of Ecstasy in Ṣūfīsm*. Albany, NY, 1985.

Eschraghi, Armin, '"I Was A Hidden Treasure." Some Notes on a Commentary Ascribed to Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī', in Anna Akasoy and Wim Raven, ed., *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages: Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation, in Honour of Hans Daiber.* Leiden and Boston, 2008, pp. 91–99.

van Ess, Josef. 'Le *miʿrāj* et la vision de Dieu dans les premières spéculations théologiques en Islam', in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam.* Louvain and Paris, 1996, pp. 27–56.

—— *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. Und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam.* Berlin and New York, 1991–1997. 6 vols.

—— *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten.* Berlin and New York, 2011.

Fahd, Toufic. 'Ḥurūf, ʿilm al-', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 616–617.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. 'Conflict, Accommodation and Long-term Survival: The Bektāshī Order and the Ottoman State', in Alexander Popovic, and Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Bektachiyya: études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach.* Istanbul, 1995, pp. 171–184.

Firestone, Reuven. 'Abraham', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 1, pp. 5–10.

Fischel, Walter J. 'The Bible in Persian Translation: A Contribution to the History of Bible Translations in Persia and India', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 45/1 (1952), pp. 3–45.

—— 'Judaeo-Persian. i. – Literature', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 308–312.

Fleischer, Cornell. 'The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman', in G. Veinstein, ed., *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*. Paris, 1992, pp. 159–177.

Francesca, Ersila. 'Slaughter', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 5, pp. 54–56.

Freitag, Rainer. *Seelenwanderung in der islamischen Häresie.* Berlin, 1985.

Friedman, Yaron. *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawīs: An Introduction to the Religion, History and Identity of the Leading Minority in Syria.* Leiden and Boston, 2010.

Friedmann, Yohanan. *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity*. Montreal and London, 1971.

—— *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Aḥmadī Religious Thought and its Medieval Background*. Los Angeles and London, 1989.

García-Arenal, Mercedes. 'Introduction', in *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, in *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée*, 91/4 (2000), pp. 7–15.

Gardet, Louis. 'Djanna', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 447–452.

Gibb, Elias. *History of Ottoman Poetry*. London, 1900.

Gilliot, Claude. 'Exegesis of the Qurʾān: Classical and Medieval', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 2, pp. 99–124.

Gimaret, Daniel. *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī*. Paris, 1990.

—— 'Au coeur du *miʿrāǧ*, un hadith interpolé', in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam. Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels*. Leuven and Paris, 1996.

—— *Dieu à l'image de l'homme: les anthropomorphismes de la* sunna *et leur interprétation par les théologiens*. Paris, 1997.

Goitein, Shelomo Dov. 'Djumʿa', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 592–594.

—— 'Beholding God on Friday', *Islamic Culture*, 34 (1960), pp. 163–168.

Gölpınarlı, Abdülbâki. 'Nesīmī', *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul, 1960, vol. 9, pp. 206–207.

—— *Hurûfîlik metinleri kataloğu* (*The Catalogue of Ḥurūfī Texts*). Ankara, 1973; repr. 1989.

—— 'Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 733–738.

Graham, William A. *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam*. The Hague and Paris, 1977.

—— 'Fātiḥa', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 2, pp. 188–192.

Grébaut, Sylvain. 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 16 (1911), pp. 72–84, 167–175, 225–233; 17 (1912), pp. 16–31, 133–144, 244–252, 337–346; 18 (1913), pp. 69–78; 19 (1914), pp. 324–330; 20 (1915–1917), pp. 33–37, 424–430; 21 (1918–1919), pp. 246–252; 22 (1920–1921), pp. 22–28, 113–117, 395–400.

Griffith, Sidney H. 'The Gospel, the Qurʾān, and the Presentation of Jesus in al-Yaʿqūbī's *Taʾrīkh*', in John C. Reeves, ed., *Bible and Qurʾān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality*. Atlanta, 2003, pp. 133–160.

—— *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the 'People of the Book' in the Language of Islam*. Princeton, NJ, and Oxford, 2013.

Gril, Denis. Introduction to Part VIII, in Ibn al-ʿArabī *Les Illuminations de la Mecque*, ed. Michel Chodkiewicz. Paris, 1988, pp. 385–438.

—— 'Le hadith dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Arabi ou la chaîne ininterrompue de la prophétie', in Claude Gilliot and Tilman Nagel, ed., *Das Prophetenḥadīṯ: Dimensionen einer islamischen Literaturgattung.* Göttingen, 2004, pp. 123–144.

—— 'Esotérisme contre hérésie: ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Bistâmî, un représentant de la science des lettres à Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle', in Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle).* Paris, 2005, pp. 183–195.

Grypeou, Emmanouela. 'The Re-Written Bible in Arabic: The Paradise Story and its Exegesis in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*', in D. Thomas, ed., *The Bible in Arab Christianity.* Leiden and Boston, 2007, pp. 113–129.

Gulbenkian, Roberto. *The Translation of the Four Gospels into Persian.* Uznach, Switzerland, 1981.

Guluzade, Zümrüd. *Khurufizm i ego predstaviteli v Azerbaĭdzhane.* Baku, 1970.

Halm, Heinz. *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya.* Wiesbaden, 1978.

—— *Die islamische Gnosis.* Zurich and Munich, 1982.

Hodgson, Marshall, G. S. *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizârî Ismâʿîlîs Against the Islamic World.* The Hague, 1955.

Hollenberg, David. 'Interpretation after the End of Days: The Fāṭimid-Ismāʿīlī *Taʾwīl* (Interpretation) of Jaʿfar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman (d. ca. 960)'. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2006.

—— 'Disrobing Judges with Veiled Truths: An Early Ismāʿīlī Torah Interpretation (*taʾwīl*) in Service of the Fāṭimid Mission,' *Religion*, 33 (2003), pp. 127–145.

Horovitz, Josef. 'Muhammeds Himmelfahrt', *Der Islam*, 9 (1919), pp. 159–183.

Huart, Clément. 'Notice d'un manuscrit pehlevi-musulman', *Journal Asiatique*, 14 (1889), pp. 238–270.

Ivanow, Wladimir. *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey.* Tehran, 1963.

Izutsu, Toshihiko. *Sufism and Taoism: A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts.* Berkeley, CA, and London, 1983.

Jacob, Georg. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis.* Berlin, 1908.

Jambet, Christian. *La Grande Résurrection d'Alamût: Les formes de la liberté dans le shîʿisme ismaélien.* Lagrasse, 1990.

—— *La Convocation d'Alamût: Somme de philosophie ismaélienne.* Paris and Lagrasse, 1996.

—— *L'acte d'être: la philosophie de la révélation chez Mollâ Sadrâ.* Paris, 2002.

—— *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie islamique?* Paris, 2011.

Johns, Anthony Hearle. 'Air and Wind', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 1, pp. 51–55.

—— 'Fall of Man', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 2, pp. 172–173.

Kasravī, Aḥmad. *Tārīkh-i pānṣad sāla-yi Khūzistān*. Tehran, 1313/1934–1935.

Keeler, Annabel. *Sufi Hermeneutics: The Qurʾan Commentary of Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī*. Oxford, 2006.

Khalidi, Tarif. *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*. Cambridge, MA, and London, 2001.

Kinberg, Leah. 'The Legitimization of the Madhāhib through Dreams', *Arabica*, 32/1 (1985), pp. 47–79.

Kissling, Hans J. 'Badr al-Dīn ibn Ḳāḍī Samāwnā', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 869.

Kister, Meir J. 'The Interpretation of Dreams: An Unknown Manuscript of Ibn Qutayba's "*ʿIbārat al-Ruʾyā*"', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 4 (1974), pp. 67–103.

—— 'Ādam: A Study of Some Legends in *Tafsīr* and *Ḥadīth* Literature', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 13 (1993), pp. 113–174.

Kiyā, Ṣādiq. *Nuqṭawiyān yā Pasīkhāniyān*. Tehran, 1320 Sh./1941–1942.

—— *Wāzha-nāma-yi Gurgānī*. Tehran, 1330 Sh./1951–1952.

—— 'Agāhīhā-yi tāza az ḥurūfiyān', *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Tihrān*, 2 (1333 Sh./1954), pp. 60–64.

Lamoreaux, John C. *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*. Albany, NY, 2002.

Landolt, Hermann. *Le révélateur des mystères*. Lagrasse, 1986.

—— 'Walāyah', in M. Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. London and New York, 1987, vol. 15, pp. 316–323.

—— 'Le paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu": ʿAzīz-e Nasafī (VIIe/XIIIe siècle) et le "Monisme ésotérique" de l'Islam', *Studia Iranica*, 25 (1996), pp. 163–192.

—— 'ʿAṭṭār, Sufism and Ismailism', in Leonard Lewisohn and Christopher Shackle, ed., *ʿAṭṭār and the Persian Sufi Tradition: The Art of Spiritual Flight*. London, 2006, pp. 3–26.

—— 'Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī', *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 703.

—— 'Nasafī, ʿAzīz', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nasafi (accessed 28 October 2014).

Lawson, Todd. 'The Dawning Places of the Lights of Certainty in the Divine Secrets Connected with the Commander of the Faithful by Rajab Bursī (d. 1411)', in Leonard Lewisohn, ed., *The Heritage of Sufism*. Oxford, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 261–276.

Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava. 'Taḥrīf', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 111–112.

Lewisohn, Leonard. *Beyond Faith and Infidelity: The Sufi Poetry and Teachings of Maḥmūd Shabistarī.* Richmond, 1995.
Lory, Pierre. *Les commentaires ésotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd al-Razzâq al-Qâshânî.* Paris, 1980.
—— *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam.* Paris, 1989.
—— 'Eschatologie alchimique chez Jābir ibn Ḥayyān', in Mercedes García-Arenal, ed., *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, in *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée*, 91 (2000), pp. 73–92.
—— *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam.* Paris, 2003.
—— *La science des lettres en Islam.* Paris, 2004.
Luft, Paul. 'Mushaʿsha', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 672–675.
McAuliffe, Jane Dammen. 'Qurʾānic Context of Muslim Biblical Scholarship', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 7/2 (1996), pp. 141–158.
Macdonald, D. B. and Fahd, Toufic. 'Sīmiyā', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 635–636.
Madelung, Wilferd. 'al-Mahdi', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 1230–1238.
Madigan, Daniel. 'Book', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 1, pp. 242–251.
Marquet, Yves. *La philosophie des Ihwān al-Ṣafāʾ.* Algiers, 1975.
Massignon, Louis. *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane.* Paris, 1922.
—— 'Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam', *Eranos Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 55–77.
—— 'L'homme parfait en Islam et son originalité eschatologique', *Eranos Jahrbuch* (1947), pp. 287–314.
—— 'La philosophie orientale d'Ibn Sīnā et son alphabet philosophique', *Mémorial Avicenne IV.* Cairo, 1952, pp. 1–18.
—— *La Passion de Husayn ibn Mansûr Hallâj.* Paris, 1975; tr. Herbert W. Mason, *The Passion of al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam.* Princeton, NJ, 1983.
Mayer, Toby. *Keys to the Arcana: Shahrastani's Esoteric Commentary on the Qur'an.* Oxford, 2009.
Mazzaoui, Michel. *The Origins of the Ṣafawids: Šīʿism, Ṣūfism and the Ġulāt.* Wiesbaden, 1972.
—— 'Mushaʿshaʿiyān: A Fifteenth Century Shīʿī Movement in Khūzistān and Southern Iraq', *Folia Orientalia*, 22 (1981–1984), pp. 139–162.
Meier, Fritz. 'Das Problem der Natur im esoterischen Monismus des Islams', *Eranos Jahrbuch*, 14 (1946), pp. 149–227.
—— 'Die Schriften des ʿAzīz-i Nasafī', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 52 (1953/55), pp. 125–182.
—— *Die Fawāʾiḥ al-ǧamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-ǧalāl des Naǧm al-Dīn al-Kubrā.* Wiesbaden, 1957.

Melchert, Christopher. *Ahmad ibn Hanbal.* Oxford, 2006.

Melvin-Koushki, Matthew. 'The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369–1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran'. Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 2012.

—— 'The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 247–276.

Miḥrābī, Muʿīn al-Dīn. *Kalimatullāh hiya al-'Ulyā, dukhtar-i Faḍl Allāh-i Na'īmī-yi Ḥurūfī: bānū-yi inqilābī wa gumnām az qarn-i nuhum.* Cologne, 1991.

Minorsky, Vladimir. 'Tabriz', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*. Leiden and Paris, 1934, vol. 4, pp. 612–623.

Mirfetrous, Ali. *Zindagī, ashʿār wa ʿaqāʾid-i Nasīmī, shāʿir wa mutafakkir-i ḥurūfī.* [Stockholm?], 1992.

—— *Histoire des études sur le mouvement Horûfî: étude des sources originelles et des recherches modernes*. Montreal, 1994.

Mir-Kasimov, Orkhan. 'Notes sur deux textes ḥurûfî: le *Jâwdân-nâma* de Faḍlallâh Astarâbâdî et l'un de ses commentaires, le *Maḥram-nâma* de Sayyid Isḥâq', *Studia Iranica*, 35/2 (2006), pp. 203–235.

—— 'Etude de textes ḥurūfī anciens: l'oeuvre fondatrice de Faḍlallāh Astarābādī'. Ph.D. thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne University), Paris, 2007.

—— 'Les dérivés de la racine *rḥm*: Homme, Femme et Connaissance dans le *Jâvdân-nâma* de Fadlallâh Astarâbâdî', *Journal Asiatique*, 295 (2007), pp. 9–33.

—— 'Jāvdān-nāma', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 14, pp. 603–605.

—— 'Some Specific Features of the Ḥurūfī Interpretation of the Qur'anic and Biblical Episodes Related to Moses', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 10 (2008), pp. 21–49.

—— 'Etude de textes ḥurūfī anciens: l'œuvre fondatrice de Faḍlallāh Astarābādī', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 226/2 (2009), pp. 246–260.

—— 'Historical Development of the Paradox of "Likeness" between Divine and Human as Source of Religious Knowledge in Islam', *Ishraq*, 3 (2012), pp. 331–352 (in Russian).

—— (ed.) *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*. Boston and Leiden, 2013.

—— 'Ummīs versus Imāms in Ḥurūfī Prophetology: An Attempt at a Sunnī/Shiʿī Synthesis?', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 221–246.

—— 'Introduction: Conflicting Synergy of Patterns of Religious Authority in Islam', in Mir-Kasimov, ed., *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 1–20.

—— 'The Word of Descent and the Word of Ascent: Canonical and Extra-Canonical Texts in the Spectrum of the Sacred in Islam', in Daniel De Smet and Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Controverses sur les écritures canoniques de l'islam.* Paris, 2014, pp. 329–372.

—— 'Takfīr and Messianism: The Ḥurūfī Case', in Camilla Adang, Hassan Ansari, Maribel Fierro and Sabine Schmidtke, ed., *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfir*. Leiden (forthcoming).

—— ' "Paradise is at the Feet of Mothers": The Ḥurūfī Road', in S. Guenther and T. Lawson, ed., *Roads to Paradise: Eschatology and Concepts of the Hereafter in Islam.* Leiden, Boston and Tokyo (forthcoming).

Moin, A. Azfar.*The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam*. New York, 2012.

Mokri, Mohammad. 'Le "secret indicible" et la "pierre noire" en Perse dans la tradition des kurdes et des lurs fidèles de la vérité', *Journal Asiatique*, 250 (1962), pp. 370–433.

Molé, Marijan. 'Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnīsme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire', *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 29 (1961), pp. 61–142.

Munzawī, Aḥmad. *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*. Tehran, 1349/1969. 6 vols.

Murata, Sachiko. *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought.* Albany, NY, 1992.

Nagel, Tilman. *The History of Islamic Theology from Muḥammad to the Present.* Princeton, NJ, 2000.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. 'Le shiʿisme et le soufisme. Leurs relations principielles et historiques', in R. Brunschvig and T. Fahd, ed., *Le shîʿisme imâmite, colloque de Strasbourg* (6–9 May 1968). Paris, 1970, pp. 215–233.

Netton, Ian R. *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ).* Edinburgh, 1991.

Nguyen, Martin. *Sufi Master and Qur'an Scholar, Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and the Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt.* Oxford, 2012.

Nicholson, Reynold A. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism.* Cambridge, 1921.

Norris, Harry T. 'Aspects of the Influence of Nesimi's Hurufi Verse, and His Martyrdom, in the Arab East between the 16th and 18th Centuries', in Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle).* Paris, 2005, pp. 163–182.

Nwyia, Paul. *Exégèse coranique et language mystique.* Beirut, 1970.

Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *La révolte de Bâbâ Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle*. Istanbul, 1989.

Pūrjawādī, Naṣr Allāh. 'Bāda-yi ʿishq', *Nashr-i Dānish*, 66 (1370 Sh./1991–1992), pp. 420–429; 67 (1370 Sh./1991–1992), pp. 4–18; 68 (1370 Sh./1991–1992), pp. 91–99; 69 (1371 Sh./1992–1993), pp. 198–204; 70 (1371 Sh./1992–1993), pp. 282–290.

Radtke, Bernd and O'Kane, John. *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism*. Richmond, 1996.

Reynolds, Gabriel Said. 'Jesus, the Qāʾim and the End of the World', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 75 (2001), pp. 55–86.

—— *The Qurʾān and its Biblical Subtext.* Abingdon and New York, 2010.

Ridgeon, Lloyd. *ʿAzīz Nasafī.* Richmond, Surrey, 1998.

Rippin, Andrew. 'Sabbath', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 4, pp. 510–511.

Ritter, H. 'Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit – II, Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfīsekte', *Oriens*, 7 (1954), pp. 1–54.

Robinson, Neal. 'Crucifixion', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 1, pp. 487–489.

Roemer, Hans R. 'The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadārs', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran.* Cambridge, 1986, vol. 6, pp. 16–39.

Roggema, Barbara. 'Biblical Exegesis and Interreligious Polemics in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* – the *Book of the Rolls*', in D. Thomas, ed., *The Bible in Arab Christianity.* Leiden and Boston, 2007, pp. 131–150.

Rubin, Uri. 'Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 5 (1976), pp. 62–119.

—— 'Exegesis and Ḥadīth: The Case of the Seven *Mathānī*', in Gerald R. Hawting and A. Abdul-Kader Shareef, ed., *Approaches to the Qurʾān.* London and New York, 1993, pp. 141–156.

—— 'Oft-repeated', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 3, pp. 574–576.

Saleh, Walid A. *In Defence of the Bible: A Critical Edition and an Introduction to al-Biqāʿī's Bible Treatise.* Leiden, 2008.

Schäder, Hans Heinrich. 'Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 79 (1925), pp. 192–268.

Schmidtke, Sabine. 'The Doctrine of the Transmigration of Soul According to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Surawardī (killed 587/1191) and His Followers', *Studia Iranica*, 28 (1999), pp. 237–254.

Schöck, Cornelia. *Adam im Islam.* Berlin, 1993.

Schrieke, Bertram. 'Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds', *Der Islam*, 6 (1916), pp. 1–30.

Scott, E. F. 'Gnosticism', in James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* New York and Edinburgh, 1914, vol. 6, pp. 231–242.

Shaked, Shaul. 'Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and his Creation', *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem*. Jerusalem, 1967, pp. 227–234.

al-Shaybī, Kāmil Muṣṭafā. *al-Ṣila bayna al-taṣawwuf wa-l-tashayyuʿ*. Beirut, 1982.

Smith, John Masson. *The History of the Sarbadar Dynasty, 1336–1381 A.D. and its Sources*. The Hague, 1970.

Steingass, Francis J. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*. New Delhi and Madras, 2008.

Stewart, Devin J. *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunnī Legal System*. Salt Lake City, 1998.

Stroumsa, Guy. 'Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ. For Shlomo Pines', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 76/3 (1983), pp. 269–288.

Tanrıkulu, R. *Ilmi Cavidan*. Ankara, 1998.

Ullendorff, E. 'Bilkīs', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1219–1220.

Usluer, Fatih. 'Hurûfî Metinleri ile Ilgili Bazı Notlar', *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 13 (2007), pp. 211–235.

—— *Hurufilik: ilk elden kaynaklarla doğuşundan itibaren*. Ankara, 2009.

—— (tr.) *Fazlullâh Esterâbâdî. Câvidân-Nâme, Dürr-i Yetîm Isimli Tercümesi*. Istanbul, 2012.

Vajda, Georges. 'Les lettres et les sons de la langue arabe d'après Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī', *Arabica*, 8/2 (1961), pp. 113–130.

Versteegh, Kees C. H. M. *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking*. Leiden, 1977.

Virani, Shafique N. 'The Eagle Returns: Evidence of Continued Ismāʿīlī Activity at Alamūt and in the South Caspian Region following the Mongol Conquests', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123/2 (2003), pp. 351–370.

—— *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, a Search for Salvation*. Oxford and New York, 2007.

Wensinck, Arent Jan. 'Ḳibla', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 82–83.

Wensinck, Arent Jan, et al. *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*. Leiden, 1936–1979. 8 vols.

al-Wohaibi, A. N. 'Ḳarya', *EI2*, vol. 4, p. 708.

Willey, Peter. *Eagle's Nest: Ismaili Castles in Iran and Syria*. London, 2005.

Yoram, Erder. 'Idrīs', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 2, pp. 484–486.

General Index

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, Amīr 19
abdāl 139
ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) 179, 184, 317
Abraham 121, 308–11, 312–13, 341, 346, 351
Adam 351
  back of 71, 112–13, 228–9, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 361, 381–2, 468
  body of *see* body
  chest or breast of 229, 309, 310, 311–12, 313–14, 361, 381–2, 468
  extremities of 227–8, 293
  face of *see* face
  fingers of 53, 54, 98, 102–3, 155, 171, 227–8, 315
  height of 166, 167, 361, 469
  members of 54, 97, 98, 108, 153, 196, 198, 206, 229, 235, 238, 245n10, 377
Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal 53, 268n17, 389, 399
Ahriman 249, 250, 329
air 77, 88, 109, 129, 132, 170, 178, 179, 180, 182, 184–5, 186, 187, 188n31, 189n32, 219, 282, 297, 307, 324, 336, 348, 423
alchemy 71; 76–7, 164, 178, 183, 187, 199, 306, 317, 399, 405n49, 418, 446
ʿAlī al-Aʿlā 5, 11n32, 17n48, 17n49, 20, 32n96, 434, 435n131
ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib 67–8, 70, 92, 229n21, 289n39, 341, 345–9, 379, 391, 398, 404, 412n82, 425, 455, 457
Alinjaq 17
Amulī, Ḥaydar 401–2, 403n43, 405–6, 417
Anatolia 20, 432
angel(s) (*malak*, pl. *malāʾika*) 54, 60, 97, 107, 131, 152, 154, 159, 161, 171, 172, 173, 181, 207–9, 218, 219–20, 221–2, 223, 224, 225, 231, 232, 233, 234, 238, 239n21, 245, 251, 253–5, 256, 257, 262, 268, 282, 283, 286, 287, 288, 290, 297, 298, 300, 301, 302, 312, 321, 322, 326, 327, 353, 354, 355, 361, 365, 370, 371, 373, 382, 401, 402, 466, 470, 476
animal(s) (*ḥaywān*, pl. *ḥaywānāt*) 88, 91, 164, 167, 171, 178, 181–2, 188, 195, 197, 201, 203, 204–5, 206, 207, 208, 209, 247, 248, 311, 320, 325, 326–8, 336, 337, 355, 377, 421, 423, 424, 437, 442, 447
anthropology 37, 38, 58, 111, 129–30, 150, 162, 217, 381, 397, 417
Antichrist (*dajjāl*) 369–71, 466, 472
aperception (*idrāk*, pl. *idrākāt*) 248, 325n8, 419–20, 421, 422
apocalypse 50n1, 213–14, 247, 283–4, 347–8, 363, 379, 389, 396–7, 427–33, 435
  see also John: Revelation of; Peter: Arabic Apocalypse of
apocrypha 63, 120, 391, 396–7, 435, 475

see also Peter: Arabic Apocalypse of
apostles (*ḥawwāriyūn*) 278, 279, 280, 477
aptitude to receive (*qābiliyya*) 69, 173, 179–80, 181, 182, 184–5, 186, 220, 317n22, 325–6, 441, 446
Aries (*ḥamal*) 175
arkān 180
ʿ*Arsh-nāma* 5, 35n104, 40
ascendant (*ṭāliʿ*) 175
Astarābād 3, 8, 9, 10n26, 406n51, 407
Astarābādī dialect 24n71, 26, 32, 33n98, 39, 41, 342n7, 348n20, 420, 553–5
Astarābādī, Faḍl Allāh 1–17, 251, 257, 262n7, 348n20, 350–1, 422, 427, 438
  background 1–17, 407–8, 412
  dreams 5, 8–10, 11–13, 14, 15n43, 24, 351, 406–7
  enlightenment 8–14, 214
  execution 16–17
  and his followers 1–23, 24, 38, 387
  impact of 432, 433, 434
  influences 188, 279, 281, 366n59, 396–8, 400, 404, 417
  messianic project 6–7, 13, 15, 388, 403, 427–33
  political stance 10–11, 15
  titles 13, 360, 457
  works 4–5
Astarābādī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn 5, 17n48, 17n62, 36n107, 434, 435n131
Astarābādī, Sayyid Isḥāq 5, 8, 9n23, 9n24, 89n14, 174n16, 248, 300n66, 325n8, 401, 412n82, 420–1, 420n102, 434, 550, 551
astrology 164, 174–8, 189, 199, 305–6, 411
atom(s) (*dharra*, pl. *dharrāt*) 45, 62, 69, 88, 171, 194, 196, 205, 354–5, 376, 423, 461
attraction (*mayl*) 134–5
attribute(s) (*ṣifa*, pl. *ṣifāt*) 52, 53, 54, 56, 57–8, 59, 61, 63, 66, 70, 84, 96, 98, 100n8, 101–2, 111, 131, 133, 138, 142, 146, 162, 171, 185, 190, 200, 226, 233, 237, 242, 249, 250, 251, 300, 309, 314, 317, 328, 331, 336, 341, 343, 353, 368, 383, 384, 399, 409, 411, 414, 416, 442, 449
authority
  house of (*salṭana*) 175
  religious 7, 8n22, 14, 15–16, 19, 22, 389, 427, 430–3, 435
Azerbaijan 17, 26, 32

balance (*istiwāʾ*)
  crest of birds, as an expression of the line of 203, 270
  forelock, as an expression of the line of 137, 203, 204
  line of (*khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*) 86, 87–8, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 103, 104, 106, 109, 121, 129, 133, 136, 167, 171, 189, 191, 194, 195, 199, 200, 202–4, 205, 206, 225–6, 230, 266, 268, 269, 270, 282, 301–2, 307, 312, 327, 332, 335–6, 337, 353, 354, 380, 422, 439, 442, 458
  see also Straight Path
Balkans 21
Bāyazīd (Ottoman Sultan) 20
beauty (*jamāl*) 58, 128–9, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137–8, 142, 190, 208, 441, 442–3
Bektāshī(s) 4, 20–1, 22n66, 23, 24, 25, 27, 433
beloved (*maʿshūq*) 129, 130, 133–6, 179, 441
Bible, biblical 12, 41, 113n3, 133, 143, 145, 148, 265, 266–7, 273, 388, 395–7, 396, 412, 428–9, 475–8
bird(s) 10, 12, 161, 189, 193, 203, 376

language of 259, 267–71
Bistāmī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al- 432
Black Stone (*ḥajar al-aswad*) 229–31, 310–11, 345, 352n25, 379–80, 471, 474
blackness (*sawād*, *siyāhī*) 64, 69, 81, 112, 126, 139, 291–2, 342, 348, 457
blackness of the face 72, 89, 129, 457, 471
Supreme blackness 71–2, 89
blame (*malāma*) 133
blow (*nafkha*) 148, 176, 177n21, 188, 189–90, 192, 248, 384, 472
see also breath
body (*badan*, *tan*, *jurm*, pl. *ajrām, wujūd*)
of Adam 77, 97, 98, 100, 104, 107, 109, 131–2, 146, 152, 153–4, 156, 166, 167, 169, 170–1, 173, 174, 177, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 188, 193–4, 194, 195, 196–7, 218, 225, 227, 228–9, 232–5, 238, 245n10, 265, 300–1, 302, 305, 309, 310, 317, 326, 333, 361, 372, 373, 376, 380, 423, 424, 425, 437, 439, 441, 445
of Eve 104, 112, 123, 130–1, 188, 190
human 22, 47, 54, 77, 82, 97n3, 98, 99–100, 103, 104–5, 113, 118–19, 120, 126, 129–30, 163–4, 165, 166, 168, 170–1, 173–4, 175, 177, 179, 180, 181–2, 184, 185, 188, 189, 191, 195–6, 197–9, 201, 202, 203, 205–6, 207, 210, 222–3, 228, 231, 240, 248, 262, 265, 273–4, 275, 300, 315, 316, 317, 322, 333, 348, 378, 412, 418, 419–20, 421, 422, 423, 424, 441, 447, 451, 456
of Jesus 64, 274–5
book (*kitāb*, pl. *kutub*)
cosmic Book 167, 376
divine Book (*muṣḥaf-i ilāhī*) 31, 78, 89, 97, 105, 120, 133, 270, 277, 287, 376, 377–8, 420, 439, 456
of the eternal bliss (*kitāb-i saʿādat-i abad*) 383
of everlasting misery (*kitāb-i shaqāwat-i sarmad*) 383
of Life (*muṣḥaf-i ḥayāt*) 283, 284, 285, 330, 347, 363, 376–7, 476
origin of the Book (*aṣl-i kitāb*) 121
of Peter (*kitāb-i Fiṭrūs* or *Shamʿūn*) *see* Peter, Arabic Apocalypse of
of the Rolls (*kitāb al-majāll*) 56n13, 475, 476
boundary, limit (*muntahā*) 106–7, 227, 296, 297
see also tree
break, break-up, breaking 41–2, 84, 87, 259, 264, 265–7, 314, 443, 450, 453
breast (*ṣadr*)
of Adam 229, 309, 310, 311–12, 312, 313–14, 361, 381–2, 468
of Muḥammad 301, 311, 312
breath 63, 78, 176, 187–8, 189–90, 192, 239, 248, 271, 275n6, 328, 384
Burning Bush 183, 185–6, 256, 290n44, 317
Bursī, Rajab 406, 410n71

Capricorn (*jadī*) 176
carnal desire (*hawāʾ, shahwa*) 133–4
Cave of Treasures, the 56n13, 428, 429n121, 475
Christian(s), Christianity 63, 66, 213–14, 232, 274–5, 279–80,

283, 355n34, 363–6, 394–5, 397, 398, 427, 429, 432, 435
see also apocalypse; apocrypha; *individual texts*
circumambulation (*ṭawāf*, *ṭawf*) 131, 170, 173, 180–1, 182, 199, 230, 234, 263, 379–80, 382, 441
cock (*khurūs*) 203, 269, 270
compound(s) (*murakkab*, pl. *murakkabāt*) 60–1, 65, 221, 240, 247, 257, 288, 420
constellation(s) (*burj*, pl. *burūj*) 88, 109, 131, 158, 161–2, 164, 165–6, 167, 169, 170–1, 172–3, 174, 175, 176–7, 179, 226, 228, 235, 302, 305–6, 331, 376, 402, 411
contained (*maẓrūf*) 141, 144, 458
container, receptacle (*ẓarf*) 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 155, 458
convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*, *waḍʿ*)
divine (*iṣṭilāḥ-i ilāhī*, *iṣṭilāḥ-i khudā*) 237, 239, 242, 243, 245, 249, 260, 374, 444, 448
human, belonging to the creation (*iṣṭilāḥ-i khalq*) 81, 239n3, 247, 292, 452
cosmogony 37, 38, 45–110, 211, 326
cosmology 37, 38, 45–110, 105–6, 165n5, 399, 405n49
Covenant (*ʿahd*) 14, 222–4, 228–30, 310–11, 313, 332–3, 345, 351–3, 354–5, 379–80, 383, 385n104, 474
crest (*ʿurf*) 203, 270

Dāmghānī, Amīr ʿAlī 11
Dāmghānī, Khwāja Bāyazīd 10–11
darkness 92–3, 179, 181, 249, 335, 336
decline (*hubūṭ*) 174
dervish(es) 2, 4, 8, 10n26, 19–21, 404
differentiation 46, 50n2, 51–2, 60–1, 67, 69, 71, 73–7, 80–4, 86, 90, 92, 95–6, 103, 105, 111–12, 113, 141–3, 162–3, 192, 194, 210, 238, 242–3, 244, 264, 306, 366, 369, 437, 442, 444, 445–6, 449, 451, 453, 454, 457, 460, 461
disclosure, spiritual (*kashf*) 10, 12, 91, 138, 177, 250–1, 270, 277, 294, 306, 382, 423
disjointed, single units (as opposed to compounds) (*mufrad*, pl. *mufradāt*) 11–12, 41–2, 57n14, 61, 120, 221, 234, 257, 276, 284, 286, 287–9, 349, 361, 371n74, 378n94, 393, 405n49, 406, 439, 445, 450, 453, 457, 469
division (*taqsīm*) 70, 82–3, 84, 86, 87, 90n15, 91, 95, 109, 114–15, 117, 122, 127–8, 131–2, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 154, 158, 167, 170, 172–3, 174, 178, 194, 205, 225–7, 305–6, 317, 322, 332, 367, 442, 445–6, 451
dream(s) (*khwāb*, *ruʾyāʾ*, *nawm*, *manām*) 4, 8n22, 138n40, 201, 202, 235, 246–7, 251, 294, 311, 334, 340, 355, 423, 473
of Faḍl Allāh *see* Astarābādī, Faḍl Allāh
interpretation of (*taʾwīl-i khwāb*) 8n20, 9–10, 10, 12, 138–9, 201–2, 246–7, 259, 260–3, 264, 411
see also taʾwīl
drinking (*shurb*) 208
Durr-i yatīm 21n65, 35n105

earth (*arḍ*, *khāk*, *zamīn*) 61, 64, 71, 76–7, 82, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91–3, 97, 99, 102, 107, 109, 129–32, 139, 143, 146–9, 151, 153, 154, 156, 161–2, 167, 169–70, 172–3, 175–6, 178–85, 186, 189, 199, 202, 206, 208, 218–19, 223, 229, 231, 232–3, 234–5, 263, 271, 282–3, 297, 301–2, 306–9, 317, 321–2,

324–7, 329, 332–4, 336–7, 345, 348, 352, 361, 367, 373–6, 381–2, 384–5, 408, 411, 418, 423, 441, 447, 454–5
as element of form 180, 184, 197, 232
receptive aptitude of the (*qābiliyyat-i arḍ*) 173, 179–80, 317n22, 332
educated (*murabbā*) 149, 179, 195
education (*tarbiyya*, *parwarish*) 171, 176, 208
educator, governor (*murabbī*) 171, 179
effusion(s) (*fayḍ*, pl. *fuyūḍ*) 96, 164, 165, 169, 171–4, 176, 177, 182, 189, 190, 196–7, 199, 294, 305–6, 331–2, 384
element (*unṣūr*) 71, 76–7, 130, 149, 179–80, 183–7, 197, 199, 232, 235, 306, 317, 324, 325, 326, 328–9, 408, 418, 423, 441, 446, 454–5
enlightenment 14, 15, 17n48, 207, 214, 330–1, 392, 456
see also personal spiritual realisation
Equity (*qisṭ*) 84, 92–3, 204, 336, 353–4, 442, 469
eschatology 14, 36, 37, 339–85, 396
Essence (*dhāt*) 13n38, 17n48, 49–52, 54–7, 59–63, 65–8, 73–5, 77–80, 82–3, 85, 92, 95–6, 99–101, 103, 117, 148, 162–3, 184–5, 192–3, 197, 200, 204, 219, 237–8, 242, 249, 251, 254, 270–1, 282, 298, 317, 323, 331, 335, 341, 343, 346, 348, 362, 364–5, 366, 368, 383–4, 408, 437, 446, 449, 460–1, 473
Eve 95–110, 211–35
body of *see* body
face of *see* face
as the last created 122, 123, 231
as Mother 97, 112–15, 116–17, 118, 121–2, 123–4, 125–7, 128, 130, 213, 275–6, 278, 329–31, 344, 365, 440, 451
evolution and involution *see* food chain
exegesis *see ta'wīl*
eye (*'ayn*, *chashm*) 9, 53, 130, 133, 181, 197, 359, 470
eyebrows (*abrū*) 114, 115n6, 121, 127, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 154, 204, 278, 282, 297, 307n6, 439, 458
eyelashes (*muzha*) 114, 115n6, 121, 127, 129, 134, 154, 204, 278, 282, 297, 307n6, 439, 458

face (*wajh*, *rū*)
of Adam 87, 96, 97, 99, 102, 103, 107, 108, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 126, 127, 128, 129, 139, 146, 152, 154, 155, 156, 162, 166, 167, 173, 181, 183, 185, 191, 194, 195, 197, 202, 203, 204, 209, 218, 220, 229, 230, 233, 234, 235, 266, 277, 281, 293, 298, 302, 309, 310, 311, 314, 315, 316, 325, 326, 327, 331, 343, 352, 364, 377, 378, 379, 380
of Eve 89, 115, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 136, 139, 154, 213, 275, 285, 330, 418, 439
of God 53, 54, 68, 84, 98, 99, 100n8, 101, 102, 103, 107, 108, 146, 147, 155, 156, 157, 179, 195, 265, 277, 283, 310, 343, 344, 374, 477
human 22n66, 47, 67n43, 72, 89, 96, 97, 98, 101, 105, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 127, 129, 132, 137, 138, 154, 167, 170, 179, 182, 185, 186, 190, 201–2,

203, 205, 223, 230, 240–1, 250, 255, 264–5, 266, 267, 268, 274, 277, 282, 297, 307, 308, 314, 315, 316, 317, 325, 326, 331, 332, 338, 344, 370, 371, 378, 379, 418, 457, 458
of Jesus 154, 274, 279, 364
lines of the 77, 89, 103n14, 105, 107n17, 113–14, 115, 119, 121, 122, 123, 127, 132, 134, 137, 154, 167, 170, 173, 190, 269, 277, 307, 316, 330, 332, 347, 362, 377, 379, 458
of Mary 121, 154, 278, 281, 282, 284, 285, 330, 347, 363
of the Mother 115, 118, 121, 125–6, 127, 190, 277, 286
Father (*ab*, *padar*) 65–6, 115, 116, 118, 234, 282, 283, 327, 355, 377, 429, 476, 478
Fātiḥ, Sultan Muḥammad 20
Fātiḥa 118, 121–2, 124, 127, 286, 330
Fāṭima 154n22, 278–9, 368, 369, 403, 428, 471
fire (*ātash*, *nār*) 64, 77, 88, 103n14, 109, 129, 132, 170, 178, 179, 180, 182–3, 184–6, 201, 219, 235, 282, 297, 307, 317, 321, 322–3, 324, 325, 326, 328–9, 336, 348, 365, 418, 423, 441
food (*akl*, *ṭuʿma*) 132, 133, 137, 208–9, 261
lawful food 209
food chain 88–9, 130, 132, 206, 207–8, 320, 337, 412, 424, 425, 447
footstool (*kursī*) 123, 149, 164, 165, 191, 203, 302, 472
form (*ṣūra*, *shakl*, *paykar*, *hayʾa*)
of Adam 77, 87, 89, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 113–19, 122, 123, 131–2, 154, 155, 156, 157–8, 159, 165, 167, 170, 171, 174, 185, 190, 203, 208, 209, 218–19, 222, 230, 241, 255, 256, 262, 263, 265, 268, 269, 363, 364
divine (*ṣūrat-i khudā*, *ṣūrat-i khudāʾī*) 100, 101 118, 102, 117, 122, 123, 154, 208, 209, 255, 274, 301, 364
of Eve 104, 113–19, 116, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131–2, 241, 270, 329, 330, 440
human (*sūrat-i bashariyya*, *ṣūrat-i insān*) 97–8, 107, 119, 120, 165, 190, 203, 209, 230, 255, 263, 269, 289, 325, 327, 331, 333, 363
of Jesus 274–5, 363, 364
of Mother 112, 115, 116, 126, 275, 286, 301
of objects and beings 2, 45, 46, 47, 73, 85, 101, 119, 129, 131, 144, 153, 163, 164, 179, 180–1, 187, 188–9, 190, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209–10, 211, 254, 269, 284, 325, 340, 362, 374, 446, 457
permutation of 139
of Youth (*amrad*) 102, 117–18, 123, 124, 130–1, 136, 137, 1116
fortune
bad (*badḥālī*, *nuqṣān, naḥs*) 172–3
good (*nīkḥālī*, *sharaf, saʿd*) 172–3, 175
foundation of the speech (*aṣl-i kalām*) 221, 257, 292
Fourteen Immaculate Ones (*chahārdah maʿṣūm*) 278, 412
Friday (*jumʿa*) 128, 147, 148, 149–52, 153, 154–6, 158, 161, 184, 185, 232n26, 299, 300, 312, 317, 373–4, 383, 469

Gabriel (*Jibrʾīl*, *Jibrāʾīl*) 149, 154, 155, 219, 221, 224–5, 245, 255, 286,

287–8, 289–90, 297, 298, 311, 333–4, 402, 467, 474
Gathering, the 17n48, 158, 228–9, 313, 330, 366, 373
gem 180, 182
Gemini (*jawzāʾ*) 175
ghulāt 418n98
Girdkuh (Gird-i Kūh) 407
Glory (*jalāl*) 58, 75, 85, 142, 190
Gospel (*Injīl*) 50n1, 64n26, 66, 116, 279, 366, 377, 395n18, 397, 475
Grace (*luṭf*) 58, 171–2, 270n17
grain 88, 182, 203, 204, 206, 225
gross (*kathīf*) 77, 169, 179, 180, 186
Gurgān *see* Astarābād

ḥadīth qudsī 52, 220–1, 245, 257, 287–8
hair (*mū*) 114, 115n6, 119, 121, 127, 130, 133, 134, 154, 173, 204, 278, 282, 297, 307n6, 312, 439, 457, 458
  lock (*zulf*) 181
Ḥājī-yi Surkh 19
al-Ḥammūʾī, Saʿd al-Dīn 28n86, 401, 403, 404, 414, 417
al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī 345, 412
heart 62n23, 67, 130, 142, 310, 359, 469, 470, 471
heaven(s) 64, 66, 68, 86, 89, 109, 131–2, 135, 161–2, 165, 166–7, 169–80, 226–7, 296–8, 300–3, 305–6, 334, 335, 358, 469, 476, 478
Hell 249–50, 326, 329, 330, 473
  as condition of ignorance 77, 249, 319, 329, 331–2, 336–7, 359, 418
  seven gates of 329, 330, 473
hermeneutics *see taʾwīl*
Hidāyat-nāma 89n14, 239n3, 551
hoopoe 203, 268, 269, 270
horn (*qarn*) 176, 282, 384, 472
Hour (*sāʿa*) 146, 154, 158, 210, 371, 372, 373–4, 375, 385, 467, 469
  signs of the (*ashrāṭ-i sāʿa*) 366–7, 380–1
houri(s) 117, 135, 136–7, 138, 262, 277, 333
house
  astrological (*bayt*, *khāna*) 36, 141, 161, 175, 305, 411
  inhabited (*bayt al-maʿmūr*) 199
human
  cosmic 47, 100n8, 168, 171, 210, 217, 237, 423
  form 97–8, 103–9, 111–39, 153–4, 163–86, 188–91, 194–210, 211, 217, 219, 230, 240–1, 251–6, 262–3, 265–7, 268–70, 273–82, 289, 293, 296, 299–300, 310, 315–16, 317, 319–20, 322–3, 324–9, 331–3, 340, 344–5, 353–8, 355, 361, 363–5, 371–2, 377–9, 383, 416–17, 418, 421–4, 438–41, 443, 447, 454, 456, 458, 459
  perfect 120, 176n18, 328, 411, 416, 417, 454
  see also Adam
Ḥurūfī(s)
  history 6–7, 17–23
  literature 4–6, 7–8, 31
  name 2–3
  political involvement 17–23

Ibn al-ʿArabī 1, 49n1, 58n86, 188n31, 189n30, 201n41, 250n19, 388, 391n8, 394n14, 399, 400–1, 403, 404, 405, 414, 415n91, 416, 417, 426, 430–1, 432, 452, 454, 473n63
Idrīs 109, 305–6
ignorance 77, 92–3, 186, 235, 249, 319–20, 321, 324, 325, 328, 329, 335, 336–7, 341, 418

imagination (*wahm*, *khayāl*, *taṣawwur*, *takhayyul*) 51, 52, 55, 69, 79, 88, 193, 250, 335, 355, 358, 369
Imām 14, 68, 100–1n8, 124, 131, 195, 231, 278, 303, 308, 311, 340–7, 349, 351, 352, 360, 368, 369, 378, 392–3, 403, 404, 409, 411, 412, 413, 415, 416, 417, 419, 424n110, 428, 430, 431, 447, 457, 471, 472
imamate 276, 341, 344, 346, 349, 350, 351, 403n43, 416–17
imitation (*taqlīd*, pl. *taqlīdāt*) 12, 232, 246, 248, 249–50, 257, 263, 274, 290, 291, 323, 329, 334, 357, 359, 408, 443, 444, 447–8
Imperative *Kun* (Be!) 36n107, 46, 82, 130, 138, 144, 146, 243, 244, 306, 307, 322, 356, 367, 380, 461
Influence(s), of the heavenly bodies (*taʾthīr*) 170–8, 305–6, 411
ink 69, 81, 90, 91, 97, 112, 139, 178, 179, 183, 291, 342, 348, 455, 457
inspiration (*ilhām*, *kashf*) 11, 12, 81, 91, 138, 177, 250–1, 270, 277, 294, 306, 358, 382, 423
instruction, teaching (*taʿlīm*) 20, 34, 75, 97–8n3, 168, 219–21, 224–5, 231–2, 238, 246, 256–7, 279, 288, 322, 357, 362, 419, 439
intellect (*ʿaql*, pl. *ʿuqūl*) 49, 168, 193, 415
Iran 1, 3, 4, 6, 10n26, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 388, 398, 408–9, 432–3
Iṣfahān 17n48, 19, 407
Iṣfahānī, Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turka 3n5, 432
Isfarāyinī, Nūr al-Dīn al- 402
Ishrāqī school 422
Iskandar-nāma 5
Ismailis 49n1, 166n6, 172n14
  Fāṭimid 396n18, 410n71, 411n74, 415
  Nizārī 388, 398, 400, 406–7, 409–10, 416, 417, 419, 424, 426, 431

Jacob 261, 262–3, 381–2
Jalāyirī, Sultan Uways b. Ḥasan 10, 11n31
Jalāyirid(s) 10–11
Jāwidān-nāma
  in the context of Islamic thought 387–435
  future research on 434–5
  messianism in 428–33
  myth of the fall in 418–19
  as Qurʾanic commentary 389–98
  structure and language of 31–43
Jerusalem 209, 229, 309, 310, 311–12, 313, 314–15, 358, 361–2, 381–2, 468
Jesus (*ʿIsā, Masīḥ*) 63–6, 97, 116, 154, 213–14, 244, 266, 273–85, 295, 320, 330, 335, 339–40, 342–3, 347, 357–8, 362–71, 376–8, 380–1, 396, 403–4, 412, 425, 428–30, 451–2, 452, 455–6, 466, 472, 478
John
  Gospel of 50n1, 64, 66, 335n27, 397n24, 476, 477, 478n26
  Revelation of 50n1, 64n26, 121, 214n3, 274n4, 276, 277n8, 281, 363, 365, 376, 377n91, 389, 396, 429, 430, 435
Joseph 12, 133–6, 138–9, 201–2, 235, 247, 259, 260–6, 269, 381–2
Judaism 147–8, 154n22, 397–8
Justice (*ʿadl*) 84, 204, 336, 353–4, 442

Kaʿba 182, 199, 209, 223, 231, 307, 309, 310–11, 312, 315–16, 337, 344–5, 351–2, 358, 379–80, 381, 468, 474
Kalimatuʾllāh Hiya al-ʿUlyā 14n40, 18n53, 28
Karakoyunlu, Iskandar 18n53, 19

Karakoyunlu, Jahānshāh 19
Karakoyunlu(s) 17n48, 18–19
Kawthar 129
Khwāb-nāma 8–12, 26, 435n131, 550–1
Khwarezm 8
khyʿṣ 57, 287, 290, 474
Kirmānī, Ḥāmid al-Dīn, al- 395, 429n121
Kitāb al-kashf 414, 452n5
Kitāb al-maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma 395n18
Kitāb-i Fiṭrūs see Peter, Arabic Apocalypse of
Kitāb-i Shamʿūn see Peter, Arabic Apocalypse of
Knowledge 38, 63, 70, 80, 111–39, 321, 471
Kubrā, Najm al-Dīn 404, 405n48, 414, 426n117

Lāhījī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad 402
Lamb (*barra*) 64n26, 121, 277n8, 282–3, 365, 377, 429, 476
language
  of birds (*zabān-i murghān*) 259, 267–71
  conventional 42, 97, 193, 200, 238, 242, 243, 246–7, 251, 256–7, 260, 263–4, 290–2, 443, 448, 450, 453, 460
  divine 59–61, 213, 237–8, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244–6, 247, 249–53, 254, 256, 258, 263–4, 266, 270, 275–7, 453
  human 41–2, 49, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 80–1, 105, 192, 213, 221, 237–8, 240–50, 251, 252–5, 256–8, 259–60, 263, 270, 273–4, 283, 290, 291, 362, 364–5, 377, 392, 438, 443, 444, 447–8, 450, 453, 459–60
  universal 51, 192, 214, 270, 276, 282, 449–50
legacy (*mīrāth*) 35n104, 231–2, 233, 286, 327, 333
letter(s) (*ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf*)
  disjointed *see* Qurʾān
  ontological 69–70, 77, 79, 90, 96, 104, 106, 163, 166, 267, 356, 375, 437–8, 448–9
  properties of (*khawāṣṣ-i ḥurūf*) 285
  science of 2, 27–8, 34n102, 399, 406, 408, 413–16, 432
light (*nūr*) 9, 55, 66–8, 77, 92, 97, 100n8, 179, 181, 185, 232, 317, 329n15, 346, 348, 419, 471
locum tenens (*qāʾim-maqām*) 67, 70, 98, 102, 104, 130, 174, 199, 219, 292, 295, 338, 344, 347, 349
locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) 13, 56, 59, 73–89, 95–108, 112, 119–20, 128–35, 146, 153–5, 163, 166, 169, 173–4, 178–9, 182–3, 186–91, 195–201, 203–4, 206, 211, 218–25, 232–4, 237–9, 246, 251–6, 263, 265–8, 273–5, 280–4, 285, 289, 292, 296, 300–2, 308, 311, 314–15, 320–5, 329–33, 335, 337, 343–8, 352, 355, 361–3, 368, 370, 375, 377–80, 411, 416–17, 421, 423, 438, 439, 441, 442, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 457
Lote-tree of the Boundary (*sidrat al-muntahā*) *see* Tree
love (*ʿishq*, *maḥabba*) 38, 58, 111, 128, 129–35, 138, 178–9, 208–9, 263, 269, 332, 419, 441, 443
  divine (*ʿishq-i ilāhī*, *maḥabbat-i khudāʾī*) 71, 133, 134
  profane (*ʿishq-i majāzī*) 132–3, 135
lover (*ʿāshiq*) 128, 130, 132–9, 179, 441
Lur, Aḥmad 18, 19n54

Mahdī 13n37, 92–3, 345n13, 360, 368–9, 403, 469
Maḥmūd II (Ottoman Sultan) 4, 20
Maḥram-nāma 11n30, 25, 174n16, 300n66, 325n8, 401, 421, 435n131, 551
marbūb 194
market in Paradise 138, 474
marriage 137
Mary 97, 116, 121, 154, 274, 275, 276–7, 278, 282, 284, 285, 330, 342, 343, 347, 363–4, 366, 367, 369, 381, 452, 472
Maṣābīḥ 67, 170
Master
of Perfection (*ṣāḥib-i kamāl*) 382
of the *tanzīl* (*ṣāḥib-i tanzīl*) 393
of the *taʾwīl* (*ṣāḥib-i taʾwīl*) 393
of the Word (*ṣāḥib-i kalima*) 86
of Time (*sayyid-i zamān*) 13, 372
Mawlanā Yūsuf 19
Mazdaism, Mazdaic 159, 323n5
meaning (*maʿnā*, pl. *maʿānī*) 45, 46, 55, 61, 63, 97, 98, 131, 163, 241, 244, 246, 247, 251, 271, 302, 332, 421, 449–50, 461
measure (*andāza*, *qiyās*, *miqdār*) 73, 82, 144, 151, 162, 451
Mecca 116, 229, 231, 286, 309, 310, 311, 344, 345n13, 370–1, 379, 380, 474
see also Kaʿba
Medina 370–1, 466
meditation (*taʾammul*) 52, 129, 135–6
melody (*naghma*) 62
member, of the body (*juzw* = *juzʾ*, pl. *ajzāʾ*) 54, 97, 98, 105, 108, 123, 153, 179, 181, 196, 198, 204, 206, 227–8, 229, 235, 238, 377, 380, 423
Merciful (*raḥmān*) 54, 58, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 106, 108, 125, 126, 127, 133, 142, 153, 188n31, 189–90, 199, 208, 217–18, 218–19, 239, 245, 255, 268, 269, 270, 271, 322, 328–9, 365, 467–8, 469, 473
Mercy (*raḥma*) 58–9, 74, 101, 125, 126–7, 176n20, 189, 190, 328, 329–30, 467
Messiah 97, 280, 283–4, 284, 336, 366, 369, 377, 380–1, 472, 477
see also Saviour
Messianism, messianic 1, 6, 7, 10n26, 13, 15, 19, 22–3, 27, 28, 388–9, 396, 397, 400, 403, 403–4, 409, 427–33, 431, 435
mineral(s) (*jamād*, pl. *jamādāt*; *maʿdin*, pl. *maʿādin*) 71, 88, 131, 164, 171, 172, 178, 203, 204, 205, 208, 209, 247, 320, 325, 327, 336, 355, 377, 421, 422–3, 424, 425, 442, 447
Mīrānshāh 16–17, 18n53
mirror (*mirʾāt*) 149, 154–6, 157, 158, 185, 199, 233, 373, 374, 466, 467
modes, musical (*uṣūl*) 62
mole (*khāl*) 133
Mongol(s) 1, 388, 398, 399, 405, 407, 433
moon, mansions of the (*manāzil*) 172–3, 194
Moses 83–4, 90–1, 120, 138, 148, 154n22, 156–7, 183, 185–6, 201, 213, 220, 229, 235, 256, 259, 263–7, 290n44, 309–10, 311–12, 313–17, 343, 348–9, 370, 382, 396, 474, 476, 477
staff of (*ʿaṣāʾ*) 90–1, 247
tablets of 12, 41–2, 84, 87, 91, 235, 259, 265–7, 314, 315, 316, 443, 476
Mother (*umm*)
of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*) 89, 115, 117–18, 119, 121–2, 124, 127, 128–9, 130–1, 176, 190, 195, 227, 276, 285–8, 295,

301, 330, 341, 360, 370–1, 376–7, 378, 440
of the cities (*umm al-qurā*) 116, 231, 233, 286, 344, 345, 370–1, 474
of the Time (*umm-i zamān*) 287n30
see also Eve; Mary
motherly (*ummī*) 59, 107n17, 125, 126, 132, 167n9, 293–4, 297, 307n6, 312, 329–30, 338, 345, 363, 370, 379, 419, 430, 439, 440, 451–2, 455–6, 460
Jesus as a 'motherly' prophet 276–7, 278, 279, 281, 285, 339, 340, 451, 456
'motherly' prophets and saints 39, 124, 213, 271, 275, 276, 284, 320, 330, 339–40, 352, 412n77, 417, 419, 430, 442, 447, 451, 456
Muḥammad as a 'motherly' prophet 285, 285–7, 291, 339, 451, 456
mudrak 52, 179
mudrik 52, 168, 179
Mughal(s) 1, 15, 22, 23, 425, 433
Muḥammad
heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*) of 214, 228, 285, 296, 299, 394n14, 402, 452
the Prophet 200, 228, 245, 260–1, 296, 300, 316–17, 334, 346, 347, 356, 360, 393, 394n14, 398, 402, 437, 440, 447
the Seal of the Prophets 214, 226, 227–8, 251, 257–8, 285, 287n30, 292–3, 294, 300, 361, 393, 400–1
Mūsā al-Kāẓim 412
Mushaʿshaʿ 18n51, 40, 427n118
Muẓaffarid(s) 10n26, 11
Nafajī, ʿAlī 8, 9–10, 11–12, 26, 435n131, 550–1
Nakhichevan 17
name (*ism*, pl. *asmāʾ*)
attribution of (*ismiyyat*) 58, 78, 187, 188, 190, 191, 196, 199, 200
identity with the named 59, 60, 75–6, 80–1, 99, 163, 191–2, 194, 238–9, 240, 241, 453
and the named (*ism wa musammā*) 57, 59, 193, 452–3
Supreme (*ism-i aʿẓam*) 61, 97–8, 125, 188, 198, 267, 268–9, 341, 411, 439
teaching of the names 75, 97n3, 103n13, 168, 220, 224, 231, 238, 246, 256, 257, 288, 322, 357
Nasafī, ʿAzīz-i 201n41, 401, 403, 404, 410, 414, 417, 425–6
Nasīmī, ʿImād al-Dīn 6, 22, 26, 27
Nāṣir-i Khusraw 395
natural elements (*ṭabāʾiʿ*) 76–7, 89, 103n14, 109, 131, 149, 164, 174, 175, 178, 180, 186, 197, 206, 270, 282, 297, 307n6, 321, 324, 326, 423, 439, 441, 458
see also air; earth; fire; water
Naw-nāma 5
Nawm-nāma 5, 13
Numbers
six 32, 36, 37, 38, 82, 83, 97, 109n19, 113n3, 128, 132n35, 141, 142, 143–4, 145, 146–8, 149–52, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 161, 162, 166, 170–1, 174, 184, 223, 226, 306, 367, 372, 373, 374, 376, 393, 408, 437, 451, 458
seven 9, 68, 71, 86, 89, 91, 103n14, 107, 113–14, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120–1, 122, 123–4,

127–8, 131, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 141, 143, 144–5, 146, 147–8, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 161–2, 165, 167, 171, 172, 174, 183n26, 194, 203, 204, 214, 230, 233, 275, 277, 278, 281, 282, 285–6, 297, 307, 312, 330, 347, 363, 370, 371, 372, 373, 377, 379, 408, 412, 425, 430, 439, 441, 458, 466, 471, 474, 476
eight 53n7, 89, 103n14, 165, 167, 169, 170, 171, 175, 203, 226, 228, 230, 268, 270, 282, 297, 307n6, 330, 458
nine 161, 165n5, 170, 175, 194, 411
12 109, 161–2, 166, 167, 170, 172, 175, 278, 281n20, 283, 305, 306, 376, 384, 412
14 89, 90n15, 114, 119–20, 127, 136n40, 154, 167, 172–3, 227, 278, 286, 291, 295, 306, 370, 371, 378–9, 412, 439
21 127, 330
28, 32, 28/32 *see* letters: ontological; words: ontological
30 57, 109, 157, 159, 162, 166, 306
40 141, 152, 156–7, 169, 184, 372, 470
50 78, 81, 98, 104, 252, 290, 298, 315, 316, 346n16, 357, 358, 469
60 89, 132, 145, 150, 158n33, 162, 166, 167, 170–1, 175, 176–7, 178, 223, 228, 293, 306, 327, 332, 360–1, 437, 469
360 82, 109, 131, 132n35, 157, 161–2, 166, 167, 168, 170–1, 172, 174, 175, 176, 194, 223, 226, 227, 228, 263, 293, 306, 376, 385, 451, 473
6,000 372
7,000 372
30,000 9, 376
50,000 146, 372
124,000 225, 226, 228, 473
300,000 372
350,000 372
360,000 372n78, 376
600,000 372n78
Nuqṭawī(s) 23, 27, 89n14, 425, 433
Nūrbakhsh, Muḥammad 22, 388, 404, 427n118
Nuṣayrī(s) 344n10, 418n98, 422n105

Ohrmazd 152n14, 249, 250, 329
Oneness, of God 76, 92, 244, 354, 415n89
see also unity
original nature (*khilqa*) 62, 76, 83–4, 86, 93, 97, 102, 107, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 122, 123, 124, 126, 128, 131, 134, 136, 137, 141, 152, 153, 154, 155–6, 157, 163, 170, 173, 178, 180, 181, 186, 188–9, 194, 195, 202, 203, 205, 206, 208, 218, 220, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 232, 233, 254, 255, 269, 270, 277, 278, 286, 299, 301–2, 307, 312, 325, 327, 331, 334, 336, 338, 340, 344, 353, 365, 380
Ottoman(s) 1, 3, 4, 15, 16n44, 17, 19–22, 23, 433

Pamuk, Orhan 22
Paradise 61, 104, 111, 113, 114, 116, 117, 121–2, 124, 127, 135, 136–7, 138, 154n22, 173, 200, 208, 209, 210, 230, 235, 248, 250, 262, 299, 301, 303, 319, 323, 331, 341, 361, 365–6, 373, 471, 474
as condition of knowledge 117, 169, 207, 278, 319–20, 321, 324, 327–8, 329, 332, 333, 334–5, 337, 418–19, 440–1
eight gates of 89, 330

Pasīkhānī, Maḥmūd 23, 89n14, 425
pearl (*durr*, *jawhar*) 71, 183, 193, 229n21, 474
Pen (*qalam*) 69, 70, 75, 78, 80, 83, 87, 90, 91, 103, 112, 115, 119, 148, 247, 252, 253, 306, 307, 415n89, 467
Perfect Human (*insān-i kāmil*), the 100, 120, 176n18, 328, 411, 416, 417, 454
personal spiritual realisation (*taḥqīq*) 135, 319, 354
  see also enlightenment
Peter (*Fiṭrūs*, *Shamʿūn*), Arabic Apocalypse of 50n1, 56n13, 62n23, 64–6, 121n14, 214n3, 277n8, 281–2, 355n34, 364n54, 378n93, 389, 396–7, 428–9, 435, 463, 470, 475, 477, 478
phoneme(s) 12, 31, 45, 46, 47, 50n2, 51, 55–6, 57, 59–60, 61, 62, 65, 69, 70, 75, 77–8, 79, 80, 83, 86, 90, 95, 99, 136n40, 139, 142–4, 147, 150, 163, 187–8, 189, 192, 201, 205, 237, 238–9, 240–1, 242, 243–5, 246, 249, 251, 252, 256, 257, 259, 263–4, 266, 279, 281, 282, 288n37, 290, 292, 293, 295, 297, 298–9, 305, 306, 326, 335, 367n60, 368, 375, 378, 405n49, 414, 425n114, 437–8, 442, 443, 446–7, 449–50, 452–3, 461
planet(s) (*kawkab*, pl. *kawākib*; *sayyāra*, pl. *sayyārāt*) 173, 174, 178n22, 179, 180, 182, 194, 199, 305–6, 331, 441, 443, 458
plant(s) (*nabāt*, pl. *nabātāt*) 88, 131, 164, 167, 171, 172, 178, 188, 195, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 247, 320, 355, 424, 447
point (*nuqṭa*)
  of the earth (*nuqṭa-yi khāk*) 173, 180, 181
  of existence (*nuqṭa-yi wujūd*) 153, 384
  original 70, 83, 92, 103, 105, 112, 113, 454–5
  of sperm 71, 113
poverty (*faqr*) 72, 471
power (*quwwa*) 197, 269, 355, 370
  as Father 355n34, 478
  without beginning (*quwwat-i azalī*) 56, 65
prayer 12, 67, 97, 98n4, 118, 122, 124, 151, 173, 182, 212, 233–5, 271, 286, 289–90, 298–9, 300–3, 309–10, 311, 312–13, 316–17, 323, 334, 342, 343–4, 346, 357–8, 369, 469, 471
  postures of (*rakʿa*) 150–1, 158, 232n26, 299, 300, 302, 312, 317, 346, 357, 358
prison (*zindān*) 249, 336
prophethood (*nubuwwa*) 395, 401, 402–3
prosperity (*ābādānī*) 178
Pseudo-Clementine 56n13, 366n59, 428, 429n121

Qāḍī al-Nuʿman 411n74, 415
Qāʾim 368n66, 403
qibla 97, 121, 209, 234, 309–10, 343, 351, 356
Qiyāma 97, 120, 148, 185, 230, 250, 278, 280, 365, 372, 379, 382, 388, 409, 411n72, 419, 431
quiddity (*māhiyya*) 61, 79, 177, 193, 207, 237, 246
Qurʾān
  anthropomorphic vocabulary of 13n38, 53, 98, 99, 100, 101–2, 120, 146–7, 229–31, 255–6, 284, 315–16, 379, 399, 456
  disjointed letters of (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa*) 11–12, 41, 42, 57n14, 61, 120, 221, 234, 257, 276, 284, 286, 287–9, 349,

361, 371n74, 378n94, 393, 405, 406, 439, 445, 450, 453, 457, 469
exegesis of 1, 2, 340, 347, 389, 391, 448–9
hermeneutics of 2, 8n20, 12, 37, 38, 41–2, 51, 73, 212–13, 259, 340, 347, 360, 388, 389, 392, 394, 406, 411, 415, 421, 427, 437–8, 450, 473
see also ta'wīl
in human form 119–20, 168, 198, 201, 341, 342, 347–8, 368, 369, 378, 393, 469, 472
interpretation of *see ta'wīl*

Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' 49n1, 58n16, 424
Rawḍa-yi taslīm 410–12, 416, 417, 422, 424, 431
Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim, al- 395, 414, 438
Resurrection 17n48, 87, 97, 120, 149, 158, 185, 202, 230, 248, 250, 278, 280, 317, 356, 365, 372, 373, 379, 380, 381, 382, 467, 471, 473
Return to the origin *see ta'wīl*
Revelation of John *see* John, Revelation of
Rigour, Coercion (*qahr*) 58, 171–2, 328
ruin (*kharābī*) 173, 178
Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn 8, 394n14, 404, 412n81

Sabzawār 10
sacrifice 64n26, 121n14, 130, 132–3, 214, 277n8, 282–3, 311, 320, 337, 365–6, 377, 424, 429, 476
Ṣafawid(s) 1, 15, 18n51, 22–3, 433
saint (*walī*, pl. *awliyā'*) 157, 181, 185, 231, 233, 234, 243, 253, 294, 302, 313, 400, 401, 403
sainthood (*walāya*) 402–3, 430, 431
Sarbadār(s) 10, 18n51, 22, 427n118
Satan (*Iblīs*) 77, 180, 186, 207–8, 233, 235, 250, 321–3, 324, 325–6, 328–9, 336, 337, 357, 358, 365, 418, 441
Saviour 13, 14, 303, 320, 339, 349, 360, 368–9, 371, 376, 378, 381, 384, 396, 403, 427–8, 452, 471, 472
see also Mahdī; Qā'im
science (*'ilm*) 2, 27, 55, 57, 59n19, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74–5, 77, 78, 81–2, 83, 85, 86, 87, 91, 92, 96, 97–8, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108–9, 119–20, 122, 125, 129–31, 133, 134, 135, 138–9, 163, 175, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 191, 194, 196, 197, 199, 201, 204, 205, 219–21, 224, 232, 239, 254, 255, 265, 267, 268, 275, 286, 291, 292, 293, 298, 300, 302, 312, 314, 321, 326, 338, 343, 348, 351, 352, 356, 358, 359, 361–2, 367, 413–16, 457
Seal (*khatm*)
of the prophets, prophethood (*khatm-i anbiyā'*, *khātam al-anbiyā'*) 214, 226, 227–8, 251, 257–8, 285, 287n30, 292–3, 294, 300, 361, 393, 395, 400–1, 402–3
of the saints, sainthood (*khatm-i walāya*, *khātam al-awliyā'*) 400–1, 402–3, 430, 431
Second Seal (*khātam-i thānī*) 400
self, personality, lower soul, ego (*nafs*) 9, 53, 112, 134, 175, 196, 311, 324, 370, 424
Seven Twofold (*sab' al-mathānī*), the 115, 116, 118, 121, 124, 131, 134, 135, 136, 139, 143n5, 144–5, 285–6, 330, 430, 439, 441, 458
Shāhrukh Mīrzā 6, 18–19
shape *see* form
Sheba, Queen of (Bilqīs) 268–9, 270, 278

Shīrāzī, Rūzbihān Baqlī 328–9n15, 394n14
Shiʿi(s), Shiʿism 1, 10n26n14n24n28, 34, 68, 100n8, 115n7, 119n10, 195n38, 276, 278–9, 303, 340–1, 342–52, 360, 368–9, 388, 391, 392–3, 396, 398–406, 410–19, 422, 426, 427–8, 430–2, 447, 457
Shīrāzī, Mullā Ṣadrā 211n1, 422
Shujāʿ, ʿIzz al-Dīn Shāh 11
al-Sijistānī, Abū Yaʿqūb 395, 408n61, 408n64, 411n72, 452n5
silent (*ṣāmit*) 119–20, 139, 168, 198, 200, 347–8, 355, 469, 472
simple 12, 37, 50, 55, 57, 60, 62, 65, 70, 162, 163, 192, 239, 242, 257, 259, 263, 264, 267, 279, 303, 414, 437, 449, 450, 461
Sinai, Mount of 83, 264, 314
Sirhindī, Aḥmad 431n124
slaughter (ritual) 209
smoke (*dukhān*) 68–9, 71, 86, 97, 104, 112, 183n26, 185, 358, 380–1, 383, 457, 474
snake (*ḥayya*, *mār*) 91, 197, 247, 327, 328, 336
Solomon 227, 259, 267–71, 348
Son 65, 66, 429
soot (*dūda*) 64, 71, 81, 97, 112, 139, 291–2, 342, 348, 457
Soru (Sārū) 407
soteriology 37, 38, 319–20, 321–38
sound(s) 12, 41, 50n2, 51n4, 56, 57, 62–3, 66–7, 69, 70, 76, 77, 78–9, 95, 104, 163, 193, 200, 238, 240, 241, 246, 247, 259, 271, 290, 292, 299, 316, 414, 437, 443, 446, 448, 450, 453, 460, 461
speaking (*nāṭiq*) 53, 68, 97, 119, 168, 198, 249, 284, 341, 342, 347–8, 355, 368, 369, 378, 393, 423, 469, 472
speech (*kalām*, *nuṭq*, *sukhan*) 9, 51n4, 52, 53, 56n13, 59, 64–6, 87–8, 95, 118, 135, 145, 168, 185–6, 197–202, 207–8, 219, 220–1, 225, 228, 229, 240, 243, 247, 249–50, 252–8, 265, 267, 271, 274, 279, 282–3, 286–7, 288, 292, 293–4, 338, 348, 364, 365, 369, 375, 376–7, 393, 455, 474n64, 478
  direct, without intermediary (*kalām-i bi-lā-wāsiṭa*, *bī-wāsiṭa*) 220–1, 257–8
  mediated (*kalām-i bi-wāsiṭa*) 220–1, 257–8
sperm (*nuṭfa*) 70–1, 112–13, 116, 124, 127, 183, 207, 208, 329, 424, 440, 447, 455, 474
  see also point
sphere(s) (*falak*, pl. *aflāk*) 45, 82, 131, 143, 150, 161, 164–5, 166–9, 170–5, 177–82, 188, 194, 197, 199, 206, 225, 226–7, 228, 235, 262, 263, 293, 305–6, 322, 331–2, 361, 375–6, 411, 423, 425–6, 437, 441, 443, 451, 458, 459, 461
spirit (*rūḥ*) 63, 65, 78, 116, 156, 187, 196, 232, 248, 249, 274, 275, 278, 282, 363, 366, 370, 373, 419, 420, 429, 478
star(s) 9–10, 101, 134, 162, 165, 167, 169, 174, 175–6, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 188, 189–90, 195, 197, 199, 202, 206, 208, 247, 261–3, 306, 308, 336, 358, 376, 382n101, 423
station (*maqām*) 70, 72, 85, 91, 105, 124, 131, 176, 206, 207–8, 218, 243, 319–20, 329, 331, 334–5, 354, 365, 468
steam (*bukhār*) 71, 474
stone, precious 138, 256
straight path (*ṣirāṭ mustaqīm*) 92, 103, 203, 204, 309n8, 336–7
  see also balance

Sufi(s), Sufism 22, 28, 115n7, 132, 323n5, 331, 388, 398–426, 430, 431, 433, 454
Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā 250n19, 399, 422
Sulaymān the Magnificent 16n44, 20
sun rising in the West 381–2
Sunni(s) 7, 16, 40, 54, 251, 345, 346, 368, 391, 398, 401, 403, 404, 413, 427, 430, 447

taʿaqqul 193, 335
Tabernacle 84n9, 315, 317n21, 477
tablet, Well-Preserved (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*), the 87, 98, 103, 105, 108, 109, 115, 119, 128–9, 130, 162, 163, 194–5, 196, 198, 200, 203, 218–19, 224–5, 226, 265–7, 288, 314, 340, 374, 384, 445
Tabriz 11, 17n48, 19, 407
tanzīl 38, 212, 213, 214, 237–58, 273, 284–5, 290–1, 292, 297, 299, 302, 303, 347, 348, 353, 356, 360–1, 362, 371, 392, 393, 402, 437, 444–5, 447, 451–2, 455, 456, 470
taqiyya 34, 39–40, 41, 54, 348n20, 360
Taurus (*gāw*, *thaur*) 175, 176, 384
taʾwīl
  as interpretation of dreams *see* dream(s)
  as 'interpretation of tales' (*taʾwīl al-aḥādīth*) 138, 263
  as ontological hermeneutics, return to the origin 124, 212–13, 214, 231, 278, 284, 292, 296, 340, 360, 361, 381–3, 419, 437–8, 440, 444, 448–9, 450, 451, 455–7, 457, 459, 460, 465
teeth (*dandān*) 96, 108, 130, 228, 274, 279
Tent of Meeting (*khayma-yi mīʿād*) 84, 229, 312, 313–17, 382, 477
Testament
  New 63, 396, 429, 435
  Old 84n9, 213, 273, 313, 396, 429, 435
  see also Bible
Throne (*ʿarsh*) 53, 82, 84–6, 88, 91, 98, 107–8, 122–3, 125–6, 130, 136, 147–8, 149, 151–2, 155, 156, 158, 161, 162, 164, 165, 168, 169, 171, 183–4, 185, 191, 194, 196, 203, 208, 225, 267–8, 269, 302, 307, 335, 353, 381, 384–5, 442, 468
time (*zamān*) 11, 13, 37, 38, 47, 96, 109–10, 141–59, 161–2, 165, 191, 210, 211, 212, 217, 225, 287n30, 303, 305, 366–7, 371, 372, 385, 451, 458–9, 467, 472
  ontological 143, 144, 147, 148, 151
  physical 143, 145, 147, 148, 161, 169, 210, 372n77, 458
Tīmūr 17, 18
Tīmūrid(s) 16n44, 18, 22, 432, 433n129
tomb(s) (*qabr*) 17, 176–7, 248, 384
Toqtamish Khān 15
Torah 71, 120, 142, 143, 148, 157, 183, 265, 266, 274–5, 282, 288, 310, 314, 317, 363–4, 377, 397, 470n28, 476
transmigration 89n14, 206, 320, 419–26
  see also food chain
tree 88, 138, 182, 185–6, 193, 201, 256, 262
  evil 322–3, 323–4
  forbidden 207, 235, 322, 323
  good 106–7, 111, 185, 290, 337
  Lote-tree of the Boundary 106–7, 164, 165, 169, 185–6, 199,

235, 262, 290, 296–8, 300–1, 302, 317, 335, 349, 426
trumpet (*al-ṣūr*) 148, 176, 248, 384, 472
truth (*ḥaqīqa*, pl. *ḥaqāʾiq*) 45, 50, 55, 61, 64, 69, 102, 104–5, 135, 163, 173, 191, 196, 197, 198, 232, 241, 246, 248, 250, 274, 319, 331, 332, 342, 344, 348, 352, 359, 360n43, 368, 378, 409, 410n69, 420, 459–60, 461
Turkey 21
Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, al- 410, 431

umma 351, 460
  midmost nation (*umma wasaṭ*) 2, 294, 351–7, 359, 460
unity (*tawḥīd*) 1, 22, 46, 49–58, 60–1, 63, 67, 69, 70–1, 73, 75, 80, 82, 85, 103, 107, 112, 117, 130, 133, 136, 139, 142, 144, 152, 157, 172, 237, 238, 242–3, 244–5, 247, 249–50, 251, 303, 306, 319, 324, 330–1, 364–5, 369, 383, 425, 435, 446, 457, 459, 460

vision(s) 8–10, 14, 136n40, 138, 255–6, 261–3, 294, 381–2, 423, 472
  vision of God 83–4, 114, 122, 123, 125, 154, 156–7, 264–5, 289, 300
voice (*ṣawt*) 10, 11, 58, 62–3, 65, 79, 138, 193, 200, 240, 252, 271, 324
  as Holy Spirit 46, 65–6, 238, 242, 429, 460, 478

water (*āb*, *māʾ*) 64, 71, 77, 82, 88, 90, 91, 109, 129, 132, 147, 148, 149, 155, 156, 158, 161, 162, 170, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183–5, 186, 193, 219, 282, 297, 306–7, 317, 324, 336, 348, 423, 454, 455, 470, 474
week 47, 82, 141, 144–6, 147, 148, 149–51, 153–4, 156, 157–8, 161, 172, 287n30, 372, 373, 458
witness (*shahīd*) 91, 202, 222–3, 294-5, 310, 321-2, 332, 336, 338, 351-60, 379, 383–4, 447, 460
womb, uterus (*baṭn*, *shikam*, *raḥim*, *zahdān*) 58, 112, 113, 115, 116, 123–4, 125–6, 127, 190, 274, 275, 329, 330, 363, 364, 440, 468
word(s) (*kalima*, pl. *kalimāt*; Pers. *sukhan*)
  of the Boundary (*kalima-yi muntahā*) 297
  corrupt 323, 324, 329, 336
  divine *see tanzīl*
  good 106, 111, 185, 186n30, 290, 297, 303, 334, 337
  human 38, 252, 254
  of imitation (*kalima-yi taqlīd*) 250
  impure 323
  ontological 50–1, 74, 137, 139, 164, 180, 323, 362, 375, 376, 437–8, 460–1
  pure 323, 380
  of the realisation (*kalima-yi taḥqīq*) 250
  silent 120, 168, 198, 348, 469
  as Son *see* Son
  speaking 68, 97, 119, 168, 198, 341, 342, 348, 368, 369, 469
world (*ʿālam*)
  of dreams (*ʿālam-i khwāb*, *ʿālam-i khwāb wa ruʾyāʾ*) 201, 247, 251, 261, 423
  of earth (*ʿālam-i khāk*) 97, 109, 131–2, 169, 181–2, 219, 325
  of humans (*ʿālam-i bashariyya*) 383
  of Imagination (*ʿālam-ikhayāl*, *ʿālam-i mithāl*) 250
  of incorporeal souls (*nufūs-i mujarrada*) 337

of Intellects and Souls (*ʿālam-i ʿuqūl wa nufūs*) 50n1
invisible (*ʿālam-i ghayb*) 9, 153
of the Message (*ʿālam-i risāla*) 384
of metaphysical meanings (*ʿālam-i maʿnā*) 251
of the point of the earth (*ʿālam-i nuqṭa-yi khāk*) 181
of spirits (*ʿālam-i arwāḥ*) 325
of spiritual disclosure (*ʿālam-i kashf*, *ʿālam-i mukāshafa*) 138, 177, 249, 250–1, 262, 270, 294, 306, 382, 423, 424
of subsistence (*ʿālam-i baqāʾ*) 173, 331
visible (*ʿālam-i ẓāhir*) 153, 199, 213, 249, 259, 460
Wrath (*ghaḍab*) 328–9
writing (*kitāba*, *maktūb*, pl. *maktūbāt*)
divine *see* writing, ontological
human 2, 126–7, 200–1, 251, 252, 253, 347, 377–8
ontological 2, 80, 81–2, 86–8, 90, 92–3, 96–8, 105, 109, 112–39, 152–3, 162–3, 178–80, 181–210, 217–35, 237–58, 259–71, 273–303, 305–17, 319–20, 321–417, 421–6, 427, 439–40, 444–5, 451, 458

Yaman, Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr, al- 395, 414, 452n5

Zulaykhā 133–6, 139, 263, 269, 278